

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GANGSTER AND THE POLITICIAN

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE GANGSTER AND THE POLITICIAN

1. Introduction. The relation of the gangster and the politician becomes most obvious to the public on election day. Post-election contests and recounts expose the election frauds committed by the gangsters in behalf of the politicians. The manipulation of election by machine politicians with underworld assistance is an old practice in the river wards of Chicago and has been gradually spreading to other districts. But, election frauds do not disclose the entire picture of the reciprocal relations of politician and gangster.

Residents of the so-called bluestocking wards frequently receive the erroneous impression that if the ballots in the river wards were freely cast and honestly counted they would show a majority against the ward boss, his henchmen, and his gangster allies. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Even if all the election frauds committed in the recent primary of April 10, were disclosed, the extent of the fraudulent vote would not greatly exceed twenty thousand votes. What needs to be appreciated is the element of the genuine popularity of the gangster, home-grown in the neighborhood gang, idealized in the morality of the neighborhood. An understanding of the element of genuine leadership and loyal following may be gained from a study of the Ragen Colts and the morality of the Yards.

2. The Ragen Colts. The Ragen's Athletic and Benevolent Association is chosen as the first example of the gang in politics because it has a continuous history during a period of over thirty years. It began as a baseball team, "The Morgan Athletic Club," with Frank and Mike Ragen as star players.

As early as 1902 the social and athletic activities of the Morgan Athletic Club included fully equipped amateur football, baseball, and rugby teams of high standing in their respective leagues. An annual minstrel show and ball attracted very wide participation of members and large audiences of non-members. Their annual picnics were events in neighborhood life. Boxers, runners, wrestlers of repute were developed in the club gymnasium. Among the one hundred sixty members in good standing can be found some who have since achieved high position in business. The advertising in the program of the annual ball is an evidence of the community support which this group received from business and professional men in every line in the neighborhood. Frank Ragen was then, and remained for many years afterward, president of the club. The appreciation of the work of Frank Ragen in developing the club, as well as his natural talent for this kind of recreational work, is expressed in many printed eulogies by the officers and members.

Later its name was changed to "The Ragen Athletic Association," with Frank Ragen as president. It became the mainstay of his political organization when he rose to prominence as county commissioner; but underwent internal difficulties when the Democratic party split into the Harrison and

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Sullivan factions, with Ragen on the Harrison side and O'Toole, the alderman, on the Sullivan side; and was disbanded recently (in 1927) as a formal organization. Its traditions, however, its feuds, and the solidarity of the old comrades continued. The Duffys have inherited the athletic tradition of the Ragen Colts, and while members have been divided by participation in opposite factions in politics and membership in competing beer running gangs, the ties of friendship as well as the enmities still remain. Beyond and below the formalities of organization, persist the neighborhood religious and racial ties, ties from childhood up.

3. *Same: "Hit Me and You Hit Two Thousand."* In 1908 the club changed its name from "The Morgan Athletic Club" to "The Ragen Athletic Association," and their teams were known as Ragen Colts. The change in name was decided upon after a picnic given by the club in the old Santa Fe Park had ended in a riot, and Frank Ragen was elected president. Members were recruited from the youth of the stock-yards district, and ranged in age from eighteen years to over thirty.

In the days before machine-gun politics, the knuckles of the club members made themselves so felt that, in the words of a member, "When we dropped into a polling place everyone else dropped out." The club was credited with settling the political fate of many candidates for the city council and the state legislature. The motto of the club was said to be, "Hit me and you hit two thousand." This newer generation of Irish were the sons of Irish laborers in the packing houses and stock-yards. Their Americanization made them averse to the plodding, seasonal, heavy and odoriferous labor of their parents, beset with the competition of wave upon wave of immigrants who poured into the area and bid for the jobs at lesser wages. The Irish, although increasingly in a minority, maintained control of ward and precinct organization of "pull" and patronage.

4. *Same: Dances and Social Affairs.* When Ragen was County Commissioner, the Ragen Club gave its annual mask ball in March, 1915, at the Coliseum Annex. Society and club women were engaged at this time in a campaign against special bar permits for dances. Several women, representing the Political Equality League and other women's organizations, visited the affair as investigators. In their report to Mrs. Charles E. Merriam they made sensational statements about the conduct of those present:

"There was debauchery and drunkenness and all sorts of indecent dancing, and at two o'clock in the morning boys and girls were drunk in the dance hall. The costumes of the women, some of them old, or at least not young, included baseball uniforms, pajamas, little girl or little boy costumes. The affair had the usual vulgarity we have decried in dances with special bar permits.

"The relation between politics and these dances is clearly seen. When these dances are given by politicians and under their protection, I don't see what we can do to fight the special bar permit. It shows a connection between politics and the underworld of Chicago.

"'It was horrible' said one investigator. 'The longer they danced the more indecent they acted. I saw policemen several times stop couples

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from acting improperly. Mr. Ragen was at the bar and in the dance hall. He walked up and down, visiting with everybody.'"¹

Similar charges by the Juvenile Protective Association were made concerning the New Year's Eve party of 1917. F. P. Smith, financial secretary of the Colts, denied that the party was conducted in anything but an orderly manner. It quite likely was conducted in as orderly a manner as all the dances of that district. He said:

"More than five thousand people attended the affair and minor disturbances, which are bound to arise in any assembly of such size, were handled efficiently by the officers of the club without the necessity of calling the police.

"The club had the statements of reputable citizens, who were present, that the dance was conducted in an orderly manner. He stated that the club was about to take the necessary steps to defend itself against the unjust charges of the Juvenile Protective Association."²

The Ragens have always drawn their following from the "back-of-the-yards" district south of Forty-third Street to about Sixty-third Street. During the race riots they became the sentinels of the frontier of the white race against the spread of the colored race. The excitement of fighting and the altercations with police and militia would probably have been sufficient to engage their activities even though the members of the club had not been animated by racial animosity.

5. *Same: The Race Riots.* While the memorable coroner's jury was investigating the casualties of the race riots there was evidence that many or perhaps most of the whites doing the rioting were members of political clubs. The Ragens emphatically denied this, as Mr. Frank Ragen does today. Several negroes testified that on the night the riot started a crowd of Halsted Street youths became involved in an argument with a colored man. According to the testimony the youth said:

"Remember it's the Ragen Colts you're dealing with. We have two thousand members between Halsted and Cottage Grove, and Forty-third and Sixty-third streets. We intend to run this district. Look out."³

Patriotism for the United States is a potent sentiment among the Ragens. Five hundred Ragen members went into the United States armed forces during the war. Jimmie O'Brien, president of the club, said that while the riots were going on the organization had thousands at their quarters listening to a musical program. The organization was thinned out by enlistments in the army and the vacancies were filled up with a lot of young men who "raised Cain and worse," said Mr. O'Brien, who very likely had tried to attract the members away from engaging in the riots. Militia men in charge of the district of the race riots were harassed by hoodlums in the neighborhood, who hooted them and threatened to take away their guns and invade the negro district. It was difficult to prove that any of these hoodlums arrested were members of the Ragen Colts, and the police released them.

¹ *Herald and Examiner*, March 22, 1915.

² *Daily News*, January 10, 1918.

³ *Daily News*, August 2, 1919.

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6. *Same: Factionousness.* Following the race riots Alderman O'Toole, the Sullivan leader, took the opportunity to have all cabarets and clubs in the district closed, including the Ragen Colts. Clubs favorable to Mr. O'Toole were reported to have remained open. The Ragen Colts Club was not the only political club engaged in the race riots and afterwards closed. The Our Flag Club at 613 West Thirty-seventh Street decided to run in defiance of the order. Altogether, the clubs that were closed claimed a membership of seven thousand. The Our Flag Club was raided three times. Nearby was the Pelican Club, running openly. They defied the police with messages like the following, "The Pelican's open; come over and arrest us." But nobody came. The order closing the clubs in the riot district, if issued to prevent further rioting, was evidently not impartially enforced.

7. *Same: A Play Group.* The Ragens were always ready for a bit of "rough-housing." One member came into a gathering of the Colts with a handbill announcing a lecture by Eli Ericcson, spreader of anti-papist propaganda, for January 31, 1922. Naturally, a crowd of members of the Ragen Athletic Club were present at the lecture. The meeting was broken up before it really started, and for several evenings afterward the Ragens kept close watch to see if Ericcson would make another attempt, to give them another opportunity for rowdyism. Joseph Brooks, later a casualty of the beer war, was then twenty-one years old. He was arrested and fined, while his three companions were released.

Frank Ragen has repeatedly announced through newspapers that he was through with the Ragen Athletic Club, but the loyalty and admiration of its members for him has persisted. He made such an announcement in 1922. Since the split with O'Toole he had had a great deal of trouble in bailing out the members and in helping them fight their cases. For six months the club was dark before Hugh Mulligan reorganized it and the Colts started out to gain a reputation. Mulligan is now at the head of the Chicago Asbestos Workers' Union.

Aside from their social affairs and their star teams in outdoor sports, they have maintained for many years a building fitted with considerable athletic equipment, parlors, and a pool and billiard hall. While they were at Fifty-second and South Halsted the improvements and appointments amounted to about twenty thousand dollars.

8. *Same: Repercussion of the Beer War.* In 1922, due to the numerous raids consequent upon beer running murders, the Ragen Athletic Club secured an injunction restraining the police from promiscuous raiding of the club house. The injunction, however, did not keep Lieutenant William O'Connor and his squad from forcing an entrance on December 15, 1922, after Ray Cafferty locked the door against them. The police were attracted to the place through a Ford car without a license and similar to one which had shortly before been used by gunmen on the west side who fired at two policemen. Eight Ragen Colts men were taken into custody.

Another such raid occurred on June 22, 1923, when four other Ragen Colts were arrested on suspicion that they were the men who fired on two

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policemen, corroborated by the discovery of two sawed-off shotguns and bloodstained handkerchiefs in the car, which was later found to be a stolen one.

9. *Same:* Ragen members could be secured to do "strong arm" work in the elections in other districts as well as the stock-yards area. Hugh McGovern with John and Harry Madigan and John O'Brien kidnapped a Cicero clerk of election by the name of Joseph Rice and held him prisoner in a West Harrison Street saloon. The plaintiff charged kidnapping and assault to kill. The history of the trial of these four men is an interesting sidelight on the administration of the law. True bills were voted by the April grand jury in 1924. The case did not come up for trial until June, 1926. Critics of State's Attorney Crowe, who was elected in the primaries of 1924 when so much violence was used in the elections, accused him of purposely shelving this case along with others that grew out of the 1924 elections. Just before the case was due to come to trial a new assistant prosecutor was assigned to it, in place of the one who had been familiar with the case from its inception. The case was closed July 1, 1926, after the jury had been out forty minutes. The men were acquitted of the charge although the defense had offered no closing argument and the assistant prosecuting attorney in charge had made only a brief summary of the case for the state. The prosecuting witness, who had positively identified his assailants as McGovern, the Madigan Brothers, and O'Brien two years before, refused in 1926 to say that these four were the kidnappers, and it was generally understood that it was for fear of his life.

10. *Same: Criminal* Hugh McGovern was one of the most prominent criminals of the Ragen Colts, so far as can be judged by newspaper publicity. His activities were varied, ranging from gunning to gambling, and petty larceny. In March, 1925, his record showed seven arrests but only one punishment, and that was a fine for petty larceny. In January, 1927, he was fined one hundred dollars by Judge Fairbanks on a concealed weapon charge. These two fines are the only records of punishment for McGovern.

On March 8, 1926, he was identified as one of the attackers of James Thomas, colored. In a dying statement Thomas told the police he had been lured to the rear of the Ragen Club building by the promise of drinks and there he was attacked and fatally wounded. He was shot twice, stabbed several times, dragged into an automobile when his assailants thought him dead, and dumped on the corner, where he was picked up unconscious by the police. The police raided the Colt Clubhouse but found it deserted. Blood spots on the floor corroborated Thomas' story. Before he died Thomas identified Hugh McGovern and David (Yiddles) Miller as his assailants. Yiddles also has a long police record. As a pickpocket he boasts of his stand at the county jail.

In the fall of 1926 McGovern, accompanied by George McMahon and Thomas Johnson, set out for Mexico to establish a gambling firm. During a stop-over in San Diego, California, McMahon was murdered. The police arrested McGovern and Johnson, charging that they killed McMahon in a quarrel over the spoils of a robbery. They were acquitted of the murder.

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Immediately following the verdict, charges were made that McGovern and Johnson had paid the state's attorney who prosecuted the case forty thousand dollars for securing the acquittal, and the state's attorney was eventually convicted of accepting the bribe.¹

II. *Same: Internal Feuds Due to Beer War.* The organization of the Colts developed internal feuds when individual members joined opposite beer running gangs in the beer war. Hugh McGovern, Thomas Shields and many lesser Colts were lieutenants of Ralph Sheldon. Dynamite Joe Brooks and Ed Harmening were affiliated in business with the Klondike O'Donnell gang, enemies of Sheldon. There was a constant pirate warfare between these two "mobs."

Prior to his departure to California, McGovern, still under surveillance for the killing of the negro, James Thomas, was seized with two other Colts, William Brooks and Thomas Shields, after a bullet, fired from the Ragen Colts club house, had narrowly missed Dr. William Borrelli.

Upon his return from California, McGovern, on January 5, 1927, was arrested in connection with the killing of Hilary Clements, found riddled with bullets. To afford an opportunity for questioning, he was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge, but was dismissed later by Judge Borrelli, a brother of Dr. Borrelli. Police were unable to connect McGovern with the murder of Clements, although he was the last one seen with the dead man. McGovern admitted that he was with Clements the night of the killing, but denied he had anything to do with the killing.

Besides being a Ragen Colt, McGovern was a lieutenant of Ralph Sheldon, who was at this time at war with the Saltis-McErlane beer gang. McGovern was entangled with another mysterious murder. He was arrested March 14, 1927, with a James Clements when they shouted to a group of prisoners held as suspects in the slaying of Lefty Koncil. Hugh's brother was probably among the prisoners. James Clements, police believed, was really John L. Clements, brother of Hilary, in whose death Hugh was suspected.

The last incident to date in Hugh McGovern's story was an auto wreck on May 16, 1927, in which Mrs. Julia Corbett was killed. He and Mrs. Corbett were found in the car, which smashed a lamp post. McGovern was unconscious when found and after reviving him the police took him to the Maxwell Street station where he refused to give any information about two companions, a man and woman, who fled after the crash. Cards found in the back seat of the car indicated that the man was Danny Stanton, "pal" of Dynamite Joe Brooks. The post struck by McGovern's car was on the north side of the street. He was driving east at high speed. This led to the theory that he might have been striving to get away from underworld enemies. McGovern was exonerated of all responsibility for the death of Mrs. Corbett.

12. *Same: Joseph (Dynamite) Brooks.* Another notorious member of the Ragen Colts was Joseph (Dynamite Joe) Brooks, a saloon-keeper and member of Klondike O'Donnell's gang, who was located at Seventy-first and California Avenue during

¹ *Daily News*, October 8, 1926.

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the beer war. Brooks was apparently immune from punishment although not from arrest. Brooks and Harmening were killed in the beer war.

Just prior to the killing, on October 3, 1926, a machine-gun attack from the roof of a shed across the alley in the rear of the Ragen club house, was interpreted as an attempt of the Capone gang upon the lives of these two men. The target was Dynamite Joe, but he escaped unhurt by diving through a window. Instead, Charles Kelly was torn to pieces and several men were injured. Other theories appeared in the newspapers:

(a) Intimations that the shooting was the answer to an attempt to assassinate Spike O'Donnell a short time previous.

(b) On November 16, 1925, Sheldon's cigar store near West Sixty-third Street and South Ashland Avenue was bombed and Brooks and Dan Stanton were believed to have been the "pineapple tossers."

(c) On November 27, 1925, two policemen, James Carroll and James Henry, were shot in a gun battle in Thomas McKeon's saloon, 5253 South Halsted Street. The shooting was ascribed to the beer feud between Sheldon and O'Donnell.

13. *Same: The
Leader's Sentiment
for the Club.*

It seems that the Shields' affair was the final episode in the life of the formal organization of the Ragen Colts. On August 4, 1927, the twelve remaining members met and decided to disband the organization and sell the club house. Although Frank Ragen had announced that he had severed his connections with the club in 1922, he issued the following statement in 1927 when the club was finally disbanded—an obituary and a testimonial to the Ragen Athletic Club:

"There is no denying that there was a rough element among the members, but it should be remembered that the club was an active force for good in the stock-yards too.

"Many needy persons who were helped by the club can testify to that. The club treasury was always open to persons in need, and the individual members were always ready to open their pockets to the poor. The south side won't forget soon the many Christmas festivals the club held for the poor children.

"At one time we had a membership of three thousand. When the United States went into the war, 1,100 Ragen Colts immediately enlisted in the army and navy, and the record of those boys for bravery was high.

"In the world of athletics, too, our boys made a fine record. One old Ragen Colt is Hugo Bezdek, now the famous coach of the football team at Penn State. I could cite many others who became well known in the athletic world. I think these things should be recalled in writing the obituary of the club."

The intimate relations of members and the elements of personal charity, the helping of a member in need without questioning what the need is, is typical of all the political organizations.

14. *The Morality
of the "Yards."*

Chicago is a vast and complicated community. It is divided into areas widely separated from one another in economic status, customs, and standards. The social distance between the "Gold Coast" with its old families, and "Back-of-the-Yards" with its recent immigrant settlers, is tremendous. Their

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inhabitants live as if in two different worlds. So different have been their rearing, experience, and outlook that the leading citizen of the lake front and the aspiring gangster of packing-town find it difficult to understand each other. Neither statistics nor formal records, and not even the newspaper, give these different worlds the knowledge of each other, necessary for a common public opinion, an opinion that is able to sustain the laws and secure their energetic enforcement. Crime to a certain degree is a natural and more or less inevitable consequence.

The following document¹ is an intimate close-up picture of a kind of political meeting that is never adequately reported in the newspaper:

"A testimonial banquet to John (Dingbat) Oberta, by the William J. Nellis Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, brings together a representation of all the phases of life of the stockyards district and an expression of its complex psychology.

"The banquet is held at School Hall, Forty-eighth and Honore streets, on Thursday, March 15, 1928. A primary election is impending and John Oberta is candidate for two offices, ward committeeman and state senator. The hall itself has been built by the Bohemians and remains as a symbol of their highly developed sense of communal organization, for it was a Sokol in its day, a combined community house and recreation center. The Bohemians have moved on, as others before them and after them, and the banquet has few Bohemians present. Every inch of wall space, the stage, the columns and the gallery are hung and draped with red, white and blue bunting in wheels, butterflies, shields and arches, work of volunteer enthusiasts who have spent several days decorating.

"It is a young crowd, with only here and there the white head of a proud mother. There are sisters and wives, all young and conservative in appearance, not the packing house worker but rather the type of clerical and stenographic help. This is the Americanized group from the stockyards, a sort of middle class, who have gained a step in the social ladder above their packing house parentage.

"There is one trait of 'Yards' culture that one must not forget. Regardless of what opportunities the boys grasp to work their way up, their family life is wholesome, irrespective of nationality. The boys are holding the banquet in their own neighborhood, and they bring no lewd women to rub elbows with their mothers, wives and sisters. Family life is the cardinal virtue. You may know another Dingbat Oberta, but they know the "Johnnie" whose sisters sit at the main table. By his efforts he has supported his widowed mother and raised his orphaned sisters. There is the emancipated woman too, Kitty Mulhall, City Hall attache, frequently seen in the office of the chief of police helping out stockyards friends, important in the campaign when she moved her activities to the Sherman House as a part of the mayor's entourage. She is there, as vivacious as an Irish colleen can be. She calls herself the "sweetheart of the Veterans of Foreign Wars," in the full page complimentary advertisement on the back of the evening's printed program.

"At first glance it looks like a banquet of mechanics and store-keepers. Looking closer at the faces, one recognizes at the head of the

¹ Report by guest at banquet.

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first table the frequently photographed face of Tim Murphy. He is genial and social. Everybody about him is exchanging conversation with him and there is a great deal of hearty laughter as he turns from side to side and calls across to his many friends. One thousand hands and five hundred voices render a storm of ovation to the big Pollack, Joe Saltis, as he enters to take the seat across from Tim Murphy. And Tim and Joe, flushed with the happiness of the occasion, exchange friendly greetings. Farther down the main table one recognizes Maxie Eisen, famous 'merchant racketeer'; Sexton and Wills, of 'direct action' fame (C. F. Wills representing the Cook County Wage-Earners' League). There is Leonardi, whose connections in Springfield and elsewhere make him a great friend in need. There is Michael A. Ruddy, running for state representative under the same auspices as Oberta, those of Saltis, McErlane and Murphy.

"There are merchants of the neighborhood: the owner of an ice cream factory, the undertaker, saloon-keepers, radio men, and Jewish 'gents' furnishers.' At the principal table, along with the chieftains themselves, are more 'strong-arm' men from the window cleaners', steam rollers', and other 'direct action' unions. There is a sprinkling of policemen as guests, of neighborhood prize-fighters, and then there is a table occupied entirely by veterans of the war and their women folk.

"Patriotism, with flags, fife and drum, with oratory and song, is the sweeping motif of the feast. Disfigured in action and blinded in one eye, Nierenberg, state commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, pours out silver-tongued oratory, proclaiming the munificence of Dingbat Oberta toward forgotten veterans still bed-ridden a decade after the war, in the hospitals of the state. Oberta sends them cake and 'smokes' and boxing shows. He has not forgotten them.

"Tim Murphy is the leading speaker of the evening. At the mention of his name an explosive ovation follows and continues as he rises to step over the table to the speaker's table. By this time the feast has been consumed, waiters have poured out glass after glass of real beer—and let no one doubt its reality while Joe Saltis is there. The audience rises. Tim Murphy stands head and shoulder over the five hundred gathered. He is arrayed in conventional black; his small eyes sparkle out of his long red face with its lantern jaw. There is the one-sided smile that comes from a mouth battered crooked back in the days when knuckles counted in the stockyards district.

"I'm glad to be back here with you where I was raised, around Halsted and Forty-seventh, back here where a man is a man, where I know all of you. There may be some newcomer here and I might as well tell you that I am forty-seven years old and I have made many a speech around here. Fourteen years ago I ran for the legislature and was elected. I later went to Washington with a Congressman from this district, who was the best two-handed 'trigger' that ever lived around here. I don't care what the newspapers say about me or Joe Saltis or Johnnie Oberta, we never done any harm to anybody around the stockyards. You probably know us from the newspapers. I have been picked up, many's the time, for 'funny' larceny and concealed 'ideas.' (Great applause.) I even served three years in Uncle Sam's boarding house. (Overwhelming applause.) And I want to tell you that even there the men are ninety per cent good.

"Take Johnnie—you see how he helps the boys that were wounded in the big fight. Who else would help them? They come to the stock-

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yards where anybody is ready to lend a helping hand. Vote for Johnnie Oberta and vote for Mike Ruddy, people who know you and are with you every day.'

"Tim knows the vernacular of the stockyards, although his business associations have carried him high into the sphere of proper English and he now lives in Rogers Park. He is genuinely popular; his humor, aided by his own hearty laugh, produces great merriment. And after all, most of his 'rough stuff' involved the organization of unskilled labor to get raises in pay and to insure greater security in their jobs to neighborhood wage-earners. What if he did hold up a United States mail train—with so confusing a spectacle as the due process of law, who knows whether they had the right man? Certainly a great many 'wrong' men are free and a great many 'right' men are in prison.

"Oberta himself speaks, after entering to the martial strain of a mounted guard with a fife and drum corps in a triumphal ovation. The president of the Nellis Post, Mr. Goldberg, presents him the honorary medal and certificate, a distinction only before accorded to President Coolidge and Vice-President Dawes. He expresses great sympathy for the disabled veterans in the hospitals; he has done what any man of means was called upon to do, he could not serve himself because he began early to support his family, but he has not forgotten the boys who have fought for him; he is ready to help anybody. 'Just try me.' In appearance he is a well groomed collegian with patent leather pompadour and glistening white teeth. His English, though limited, is grammatical, like that of an eighth grade orator.

"A priest rises to say a few words and the hall is in perfect silence. He does what the clergy can do in a community where there is a great deal of what is bad—he lauds as exemplary the good deeds of Oberta."¹

Four leading sentiments color the morality of the stockyards; family solidarity, revolutionary labor heroism, patriotic national heroism, and unconditional mutual aid without hesitant criticism or question, against any danger, whether it be constituted authority or from rival gang interests. As for the law, it is believed to be often an ally of the exploiter or a tool of the enemy gang. The "racketeer" is the example of success under grim conditions. He retains his popularity because he is loyal to the neighborhood's morals. In industrial relations, as in bootlegging, or "racketeering," he promotes the interests of himself and his fellows "by every means, in any manner."

Of late years there has arisen what seems to be a totally mercenary gang, not of the neighborhood, which controls elections for the profits of illegitimate or contraband commerce. It is from this standpoint that the Capone gang in Cicero and the O'Banion gang in the Forty-second Ward are studied and compared, and the elements of their strength and weakness analyzed.

15. *The Capone Gang.* An election in 1924 marked the triumph of the Torrio forces over Cicero, which was formerly disputed territory. Torrio had at first attempted, without political protection, to open a vice establishment, which was closed by the Cicero authorities. Torrio then retaliated by having the slot machines raided, and

¹ Since this was written Big Tim Murphy has been assassinated.

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finally established gambling places which were seldom interfered with by village authorities, sheriff or state's attorney.

In April, 1924, Capone entered Cicero for the Torrio interests in the midst of the April election. For years the organization, headed by Joseph Z. Klenha, president of the village board, had controlled the town. The government was the result of a bipartisan arrangement, the elections were decided between a "Citizens'" and a "People's" ticket. This year (1924) the Democrats decided to place a separate ticket in the field.

16. *Same: Pre-Election Preparation.* Trouble started when Election Commissioner Czarnecki scratched over three thousand names of Republican voters from the register list. Czarnecki discharged large numbers of clerks, watchers and judges, and others were appointed by him in their places. Beer runners, anxious to win control of beer supplies in Cicero away from Torrio, aligned themselves on the side of the Democrats. The Torrio-Capone gang and their followers became active and, after a reign of terror, the Republican ticket was elected. The Monday night preceding the election gunmen invaded the office of William K. Pflaum, the Democratic candidate for clerk, beat him and shot up the place.

17. *Same: The Gangsters' Busy Day.* Automobiles filled with gunmen paraded the streets, slugging and kidnaping election workers. Polling places were raided by armed thugs and ballots taken at the point of the gun from the hands of voters waiting to drop them into the box. Voters and workers were kidnaped, brought to Chicago and held prisoners until the polls closed. Stanley Stanklevich, 1528 South Fifteenth Avenue, a Democratic worker, was among the first kidnaped. He was held a prisoner in a basement until eight o'clock. Michael Gavin was kidnaped and found shot through both legs; he was imprisoned with eight others. Seventy patrolmen, two for each of the thirty-five precincts, five squads from the detective bureau and nine flivver squads, were deputized by Judge Jarecki and rushed to Cicero to drive the gunmen to cover.

The climax of the reign of violence was a gun battle between Capone gunmen and the squad. The machines carrying the police had just passed the polling place when three men appeared and opened fire with pistols. The policemen blazed back with shotguns and rifles. Approximately fifty shots were fired when one man fell, dead, and another was wounded. The dead man was Frank Capone, brother of Scarface Al. The wounded man was Dave Hedlin.

After the death of Frank Capone, an investigation was made of the numerous "gun toting" permits held by gangsters. It developed that the permit of Frank Capone was signed by Justice George Miller, who was among the justices summoned by Crowe to his office in 1923 to learn where the gangsters were getting their revolver permits. The lists were gone over and the Capones' permits revoked. At the inquest for Frank a second permit was introduced, signed by Justice Emil Fisher, of Cicero, for the purpose of self-protection.

Al's brother was given a spectacular funeral. The coffin was silver-

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plated and the flowers were said to have cost more than twenty thousand dollars. The floral decorations were arranged by Dion O'Banion, then still a comrade under the overlordship of Torrio. Among the mourners were several who later became bitter enemies, and others whose presence illustrated the fraternalism of leading gangsters, regardless of their specialty—Earl Weiss, Julian (Potatoes) Kaufman, of the O'Banion gang, Mike Carruzzo, labor terrorist, "pal" of Tim Murphy, Diamond Joe Esposito, and others. Thus we have an example of the gangster not merely as the hired Hessian, but the gangster arriving at the position of political boss.

18. *The Strictly Business Gang.* The Capone gang is an organization of professional gangsters. It differs from the Ragen Colts in that it is not an outgrowth of a neighborhood play group. The Capone gang was formed for the business administration of establishments of vice, gambling and booze. Although many of these establishments are reported as owned by Capone, closer examination shows that they have separate owners but are under the political and physical protection of Capone and his gang. For instance, the actual ownership of "The Ship" was known in Cicero to be La Cava Brothers, Mondie, and three-fingered Jimmie Murphy. Another Capone gambling house was known to be owned by Frankie Pope, the millionaire newsboy. A house of prostitution in Stickney, however, was actually owned by Al Capone and managed by Charlie Carr, who had formerly managed "The Four Deuces" for him.

19. *Occupational Skill and Apprenticeship.* In the business administration and in the gambling house occupations, skill and experience are required. Ropers,¹ friskers,² door men, stick-men,³ bankers,⁴ shills,⁵ specialists in roulette, faro, poker and chuck-a-luck, price men, telegraphers, "bookies," etc., are all occupations requiring a certain apprenticeship and knowledge of the psychology of the customers. Above all, most of the occupations require the handling of money or tokens representing money which can be cashed in. An expert vigilance over this personnel, paid by the day, the satisfying of customers, the stimulation of participation on the part of the onlookers who have a certain inertia about getting into the game, require experience. In Cicero though Italians acquired ownership, the most expert specialists in management were still Irish, taken over from the gambling houses of the previous generation.

Young gangsters consider it a special opportunity to rise in the gambling

¹ "Ropers" are agents who solicit or direct patronage to a resort.

² A "frisker" is an employee stationed at the entrance who examines patrons for concealed weapons.

³ A "stickman" draws in the dice with a curved stick instead of his hand, in order to have the dice in full view of all players before they are handed to the thrower.

⁴ A "banker" takes in and pays out money; he must observe the game with a skilled eye in order to make fair payments of odds.

⁵ "Shills" are those who play with the house's money but appear to be patrons. Some are excellent character actors. Their prime function is to keep a game going, as an ongoing game will more quickly attract patrons to participate. It is difficult to overcome the inertia of the onlooker unless there is an ongoing game to attract him. The odds of the game favor the largest number of hands. If three shills play in a poker game against a real patron, the odds are prima facie three to one against the patron.

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"racket." For instance there is young Mopsie. Not more than three years previous he began as a roper. He was youthful and small of stature, not especially neat, had a hoarse, rough voice. He would mix on the street with idlers or anyone he could approach and interest in making a visit to the gambling house. His judgment was somewhat immature and frequently he would "rope" the wrong man who was a total loss of time. In such an instance the old hands gave Mops the "horse laugh."

Three years later, young Mops was managing "The Ship," a department store of gambling in Cicero. He was handling large amounts of money, was directing a considerable personnel. He now wore elegant apparel, had learned to modulate his voice, and was business-like in every movement. During conversation with a stranger he was guarded constantly. Like Joey Miller before him, he had become a youthful manager, supervising specialists years older than himself and doing it with a skill in the handling of money and workers and in the vigilance over subordinates, equal to that of an efficient assistant cashier in a large bank. For this opportunity he needed not only ability but connections which would assure the owners of his reliability. His brother, Big Mops Volpi, has been for years one of the trusted bodyguards of Al Capone, and prior to that had been a trusted man of Diamond Joe. Because of his youth, older syndicate managers would drop in during the busy hours and help young Mops out, as well as advise him. Charlie Carr was one of these mentors.

Aside from the skilled jobs, the syndicate has always had its standing army of gunmen which could be augmented in time of trouble and reduced to a few bodyguards and watchmen in the establishments in time of peace. In the Capone "mob" these were recruited from among known, reliable, quick-trigger men from all over the city and from outside the city; but the dominant element among these was always Italian and always men with a reputation tried and true.

20. *The O'Banion Gang.* The O'Banion gang is a feudal group of professional gunmen formed to exploit the business of crime, but unlike the Capone gang, its members are of many nationalities rather than predominantly of one racial group.

Just prior to the election of November, 1924, the newspapers stated that the big Republican boss feared the result of his ticket in two localities—one a river ward of Chicago which had gone against him before; the other in Cicero. At the instance of the election board, composed of Chairman Fred V. McGuire, Henry Lipsky and Anthony Czarnecki, Chief Collins assigned an extraordinary force of detectives to assist the fraud prevention bureau of the election board in "flying" squads, who would dash wherever needed in the thirty-six automobiles retained for the purpose. The detective bureau was to contribute two or three rifle squads to work around the river wards and the west and south side "badlands." A staff of 250 detectives, private investigators and assistant state's attorneys, to be headed by John Sbarbaro and Joseph P. Savage, two of Crowe's assistants, were to assemble at the prosecutor's north side office on the morning of the election.

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21. *Same:
Gangster
Suasion.*

Dion O'Banion electioneered the river ward in his own peculiar fashion. After the kidnappings, sluggings, and threats of death and after the votes had been counted, there was reason for rejoicing in the headquarters. Crowe had won by a large margin, receiving 9,192 votes in the Forty-second Ward. His opponent, Michael Igoe, a Democrat, and Hope Johnson, running independently, received 5,106 and 353 votes, respectively. The *Tribune* described the election in the following manner:

"Recently O'Banion has come more and more into the open with his toughness, after ostensibly reposing for a year within the perfumery of his flowers. Just before election he lined up some two hundred gangmen to work for certain sections of the Republican ticket in the Forty-second Ward. To get everybody in a proper frame of mind to obey his election day orders, he wandered into saloons and with easy nonchalance would cut loose with a couple of guns—not at anyone or anything in particular, but just to show he was a 'hard boiled' florist.

"On election day O'Banion led his gang and helped the normally democratic ward to go three to one Republican. He got into fights and a dozen of his followers were arrested. He got them out quickly and kept working in his own fashion."

Carmen Vacco, city sealer, a few months after the election stated that O'Banion once had boasted to him that he had turned the Forty-second Ward from Democratic to Republican and had been the directing force back of the landslide.

22. *Similarities and
Differences in
Business Gangs.*

The O'Banion gang is similar to the Capone gang in that it is a union of adults for business purposes, each having served his earlier apprenticeship and having established his reputation in his own neighborhood. As in any other occupation, a man may start as a neighborhood entrepreneur and as he grows, his undertakings take on a wider area of activity; he makes more connections and gains the city-wide confidence of men in his profession. Very often the widening of a criminal's underworld acquaintance and mutual confidences occur through his contacts in the reformatory and penal institutions.

Safe-cracking, burglary, and robbery require no large scale organization for usual operations; men associate themselves in pairs and threes for the particular job. Many of the O'Banion gangsters came from these occupations. They were not unknown to each other. O'Banion and Drucci had been associated in the Powers Warehouse burglary and in the Parkway Tea Room safe-blowing. O'Banion and Weiss were associated in the safe-blowing of a typographical union, and Vincent Drucci and Frank Gusenberg were associated in the Harlib Jewelry robbery. Dapper Dan McCarthy seems to have had only labor slugging experience, while Nails Morton and Julian Kaufman's careers began as gamblers catering to the aristocracy among criminals. They probably operated more frequently together than the records show, but these occasional, changing partnerships for single projects are characteristic in this type of crime. Of course, connections with powerful fences, who take in and dispose of the loot, and with politicians and "fixers" are as necessary here as in any other field of crime.

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Furthermore, the O'Banion gang lacked the racial cohesion which bound together the dominant element in the Capone gang. O'Banion was Irish; Nails Morton was Jewish; Vincent Drucci was an Italian and Hymie Weiss was a Pole, etc. The following comments were made by a Capone gangster at the time of the machine-gunning of Hymie Weiss and his companions after he had refused to make peace:

"Do you suppose anybody could lay plans for weeks in advance and establish a machine-gun nest that close to Capone's headquarters to get him?

"In the first place, Capone's men are loyal to him. They are willing to lay their lives down for him at any time.

"In the second place, he is never without a bodyguard. I was away from him for a while and tried to come in to see him. I had to pass a double line of his men and was not allowed to come in until after Mops, who knew me well, got permission. Capone himself had a small gun sticking out of a vest pocket and a clip for the same automatic showing out of his other pocket.

"Once I saw him sitting in a restaurant, the Garden of Italy, his regular eating place, near the Hawthorne Hotel. While he was eating his men were scattered along the bar and out into the street. An automobile was parked at the curb with a driver in it. A lady asked to see him. He gave permission and received her with courtesy, but every bodyguard looked her over carefully and the driver started the engine of the machine. It was running every minute while Capone was talking with her."

The organization of this armed force, its morale and its loyalty is typical of the discipline imposed by Capone, developed out of his long experience in organizing large-scale vice and gambling. Capone has survived many of the O'Banion type of gang chieftains. Perhaps it is for this reason.

23. *Election* During primaries and elections, the evidence of the
Frauds. alliance of gangster and politician has again and again become a public scandal. The mutuality of their services is not difficult to discover. The gangster depends upon political protection for his criminal and illicit activities. He, therefore, has a vital business interest in the success of certain candidates whom he believes will be favorably disposed to him. The politicians, even the most upright, have a lively sense of the active part played in politics and elections by underworld characters. The gangsters and their allies always vote and bring out the vote for their friends, but the church people and other "good" citizens stay away from the polls, except for presidential elections and those occasional local elections, like the April 10, 1928, primary, when the issue of good citizenship versus organized crime was dramatically staged.

Election frauds are one of the ways in which gangsters and gunmen have repaid politicians for favors received. Fraudulent voting has been a perennial problem of municipal study in Chicago, and repeated investigations have been made. Only a summary is given here of the history of election frauds in Chicago. It is sufficient, however, to show the conditions responsible for the rise and persistence of election frauds and the failure of attempts to eliminate them.

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An examination of vote fraud investigations since 1900 discloses the following facts:

(1) The geographic area within which vote frauds occur is limited and can be traced on the map of the city.

(2) The authorities over the election machinery, the county judge, the election commission, and the state's attorney's office, repeatedly carry on the same conflicts around the same legal points, arising out of duplication of function and overlapping and division of authority.

(3) The partisanship of the County Board of Commissioners determines its action in appropriating funds for special investigations.

(4) The incumbent state's attorney always opposes and impedes the appointment of special prosecutor and special grand jury to investigate election frauds if possible: (a) by efforts to stop the County Board's appropriation; (b) by efforts to gain priority in the appointment of a favorable special prosecutor and a favorable grand jury. Repeatedly there have been two or more special grand juries investigating vote frauds at the same time.

(5) The incumbent state's attorney tries to capture the services of the attorney general, who is in a position to take charge of as many grand juries as are in the field at any given time.

(6) When the dominant party is in the process of splitting into factions and factional bipartisan alliances occur, there is great activity in vote fraud investigation, with all the jockeying and maneuvering to capture the control of election machinery and prosecution and to secure advantageous publicity. This activity has seemed more often, in the past, to have as its aim factional advantage in political battle rather than the impartial suppression of vote frauds.

(7) The actual frauds that can be legally proved are committed by underlings. They refuse to testify as to the identity of their superiors in the conspiracy and it is, therefore, always impossible to convict the "higher-ups." The underlings under the gag of silence are usually sentenced for contempt of court by the county judge. Where prosecution is undertaken in a criminal court, it fails in a large number of cases because of lack of evidence. The political bosses furnish the money and attorneys to fight the cases, but they are seldom or never implicated by the testimony.

(8) The earlier centers of vote frauds were the areas in which dives, saloons, "flops," and rooming houses abounded, and the homeless or transient man was available in large numbers as purchasable votes. This area was increased by the new immigration into territories dominated by political manipulators of the previous generations. Later, foreign leaders were developed under the tutelage of the earlier crooked politicians. In all of the foreign districts there have always been great numbers of immigrants who would stand aloof from politics because of what they regard as "low-down" local leaders and their crooked methods. The registration and the voting in these wards has always been small compared to the total population, and largely limited to the controlled vote. When racial or national group consciousness can be awakened through conflict situations, the politician can turn out a large number of legitimate votes.

(9) The young of the immigrant groups, beginning with the child at play

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in the street, were assimilated uncritically into all of the traditions of the neighborhoods in which they lived. Street gangs were their heritage, conflict between races and nationalities often made them necessary—conflict and assimilation went on together. The politician paid close attention to them, nurturing them with favors and using them for his own purposes. Gang history always emphasizes this political nurture. Gangs often become political clubs.

(10) Through every investigation the most constant element is the connivance of the police, witnessing and tolerating the vote frauds and resisting investigation by refusing to give testimony. Through it all is the evidence that the police defer to the politician because of his power over their jobs.

(11) Slugging and intimidation of voters is a chronic complaint through this entire period. With the advent of bootlegging arose the new phenomenon of the armed wealthy gun chief becoming the political boss of an area.

(12) While every fraud ever committed has been practiced within the last eight years, it can also be said that within the last few years there has been the most effective, impartial fight upon vote frauds through prosecution. For this, civic agencies, supported by private funds, and an honest county judge, impartially driving toward the objective of clean elections should be accredited; the more emphatically because of the disadvantages of the chaotic governmental machinery which the prosecution has to employ and the odds against them in fighting the most powerful political organization in the history of Chicago.

24. *Same: The Technique.* The technique of vote frauds during the entire period can be analyzed and listed under three heads: (a) irregular practices of election officials; (b) irregular activities of party workers; and (c) proceedings subsequent to the announcement of the election returns.

A. Irregular Practices of Election Officials.

1. Padding Registration Books.
 - (a) The insertion of fictitious names in the register to enable fraudulent voters to vote those names on election day.
2. Abuse of the Suspect Notice Provision.
 - (a) Deliberate failure to send notices to irregularly registered persons, fictitious names and other names suggested by independent canvassers.
 - (b) Mailing notices to legal voters hostile to the machine on the expectation that they will neglect to answer the notice and consequently be barred.
3. Substitution of Election Officials.
 - (a) A scheme by which the duly appointed election official is either kidnapped from the polls or intimidated into remaining away, so that a "machine" worker conveniently at hand is given the appointee's place in the polling place. The selection of the new official is made by the judges at the polling place.

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4. Failure to initial ballots.
 - (a) The intentional omission of the election officials' initials from the ballots handed to voters known to be hostile to the "machine," thus invalidating the ballot.
 5. Short-penciling, double marking.
 - (a) A trick whereby the election officials counting the ballots furtively fill in crosses opposite names left blank by the voter, or by double marking invalidate the vote cast by the voter. Double marking is a trick by means of which a vote cast is invalidated by marking a cross opposite the name of the opposing candidate for the same office. Since this can occur even with the *bona fide* voter, there is little chance of detection.
 6. Transposition of Totals on the Tally Sheet.
 - (a) The apparently innocent and entirely plausible error of transposing the totals of votes with the benefit of the error going to favored candidates.
 7. Alteration of Totals on the Tally Sheet.
 - (a) The doctoring of totals while watchers are supposedly present during the count at the polling place.
 8. Wholesale Changes on the Tally Sheet.
 - (a) In the more notorious wards totals are inserted without regard to the number or distribution of votes cast. This requires the connivance of the entire staff and party watchers.
 9. Substitution of Tally Sheets.
 - (a) The substitution of the original sheet marked under the observation of the watchers for a false one marked by "machine" workers in accordance with instructions from party bosses.
 10. Substitution of ballots.
 - (a) The opening of sealed envelopes containing the ballots after they have left the polling place and the substitution of false ballots marked in accordance with the instructions of party bosses.
- B. The Irregular Activities of the Party Workers.
1. Registration.
 - (a) Non-resident vagrants registering under fictitious names and addresses.
 - (b) Making false statement as to length of residence at correct address.
 - (c) *Bona fide* voters of one precinct registering in another as a favor to some political boss in exchange for favors.
 - (d) The actual housing of colonized vagrants for at least thirty days in order to conform with the lodging house law. This enables the ward bosses legitimately to control a large number of actually fraudulent votes.

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2. Pledge Cards.

- (a) The use of pledge cards, obtained before election day, to determine the desirability of unregistered voters to party interests, and if found favorable, the precinct boss somehow manages to have the names inserted after the registration books have been closed.

3. Ballot Box Stuffing.

- (a) Inserting a bundle of ballots already marked into the ballot box before the opening of the polling place.
- (b) Raids on polling places by armed thugs and the stealing of ballot boxes before the count begins.
- (c) The intimidation of election officials during the counting of the ballots while fraudulent ballots are being added.
- (d) The wholesale stealing of a large block of ballots before the opening of the polling place. These ballots are marked and later mixed with the valid ballots at counting time.

4. Irregular Voting.

- (a) Chain system—stringing. The first of a string of voters is given a marked ballot to take into the polling place and place in the ballot box. He brings out with him the blank ballot given him by the clerk, which is again marked by a party worker on the outside and given to the next "stringer" voter, *ad infinitum*.
- (b) Voting for former residents who have left the precinct since registration.
- (c) Voting for registered voters who fail to vote.
- (d) Voting for registered voters who do not appear at the polling place until shortly before closing time. These voters are then refused the right to vote on the ground that they have already voted.
- (e) Removing ballots from the polling place avowedly for the use of bed-ridden voters, but actually for purposes of fraudulent marking.
- (f) Armed sluggers intimidating legal voters into leaving the polls without voting.
- (g) Shooting up of polling places and driving voters from the polls.
- (h) The purchase of votes by faction leaders, both from those who control the repeaters and from those counting the ballots.

5. Kidnapping of Workers.

- (a) This is resorted to when the party worker becomes too loud in his protest against the "machine" in the manipulation of ballots or he is known to be an important, uncompromising worker for the opposition; also so as to instill fear into the opposing party so that their workers will refuse to come out for their faction at future elections.

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6. Open Conflict of Workers.
 - (a) When both factions employ thugs to control the polling place, open warfare sometimes takes place when the thugs of one faction resist the fraudulent practices of the other faction.
 7. Liberation of Arrested Workers.
 - (a) When the police do make an arrest of a fraudulent voter, the latter is usually released, either by armed thugs at the point of a gun, or by deputized bailiffs of the municipal court placed at the polls to insure order, or by a judge who is actively engaged in politics who holds court at the polling place or on the sidewalk, and frees the fraudulent voter by judicial process.
 8. Control of the Police.
 - (a) Forcing the police to do the bidding of the ward boss under threat of demotion or on the promise of favorable mention to supervisors. Usually the policeman is called away from the polls on a ruse while the fraud is being committed. This leaves the police blameless.
 9. Murder.
 - (a) The deliberate assassination of party workers and political candidates of opposing factions where it is evident that such candidates are certain of election.
 10. Support of Business Enterprises.
 - (a) The owners of business profiting by the patronage of the gangs of hoodlums are required to furnish automobiles for the transportation of these fraudulent voters. Once the "hoodlum" is seated in the automobile, he can show little resistance to gangster persuasion.
- C. Proceedings Subsequent to the Announcement of Election Returns.
1. Recounts.
 - (a) As a means of settling factional disputes and to discredit the opposing faction.
 - (b) As a means of keeping the ballots from those seeking to have a recount made by the election commissioners.
 - (c) As a means of keeping the ballots from special grand juries investigating ballot frauds.
 - (d) Refusal by the custodian of the ballots to surrender them to the opposing faction or to the grand jury until compelled to by court order.
 2. Opposition of the State's Attorney.
 - (a) Opposition in the impaneling of a special grand jury.
 - (b) Opposition in the appointment of a special state's attorney.
 3. Opposition by the County Board.
 - (a) Refusal to appropriate funds for a special grand jury or special state's attorney.
 - (b) Injunction in the name of a taxpayer to enjoin the use

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of funds by the special state's attorney, already appropriated.

- (c) Refusal of the County Board to appropriate additional funds for the continuance of the vote fraud prosecution.
- 4. Quashing Indictments.
 - (a) After the indictments have been secured and the funds are exhausted, it is found that the indictments are faulty because of some technicality.
- 5. Challenging the Jurisdiction of the County Court in the Handling of Vote Fraud Prosecutions.
 - (a) Appealing convictions obtained by the County Court.
 - (b) Obtaining writs for the release of convicted vote manipulators but applying to the Circuit or Superior Court with a consequent clash of judges over jurisdiction. The disappearance of the convicted persons pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The long continued and prevailing nature of vote frauds in the river wards is indicated by the nicknames by which persons engaging in the various specialized activities are designated:

- 1. *Stringer*. One who votes by the chain system.
- 2. *Stinger*. An armed hoodlum who sometimes by threats and sometimes by "floater" methods casts as many as one hundred ballots in one day.
- 3. *Floater*. An amateur but usually homeless purchased voter, who votes many times during the day, going from precinct to precinct.
- 4. *Repeater*. One who votes several times in the same precinct under fictitious names or in place of voters who fail to appear.

The repeated difficulties rising out of the election machinery and the technique of frauds, as listed above, are susceptible to correction and specialists in elections should be set to work to improve the election machinery and eliminate election frauds.

25. *Conclusions*. It will not be so simple or so easy a matter to disrupt the friendly relations of politician and gangster. The documents on the Ragen Colts and the testimonial banquet to John (Dingbat) Oberta show this fact unmistakably. These documents were selected from many others to indicate forms of neighborhood sentiment and standards of morality in the areas of vote frauds, far different from those of the lake front residence districts.

In the Dion O'Banion and Al Capone gangs is found a different and more sinister form of relation between the gangster and the politician. Neighborliness and friendly relations recede to the background. Operations in crime and political protection from its consequences are no longer local but city-wide. Immunity is no longer obtained by friendship, but from graft. Organized crime and organized political corruption have formed a partnership to exploit for profit the enormous revenues to be derived from law-breaking.