

THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE PENDERGAST MACHINE

By EWING YOUNG MITCHELL

Former Assistant Secretary of Commerce (In New Deal Little Cabinet, 1933-1935)

THE FOUR HORSEMEN.

Horseman No. 1: Tom Pendergast, Supreme Boss, who wielded more power than many crowned heads: Sent to the Penitentiary.

Horseman No. 2: Johnny Lazzia, controlled the police and organized crime—boot-leg liquor joints, gambling dens, bawdy houses and opium dives: Sent to the Penitentiary.

Horseman No. 3: H. F. McElroy, City Manager of Kansas City, Missouri, indicted for embezzlement of \$365,000: Died before going to trial.

Horseman No. 4: Harry S. Truman, Presiding Judge of the County Court of Jackson County, Missouri, as a result of a stolen nomination: Sent to the United States Senate.

Described below are some of the lesser lights of the Pendergast machine:

5: Matthew S. Murray, W. P. A. administrator for Missouri: Sent to the Penitentiary.

6: R. Emmett O'Malley, State Superintendent of Insurance: Sent to the Penitentiary.

7: Waller W. Graves, Prosecuting Attorney of Jackson County, Missouri: Disbarred by the Supreme Court of Missouri for malfeasance in office, indicted for the same offense: Died before going to trial.

8: Otto P. Higgins* Chief of Police of Kansas City, Missouri: Sent to the Penitentiary.

9: Charles V. (Charlie the Wop) Carollo, in charge of gambling and north side district leader: Sent to the Penitentiary.

10: Mrs. Frances S. Ryan* boss of the 12th Ward: Sent to the Penitentiary.

11: William J. McMahan, City Building Commissioner: Sent to the Penitentiary.

12: Angelo Donnici, "Mayor of Ninth Street": Sent to the Penitentiary.

13: Charles Gargotta, notorious gangster and politician: Sent to the Penitentiary.

14: Dr. D. M. Nigro, Commissioner of Communicable Diseases: Sent to the penitentiary.

And there are others.

WORDS FROM THE BIBLE

Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly they are ravining wolves.

Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?

Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Every tree that bringeth forth not good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Matthew 7:15-20

RECAPITULATION

Recapitulation of the above named leaders of the Pendergast machine:

Sent to the Penitentiary 11

Died while indictments were pending against them 2

Through stolen nomination sent to the United States Senate 1

Total 14

F - L - A - S - H

TRUMAN SUFFERS FROM LAPSE OF MEMORY

Truman Talks In California

Says He Never Asked Pendergast Support

Scandal Did Not Involve Machine Until Years After He Entered Senate

By The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 16—Senator Harry S. Truman, Democratic vice-presidential candidate, today told a reporter that he never had sought the support of the Pendergast political organization in Missouri and that “scandal” did not involve the organization “until three or four years after I entered the Senate.”

Truman's remarkable statement in California has upset the plan I had for writing this article. I had intended to take up the “Horsemen of the Pendergast machine” in the order of their importance. But Truman's statement is so astonishing that I will deal with it

first.

On the extended trip over the country he is now making, he has undoubtedly been informed that the people in all sections are learning that he was created by Boss Pendergast both as County Judge and Senator and has been completely controlled by him during his services in those places. Now, seeing the danger, he attempts to disown his close association with the Boss and his machine.

Truman makes two statements:

1. He says he has never sought the support of the Pendergast machine.
2. He says scandal did not involve the Pendergast organization until three or four years after he entered the Senate.

In connection with the second statement three dates should be clearly borne in mind:

- (a) Truman entered the Senate on March 4, 1935.
- (b) Three years after Truman entered the Senate was March 4, 1938.
- (c) Four years after Truman entered the Senate was March 4, 1939.

Truman attempts to camouflage when he speaks of the "Pendergast political organization in Missouri". Boss Pendergast was, in the last analysis, the whole organization. It is certain that without the Boss' consent Truman never would have been County Judge or Senator. George Creel, ardent New Dealer and partisan of Truman, in an article on Truman in a recent issue of Collier's Magazine, says Truman was made County

Judge in the first instance because the Boss' nephew asked him to give Truman the job.

As to his selection as the candidate of the Boss for Senator, the newspapers said at the time that the Boss had shopped around a good deal for a candidate, and four men had refused his support, before he got around to Truman. The job Truman had ased for was County Collector, the best paying job in the County. Truman had gone broke in the haberdasher business and there were judgments against him which he wished to pay. For eight years Truman, as County Judge, had been a good and faithful servant of the Boss so the latter, no doubt, feeling Truman should have something, and not having found a candidate for the Senate, handed it to him.

Whether Truman asked the Boss for his support for Senator is entirely beside the question—he accepted his support knowing what it involved.

FOUR SCANDALS THAT TRUMAN WOULD NOW LIKE TO FORGET

The Kansas City Union Station Massacre—June 17, 1933.

The Bloody City Election In Which Four Were Killed—March 27, 1934.

The Primary In Which The Senatorial Nomination Was Stolen for Truman —August 7, 1934.

The Conditions Described In The St. Louis Post-Dispatch—December 9, 1934.

THE KANSAS CITY UNION STATION MASSACRE

The Union Station massacre in Kansas City, the morning of June 17, 1933, produced headlines in every daily paper in the United States. Five men were killed and two wounded.

A noted gangster, Frank “Jelly” Nash, who had escaped three years earlier from Leavenworth prison where he was serving 25 years, was being returned to prison by Special Agents Frank Smith and F. L. Laskey and Chief of Police Otto Reed, of McAlester, Oklahoma. At the train, in the Union Station, they were joined by Special Agents R. E. Vetteri and R. J. Caffery and Kansas City police officers, W. J. Grooms and Frank Hermanson. Nash was known as a very bad man with desperate men as his friends and the officers feared an attempt might be made to rescue him.

The seven officers escorted Nash out of the Union Station to cars in waiting. That their fears were well founded was shown in a few minutes. Three noted

Note the date, more than four months before the fake primary at which the nomination for Senator was stolen for Truman, and nearly a year before he became Senator. Bear in mind also that 86,000 ghost votes were used in this election. The official records of the Kansas City Board of Election Commissions, which I have, show the registration in 1934 was 252,334 and that in September 1944 it was 165,765, showing a padding of 86,569 votes. These ghosts were purged by an honest Election Board, appointed by Governor Stark, Democrat, and headed by Edgar Shook, Democrat. If the ghosts had not been used in this election the Pendergast machine would have been beaten by more than

27,000 votes. Following is the account of the election published in the Kansas City Star the next day:

AS THE AP SEES IT

The Story of Kansas City's Election, as Sent Ail Over the World

LANDSLIDE FOR MACHINE

"Big Tom Pendergast's Machine Wins," the News Summary Starts Out

FOUR DEAD, MANY SLUGGED

Fusionists Lose Mayoralty; Gain Two Council Seats; Democrats Get Six

The following is the Associated Press report sent out all over the country, depicting in the words of a news dispatch the election in Kansas City yesterday.

KANSAS CITY, March 27.—Big Tom Pendergast's Democratic machine rode through to overwhelming victory today after a blood-stained election marked by four killings, scores of sluggings and machine gun terrorism.

A drive by Citizen-Fusionists, led by Dr. A. Ross Hill, Democrat and former Union gunmen, Pretty Boy Floyd, Verne Miller and Adam Richetti, friends of Nash, had planned to deliver him. Two of the killers had machine guns and the other an automatic pistol. Miller approached the officers' car and demanded Nash. As he gave the order Nash tried to get out of the car and W. J. Grooms, a Kansas City detective, opened fire. One of the bullets from Groom's pistol struck Floyd in the shoulder. Immediately all three of the gangsters opened fire, the two machine gunners raking the car, killing Nash, the prisoner, and officers Grooms, Herman-anson, Reed, Gaffery, and wounding two others. According to newspaper reports, on evidence developed later, the three killers remained in Kansas City that day and until the next night, under the protection of Johnny Lazia, who was a friend of Miller. That night they were escorted out of the city by a guard furnished by Lazia, and in a fast car he gave them which had recently been stolen in St. Louis. The car was found later near Cleveland with a dead man in the back. University of Missouri president, to oust "Little Tammany" from control of the city failed by a wide margin. Hill, running for mayor, got only 81,749 votes against 141,117 for the regular Democratic incumbent, Mayor Bryce B. Smith.

TWO FUSIONISTS TO COUNCIL The fusionists scored two gains, however. They

elected Frank H. Backstrom and D. S. Adams to the council. The Pendergast forces swept the other six council seats, as well as two municipal judgeships.

The total vote of 222,866 smashed all records, being greater even than the 1932 presidential vote.

The election day dead:

Deputy Sheriff Lee Flacy, 35, slain by invading gunmen near a precinct in which there was a factional Democratic fight.

William Finley, Negro, Democratic precinct captain, shot in a gun fight with men who attacked a Negro Democratic election judge.

P. W. Oldham, bystander, shot in the gun fight involving Flacy, died later.

Larry Capps, wounded in same fight. Died later.

A FEW OF THE INJURED Among the injured:

Mrs. Violet Sprague, fusionist worker. She said several bones in her hand were broken when two men called her from home and beat her with a blackjack.

John J. Griffin, Democratic precinct captain, knocked down.

Dr. Arthur H. Wells, fusionist candidate for council, slugged.

Lloyd Cole, fusionist worker, slugged. Justin D. Bowersock, reporter for The Kansas City Star, slugged.

An unnamed clerk and challenger. Fusionists said they were beaten with baseball bats.

Fusion leaders charged that the police made no attempt to arrest the hoodlums responsible for the real terrorism.

seat. Later Floyd was killed by G-Men, Miller by gangsters and Richetti was given a death sentence for the murder of Officer Hermanson.

Johnny Lazia was one of the principal leaders of the Pendergast machine at that time; he was in charge of police and organized crime. He had a wide acquaintance with the leading gun-men and gangsters of the country. Because Lazia furnished them police protection Kansas City became the hideout of many of the country's desperate criminals. I rate Lazia as Horesman No. 2 of the Pendergast Machine. The reader will find more about him further on in this article.

The Union Station massacre was a scandal of immense proportions—it shook the Pendergast machine from center to circumference. This scandal occurred nearly two years before Truman went to the Senate, but he cannot remember it at this time.

SCORES OF SLUGGINGS REPORTED

Reports of scores of sluggings poured into police stations. Women were among the dozens injured. Fusionists said ten men armed with guns and bats terrorized voters in the same district in which Deputy Flacy met his death.

The tide of victory swung so conclusively to the Pendergast men almost from the start that early last night, The Kansas City Star printed an extra with the headline:

“The Machine Sweeps In.”

The fusionists, composed of Republicans and Democrats, had hammered away at Pendergast, long-time political boss. They charged his forces made millions in graft, practiced political racketeering and kept ex-convicts on the police force.

The victory made the Pendergast forces one of the few entrenched municipal organizations to survive a wave of upsets that have swept the country.

WHAT OTHERS COULDN'T DO

Pendergast did what the regular leaders in New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and other cities were unable to do —stay in power.

On hearing reports of widespread violence, Charles P. Woodbury, a Republican leader and supporter of the fusionists, asked Governor Guy B. Park to call out troops “to stop further murder and bloodshed.” The governor conferred with election officials and expressed confidence that available forces could prevent further disorder.

The Kansas City Star posted an offer of \$5,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the sluggers of its reporter, Bowersock, and Dr. Wells, who had charged during his campaign that politics crippled the General hospital. They were riding in a motor car when attacked. Bowersock said gunmen pursued him from the scene of the assault to the entrance of The Star building.

THE BLOODY CITY ELECTION IN WHICH FOUR WERE KILLED

THE PRIMARY IN WHICH THE SENATORIAL NOMINATION WAS STOLEN FOR

TRUMAN ANOTHER SCANDAL WHICH TRUMAN NOW SEEKS TO FORGET—THE

GREATEST OF THEM ALL — WAS THE STEALING OF THE SENATORIAL NOMINATION FOR HIM.

That steal was so thorough and complete that “half of the Pendergast crowd was speechless over Truman’s unexpected success.” The steal was so great that Pendergast’s expert election thieves were amazed at the result.

It was the greatest of all the Pendergast scandals because that steal landed Truman in the United States Senate and may, if he is elected next month, land him in the White House.

NOTHING SO SHAMELESS Federal Judge Merrill E. Otis in a charge to a Grand Jury said: “It is doubtful if anything as shameless as this ever existed before in America.

It has been proved that men die here in Kansas City just as they do elsewhere. They are buried and monuments placed for them but they do not wholly die. It has been proved here that the same man at the same time may vote in two, three, yes, even a dozen precincts.

It has been proved here that a man may move to Chicago, New York or Shanghai and still vote here. It has been proved here that ballot boxes have been stuffed.

CRIMINALS IN CHARGE It has been proved here that citizens have trooped to the polls and have cast their ballots for the candidates of their choice, yet their ballots have been seized, mutilated, forged and counted by criminals for other candidates. And those criminals have been assured of protection.

It has been proved that police officials assigned to the polls to protect the rights of citizens have shut their eyes to crime and even in some instances have participated in those crimes. It has been proved that men and women with criminal records have acted as ballot officials.

It has been proved that thugs and hoodlums have gone to election places to put fear into honest election officials. Honest election officials have been threatened with death and driven away from their posts to their homes.”

Senator Bennett Champ Clark Said in 1934 That Truman Had Been Under Complete Control of Boss.

At the outset of his remarks directed at the Kansas City machine, Clark made it clear

he would not handle this campaign with gloves on,

“It seems my old friend Judge Harry S. Truman finds it easier to abuse me than to set forth his own qualifications,” said Senator Clark. “His opening speech at Columbia, which was attended almost exclusively by a mob from Kansas City (in fact I am informed the natives looked over the crowd to see if Dillinger was there), by a lot of state employees ordered out by their superiors as a condition to holding their jobs and herded over in busses like trucks carrying cattle to market, was largely an attack on me.

“Harry fears that some one from the eastern part of Missouri may undertake to set up as a boss. Harry Truman fears a boss in Missouri—God save the mark! Harry places the intelligence of the Democrats of Missouri so low and estimates their credulity so high that he actually went into great length in promising the people that if elected to the senate he would not set up as a boss or undertake to dictate to anybody.

No Accusation of Bossism.

“Why, bless Harry’s good, kind heart— no one has ever accused him of being a boss or wanting to be a boss and nobody will ever suspect him of trying to dictate to anybody in his own right as long as a certain eminent citizen of Jackson County remains alive and in possession of his health and faculties.

“The suspicion as to Harry is to the contrary. It has probably never yet occurred to anyone that Harry would be able to control my vote or that of any one else, but the fear which lurks in everyone’s mind is that if elected to the senate Harry would not be able to have vote than he had as presiding judge of any more independent control of his own the county court of Jackson County. In view of the judge’s record as subserviency in Jackson County it would seem that his assurances against any assumption of boss-ship are a trifle gratuitous to say the least.”

From a speech at Washington, Missouri, July 11, 1934, as printed in the St. Louis Star.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

‘KICKED UPSTAIRS’

BY TOM PENDERGAST Judge, Broke, Wanted County Job in the Money, But So Did Another

Special Dispatch to the Globe-Democrat.

KANSAS CITY, MO., August 10.— Harry S. Truman, Democratic nominee for the United States Senator was “kicked upstairs.” Half the Pendergast crowd are speechless over his unexpected success.

Truman had been a district and a presiding County Judge for ten years. The pay originally was \$3500 a year. Then it jumped to around \$6000. He was broke, unable to pay a judgment against him. Having had his second election as presiding judge he was not entitled to another nomination. He asked to be made County Collector. That place pays from \$25,000 to \$30,000 a year, in fees.

There seemed to be no way to deny him, as the organization owed Judge Truman too much. He had been kind to them in the way of oil and other contracts.

Another Wanted Job

In the Pendergast organization there is a man named George Harrington. He is the organization fiscal agent, handles all the funds.

Harrington cast an eye on the rich Collector’s office. He told Pendergast he would like to have it. Four years meant anywhere from \$100,000 to \$120,000.

That was why Judge Truman wanted it. He thought it was time for him to make a little money.

The matter of the senatorship came up. At first reluctant, Truman at last yielded. It is understood he was told that if he ran and was defeated, the organization would back him later for the Governor’s nomination. With this second string to his bow Truman decided to make the race.

And he won!

ANOTHER SCANDAL TRUMAN WOULD LIKE TO FORGET!

On Sunday, December 9, 1934, just a month after Truman’s first election to the Senate and while Truman was still County Judge, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a page article entitled “KANSAS CITY, Where Crime and Racketeering Flourish, ‘Permitted by Men of High Authority’.” The article was written by that paper’s distinguished feature writer, Spencer R. McCulloch, after a visit to Kansas City. The editorial printed below was the result of the article, which described Kansas City as the widest open and

wickedest city in the United States if not in the world. The editorial was accompanied by one of Fitzpatrick's famous cartoons entitled "The Plight of Kansas City" and represented the city in the clutch of a giant fist marked "Crime And Politics." Being an active politician and office holder it is reasonable to assume that Truman saw this article and editorial but, if so, they conveyed no news to him. Every citizen in Kansas City at that time knew the full truth of the frightful conditions they describe. Following is the editorial:

A CHALLENGE TO MISSOURI A Frenchman, touring the United States some time ago, stopped off at Kansas City. When he recovered his breath, he pronounced it "the wickedest city in the world." That, admittedly, is covering a lot of territory. Now a Post-Dispatch reporter, after seeing the sights of Kansas City and talking with many persons, and delving deep, has submitted the result of his observations. The story of Kansas City, as told in the Post-Dispatch today, may or may not affirm the Frenchman's sinister superlative, but it is an appalling picture of a once gay, fine and splendid city.

The moral and civic destitution of Kansas City may be explained in a sentence. The underworld has got the upper hand. Organized lawlessness is the law. An irresponsible political machine, concerned solely with spoils, is in full, terrifying control.

Rackets of all kinds flourish. Saloons boastingly proclaim, "We never close." Gambling houses operate without pretense of concealment. All the games contrived by the art of chance are there, on a scale of play to accommodate piker and plunger. The poor are quite as privileged to lose their money in Kansas City as the rich. The democracy of corruption knows no caste. The unbolted doors swing a welcome to everybody. Night clubs boom riotously. The oldest profession beckons boldly. The business of stealing automobiles is an important industry. It is so diligently conducted that insurance rates against the liability of theft in Kansas City are almost prohibitive.

We have listened to the visiting Frenchman and the reporter. Others may be heard. A Federal grand jury's report to United States District Judge Merrill E. Otis recounts all these distressing conditions in an accusing summary and declares, in conclusion:

The whole situation ... is one we believe is undoubtedly known to and permitted by

many men holding places of high authority and continues down to and includes many men holding minor offices. . . . This jury has been greatly handicapped by the fear of witnesses to tell the truth . . .

A kindred document—the report of the Jackson County grand jury, a year ago—recited a similar narrative. The foreman of that grand jury, Russell F. Greiner, characterized the grand jury as “a gesture at law enforcement.” He quoted the late Circuit Judge Page as advising his jury that “it need expect no help from the police department.” In his opinion, the decent citizenship of Kansas City is helpless. He believes the situation is a State problem which can be remedied only by the enactment and enforcement of laws, providing for voting machines and permanent registration, insuring honest elections.

That Kansas City elections are a travesty, with accompaniments of terrorism and ragedy, is another item in this long and dreadful bill. A reform movement that became formidable enough to threaten the machine’s domination in the election last April was crushed under the violence of thuggery which piled up a score of four fatalities and numerous casualties.

And there is, of course, the Union Station massacre in June of last year with a tally of four dead, when outlawry attempted to rescue a fellow gangster en route to Leavenworth. Here was rebellion, in miniature, perhaps, but an assault, nevertheless, on the Federal Government, with a sequel of dark and daring villainy. In the sequel appears an underworld figure of public enemy proportions, charged with having directed the Union Station attack on the Federal officers, with having managed the escape of the gunmen, while the police kept hands off under instructions assertedly issued by superior officers.

Lazia is dead, shot down in a gang war, but before he died he had become involved in an income-tax prosecution, in which the power and extent of his criminal atrapy have been disturbingly revealed. In Lazia’s behalf, lawyers of national repuation called on departmental Washington, and Pendergast himself, head of the Kansas City Democratic machine, wrote a letter to Post-master-General Farley bespeaking the latter’s good offices in terms of emotional appeal.

It is no exaggeration to say that the shadow of Tom Pendergast now falls across the whole length and breadth of Missouri. His nod makes Governors and United States Senators, by the puissance of his Kansas City machine that produces votes in whatever quantity desired. Pendergast has enslaved Kansas City.

Is Missouri to become the hinterland of Tom Pendergast?

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU SAID LAZIA ONE OF FIVE FAMOUS GANGSTERS

On March 4, 1935, the very day Truman entered the Senate, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau had a radio interview, over the Columbia Broadcasting System, in which he said Johnny Lazia was one of five of the famous gangsters his men wanted to “get”. The interview follows:

“ANNOUNCER: Will you tell us something about the police activities of the Department, Mr. Secretary?

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU: There are six Treasury units whose job it is to protect the revenues and monies of the Government.

They are the Secret Service, the Customs Service, the Coast Guard, the Narcotics Bureau, the Alcohol Tax Unit, and the Intelligence Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

These agencies wage unceasing warfare by land and sea and air against criminals who conspire to cheat Uncle Sam—and who, when they succeed in cheating Uncle Sam, cheat you and me as well. Our men combat a particularly vicious and heartless breed of public enemies— tax evaders, counterfeiters, smugglers, bootleggers, racketeers, gamblers and dope peddlers. Besides defrauding the Government, these criminals sell poisonous liquor, pass bogus money, prey on the poor and profit by the weakness of their fellow man. You have every right to be proud of the courage and loyalty your Treasury agents display in fighting these criminals.

ANNOUNCER: What are some of the famous cases which they have developed or solved, Mr. Secretary?

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU: I cannot, of course, go into details for obvious reasons. To publicize their accomplishments would be to warn present and potential evil-doers. But I can speak of cases which have been “closed”. It was

our Internal Revenue agents who sent Al Capone to the penitentiary, and jailed pretenders to his crown in other cities. When I came to the Treasury there were five famous gangsters on the Intelligence Unit's list of "men to get". One by one they have been eliminated—John Lazia, the Al Capone of Kansas City, Leon Gleckman, leading racketeer of St. Paul, Waxey Gordon, of New York, leading beer baron of the East, Murray Humphreys of Chicago, successor to Capone, and Dutch Schultz of New York, notorious liquor runner charged with many crimes."

So, all on the same day, while one prominent member of the Pendergast machine was entering as a member of the United States Senate, the Secretary of the Treasury was congratulating the country on the fact that another very prominent member of that plunderbund had been convicted and was on the way to prison.

TRUMAN IF ELECTED WILL HAVE ONE CHANCE IN FIVE TO BECOME PRESIDENT

Truman Has Nearly One Chance in Five to Be President

Out of 31 presidents the country has had 6, or 19 1/3%, have died in office. The following tabulation gives the details:

Name	Date of Death	Time in Office	Succeeded by
William Henry Harrison	1841	1 month	John Tyler
Zachary Taylor	1849 1 year,	4 months, 5 days	Millard Fillmore
Abraham Lincoln	1861 4 years,	1 month, 11 days	Andrew Johnson
James A. Garfield	1881	6 months, 15 days	Chaster A. Arthur
William McKinley	1897 4 years,	6 months, 10 days	Theodore Roosevelt
Warren G. Harding	1921 2 years,	4 months, 10 days	Calvin Coolidge

DETAILS OF HOW THE SENATORIAL NOMINATION WAS STOLEN FOR TRUMAN, AND MISSOURIANS ROBBED OF THEIR BIRTHRIGHT

Senatorial Nomination Boldly Stolen For Truman

In the primary in 1932 there were fifty- six democratic candidates for Congress running at large. Among these was Congressman John J. Cochran, who had represented a St. Louis district in Congress for seven years. He had a state-wide acquaintance. He was a leading democrat and a very popular man. He was friendly with the Pendergast machine. Of the fifty-six candidates Cochran ran second in the state

and third in Jackson County. He was elected to Congress in November of that year leading the highest of the other twelve democratic congressional candidates by 9,654 votes.

Two years later, in 1934, Cochran was the chief contender against Truman in the primary for United States Senator. Note the difference in the vote Cochran received in Kansas City and Jackson County in 1932 and 1934.

	Jackson County	Kansas City	Total
In 1932	9,896	82,972	92,868
In 1934	304	1,221	1,525
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Difference	9,592	81,751	91,343

The votes returned for Truman and Cochran in Jackson County, including Kansas City, in 1934 were:

	Jackson County	Kansas City	Total
Truman	17,349	120,180	137,529
Cochran	304	1,221	1,525
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Truman's plurality	17,045	118,959	136,004

To Nominate Truman 116,000 Votes Were Stolen For Him

It is certain that every ghost vote was cast and counted for Truman and that thousands of votes cast for Cochran were stolen from him and counted for Truman. Assuming Cochran was entitled to only one-third of the number he received in 1932, in addition to the 1525 the machine allotted him, or 31,000 votes, and there were 85,000 ghosts voted, a total of 116,000 were counted for Truman to which he was not entitled.

The following shows the vote of the whole state as returned for Truman and Cochran:

Truman 276,850
 Cochran 236,105
 Truman's plurality 40,745

The following shows the vote of the state with the exception of Jackson County, including Kansas City, as returned for Truman and Cochran:

Cochran 234,580

Truman 139,321

Cochran's plurality 95,259

If the 116,000 ghost and stolen votes be deducted from the total returned for Truman from the whole state the result would be:

Returned for Truman 276,850

Less ghost & stolen votes 116,000

Real votes cast for Truman 160,850 So, as a matter of fact, Cochran defeated Truman by about 75,000 votes:

Returned for Cochran 236,105

Actually received by Truman 160,850

Cochran's plurality 75,255

Truman Accepts The Stolen

Nomination

If Truman, who knew full well the nomination had been stolen for him, had declined the nomination the Democratic State Committee, which had the authority, would no doubt have selected Cochran to fill the vacancy. But notwithstanding every metropolitan newspaper man and every person giving any attention to politics, including Truman, well knew the nomination had been stolen for him, Truman accepted it, was carried along with the Democratic landslide that fall, elected, and served the term of six years in the Senate which, including the \$60,000 salary, by right belonged to Cochran.

In November, 1934, the whole democratic state ticket, including Truman for United States Senator, was elected by 260,000 majority.

Thus, by the nod of a corrupt Boss, Truman, a county judge, unknown to the people of the state, totally devoid of any experience in state or national affairs, was catapulted into the United States Senate, Cochran robbed of the office and the electors of Missouri robbed of their franchise.

Truman Lacked 5,539 of Majority in County in 1940

If any one thinks the returns from Jackson County, including Kansas City, of the primary vote for Truman in 1934 reflect his real standing in that county he should examine the vote given him in 1940, after he had served six years in the United States Senate, and was running for reelection.

In the 1940 campaign he was opposed by Governor Lloyd C. Stark and United States District Attorney Maurice M. Milligan, both of whom were violently opposed to the Pendergast machine, and who divided the vote opposed to Truman. This division gave Truman a great advantage but, at that, he failed by 5,539 votes of getting a majority in Jackson County, including Kansas City (the returns showed he carried it two years before over Cochran by 136,003), and he failed by 119,387 votes of securing a majority in the state at large. He defeated Governor Stark by the plurality of 7,976.

The vote in Jackson County, including Kansas City was:

Truman	49,974
Milligan	29,446
Stark	26,067
Total	105,487

This vote was taken, it should be remembered, after the ghost vote had been purged, after honest judges and clerks of election appointed, and when several of the machine leaders were incapacitated on account of they were in the Penitentiary.

Truman Lacked 119,387 of Majority in State in 1940

The vote in the state at large was:

Truman	268,557
Stark	260,581
Milligan	127,363
Total	656,501
Truman's plurality	7,976

Cochran Said He Knew Just Exactly What Happened to Him In His Race for the Senate

In the latter part of 1936 I looked into the vote returned for Cochran in Jackson County, including Kansas City, when he ran for Congressman-at-large, in 1932, and for Senator against Truman, in 1934. The figures were the same as quoted in this article.

Following is a copy of my letter to Cochran enclosing a tabulation clearly showing the nomination was stolen from him, and a copy of his reply:

Friend Jack:

I have always had the impression that you would have been nominated for United States Senator in 1934 if you had not been counted out in Jackson County.

I have just been looking over some figures in the Jackson County primary votes in 1932 and 1934 and my opinion is more than ever confirmed. Of course, I know you are familiar with these figures but I am sending you the enclosed tabulation on the theory you may not have considered them in just the way they are set out in the tabulation. I thin it is greatly to be deplored that the high office of United States Senator can be delivered by a few election crooks.

With best wishes for the New Year, Sincerely yours,

Ewing Y. Mitchell.

My dear Friend:-

I appreciate your letter of the 26th together with the memorandum.

Of course I know just exactly what happened in my race for the Senate. There was absolutely nothing that I could do to change the result.

With kind regards and heartily reciprocating your good wishes, I am Sincerely yours,
John J. Cochran.

District Attorney Milligan Convicts 278 Election Crooks

As a result of the very able prosecutions of District Attorney Milligan 278 election crooks were sentenced—in 13 jury trials 63 were convicted, 36 pleaded guilty, 160 entered pleas of nolo contendere, and 19 nolle prosequi. No defendant was acquitted by a jury or court. The sentences ranged from terms in jail to 5 years in the penitentiary and in fines up to \$1,500. The fines totalled to more than \$60,000. Twelve of those convicted appealed eight cases to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and then to the United States Supreme Court, and they lost in both courts. Miligan made a notable record in these cases—one that any lawyer would be proud of.

The Pendergast machine, WHICH IS FAR FROM DEAD, with its affiliates among the court house rings of the state, took a heavy revenge on Edgar Shook in the 1944

August primary, when he was a candidate for Governor. He finished a poor third. As is usual, in such cases, the good people of Kansas City and the state who had been so greatly benefited by his long years of unceasing fight on the machine, often endangering his life by his activities, were asleep or forgetful. A machine politician, like an elephant, never forgets.

BRIEF HISTORY OF TEN PROMINENT PENDERGAST MACHINE LEADERS

No. 5: Matthew S. Murray, W. P. A. Administrator For Missouri, Gets Two Years in the Penitentiary.

Murray was chief engineer for the Missouri state highway commission for a considerable period. He favored the construction companies in which Pendergast was interested. While he was holding this place there was pay roll padding in his department. He was taken to Kansas City and made Director of Public Works, on February 15, 1926, at 8,000.00 per year. He favored the Pendergast companies in the most outrageous manner.

The Kansas City Star said editorially: "Murray holds the most powerful political job the Federal government can bestow in Missouri, with authority over 100,000 people."

The Boss did not want to lose Murray's influence as Director of Public Works of Kansas City, so it was arranged for him to continue to hold that job. An assistant was appointed at \$4,500.00 per annum to do his work.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said: "Pendergast aid gets Missouri Works Post. M. S. Murray of Kansas City named by Hopkins to direct \$120,000,000..00 program."

Murray was convicted of evasion of income taxes. He had failed to turn in large sums which he had received as "gifts" from the managers of Pendergast's construction companies at Christmas and other times. He was sent to the Penitentiary for two years. No. 6: R. E. O'Malley, State Superintendent of Insurance, For Evasion of Income Taxes, Sent to the Penitentiary.

O'Malley was for years one of Pendergast's most prominent stooges. He was prominent in state politics. He served on the Democratic State Committee and as a presidential elector. He accepted a bribe from Pendergast of \$62,000.00 to agree to the compromise of a suit involving \$10,000,000.00 which the state had against numerous

fire insurance companies. He carried out the part for which he accepted the bribe and the compromise, very favorable to the companies, was ordered by the court. Later all the details of the bribe leaked out and the compromise was set aside. O'Malley did not include the bribe money in his income tax return and was sent to prison at Leavenworth.

No. 7: Waller W. Graves, Prosecuting Attorney for Three Terms, Removed From Office and Indicted For Neglect of Duty.

Graves was hand-picked by Boss Pendergast as were all officers of the county during his reign. He failed to prosecute thousands of violations of the state law concerning election frauds, gambling and vice of all kinds, and several murder cases in which Pendergast's henchmen were involved. The scandal became so great Governor Stark, Democrat, directed the Attorney General of the state to bring an action in the Supreme Court for his removal from office for neglect of duty, and the Supreme Court ousted him. He was indicted for the same offense but died before going to trial on the indictment.

No. 8: Otto P. Higgins, Director of Police of Kansas City, Paid \$68,500.00 For Protecting Vice, Gets Seven Years In The Penitentiary.

Higgins was a lawyer. He served as Director of Police five years. Charles V. Carollo paid him \$1,000.00 per month to protect gambling and other vice from raids by the police. Edward L. Schneider, an employe of one of Boss Pendergast's companies, paid Higgins \$7,500.00, which Higgins said was paid him by direction of Pendergast. He pleaded guilty to income tax evasion. He served two years in prison and was put on probation for five years.

District Attorney Milligon said, in presenting his case to the court: "The acceptance of this money collected by Carollo and paid to the defendant, money derived from almost every possible form of violation of the civil and moral law, reveals a depth of venality and corruption in public office without a parallel in the history of Kansas City."

No. 9: Charles V. (Charlie The Wop) Carollo, Collected Blackmail From The Gamblers, Gets Four Years In The Penitentiary.

Carollo was an alien who had been refused naturalization. He was convicted of using the mails to defraud, perjury and income tax evasion. He was charged with

evading income taxes amounting to \$246,-

659.00 for 1935-1938. His specialty was collecting blackmail from the gamblers.

During the rule of Pendergast he was an important figure. He had immediate access to the office of City Manager H. F. McElroy and the offices of other city and county officials. The Kansas City Star said: "When Judge Albert L. Reeves impaneled the grand jury last January he gave instructions that the group should look into the rich rakeoff, running in the old machine days as high as 12 million a year, (that fell into the gaming pots operating under the jurisdiction and watchful eye of Boss Tom Pendergast."

The Star said it understood many Pendergast machine appointments to the police department were dictated by Carollo. He controlled a large block of votes and his word was law to his northside followers.

No. 10: Mrs. Frances S. Ryan, Boss Of The 12th Ward, Gets Three Years In The Penitentiary.

Mrs. Ryan was the only major political woman worker in the city; she was in charge of the 12th ward for the Boss.

Mrs. Ryan was convicted by a jury and appealed her case to the United States Supreme Court, to no avail.

No. 11: William J. McMahon, Democratic Precinct Captain and City Building Commissioner, Gets Three Years In The Penitentiary.

The following is taken from the Kansas City Star:

William J. McMahon, Democratic precinct captain, who bossed proceedings in the twenty-third precinct of the first ward election day, November 3, 1936, announced the results soon after the polls closed and the clerks entered them in the records, Harry King, Republican election judge, testified in the federal court today.

Only a few Republican ballots were counted, he said, and no count was made of the Democratic ballots. Prior to that, he said, many Republican ballots had been made Democratic by erasures in the Republican column and new cross marks in the Democratic circle at the head of the ticket.

No. 12: Angelo Donnici, Dope Ring Leader And "Mayor of Ninth Street", Gets Eight

Years In The Penitentiary.

Angelo Donnici, "Mayor of Ninth Street," Also Fined \$7000 in U. S. Court.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 6 (AP)^- Angelo Donnici, who the Government charges headed a large narcotic ring here, was sentenced to eight years in prison and fined \$7000 today by United States District Judge John Caskie Colet.

The proprietor of a saloon in the shadow of the temporary Federal Building, Donnici, 64 years old, is known as the "Mayor of Ninth Street."

No. 13: Charles Gargotta, Gangster, North Side Leader, Gets Three Years In The Penitentiary.

Gargotta was a pal of Lazia and was the latter's lieutenant on the North Side. Gargotta was caught at the scene of a gang murder, and fired pointblank at Sheriff Bash, but his case dragged along for six years. He was given 27 continuances, most of them by Prosecutor Waller W. Graves. Then Graves dismissed the case. Judge Allen C. Southern instructed the Grand Jury to reindict Gargotta. By this time Pendergast was in the Penitentiary and charges were pending against Graves. Gargotta saw the jig was up and pleaded guilty, and was given three years in the Penitentiary.

No. 14: Dr. D. M. Nigro, Commissioner of Communicable Diseases, Gets Twenty Years In The Penitentiary.

Dr. Nigro was also a "sanitary inspector" for several years at a salary of \$2,296.00 per year. This was no doubt one of those complimentary positions, and there were many of them, and probably no services were rendered for the salary paid. He was a henchman of the Pendergast machine and for many years was prominent in machine activities on the North Side.

The following is an editorial from the Kansas City Star:

The Nigro Conviction

Dr. D. M. Nigro has been found guilty by a jury in the federal district court of conspiracy to violate the law governing the sale of narcotics and of two illegal transactions in morphine. At the time these crimes were committed Dr. Nigro was still Kansas City's commissioner of child hygiene and communicable diseases.

The Harrison anti-narcotics act is intended to protect society against one of its major

scourges, addiction to the use of drugs. Violation of this law is no technical offense. It produces terrible consequences in human suffering and degradation. Yet the man who here stands convicted on three counts was not merely a private citizen or even a physician engaged in private practice. He was a responsible officer of our municipal government.

Dr. Nigro's conviction, therefore, adds one more name to the list of faithless public servants who disgraced this community in the days of machine dominion

THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE PENDERGAST MACHINE

HORSEMAN NUMBER ONE

Boss Pendergast was the supreme over- lord, the King, and of course was Pendergast Machine Horseman Number One. He controlled everything. He named the mayor of Kansas City and the members of the council. He named the city manager. He named all the county officers, the County Court, collector, county clerk—all of them—and he dictated the appointments of all the 5,500 employees. The principal officers of the city and county were "elected" by fake elections in which 86,000 ghost votes were voted and the election judges and clerks made the returns ordered by the Boss or some henchman representing the Boss.

Boss Pendergast Pleads Guilty And Goes To Pen

In May, 1939 Boss Pendergast pleaded guilty in the United States Court to an indictment charging him with federal income tax evasion and was sent to the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

The main item of income which Pendergast failed to report consisted of \$315,- 000, which was paid him by the agent of several fire insurance companies for bribing R. E. O'Malley, a henchman of his, who was then State Superintendent of Insurance. O'Malley was paid a bribe of \$62,500 by Pendergast, did not turn it in on his income and went along to Leavenworth with him. There was \$10,000,000 involved in a suit pending between the State of Missouri and the fire insurance companies and for these bribes O'Malley agreed to put a compromise through the courts which was very favorable to the insurance companies. O'Malley did this, but the whole transaction leaked out and

the compromise was set aside. A total of \$750,000 had been promised Pendergast but only \$440,000 (in cash) was paid. Of the latter amount \$62,500 was paid to a go-between. When the compromise was set aside the companies refused to pay Pendergast the balance of \$310,000 promised him.

His hobby was betting on horse races. In one year he bet \$2,000,000.00 and finished the year with a net loss of \$600,- 000.00. For years he conducted a race track just across the Missouri River from Kansas City. The authorities never interfered with the betting which was openly carried on there in violation of the state law.

HORSEMAN NUMBER TWO

Because control of the police was absolutely essential to the maintenance of the Pendergast machine, I rate Johnny Lazia as Horseman Number Two. Without control of the police fake elections could not have been held and without control of the police organized vice, which paid such great dividends, could not have existed. Lazia had control of the police and control of organized crime in Kansas City.

And who was Lazia? For highway robbery (a gentle vocation) in Kansas City he was sent to the Missouri Penitentiary for 12 years. After 8 months, while the governor was absent from the state, he was released from prison by the Lieutenant Governor, a Democrat, acting in the governor's absence.

Lazia had charge of all the rackets; no one could run a racket without first "fixing" him. One of his own was his soft drink racket. He made a soft drink called Golden Mist and no dealer was permitted to sell any other soft drink. Any place which hesitated to obey his order was bombed, or would have its license to do business revoked. Pendergast's company sold a beer which was forced on the public. At ball games and the races nothing was allowed to be sold except Golden Mist and Pendergast's beer. These were only two of many rackets. "Protecting" cleaning establishments and other businesses from being bombed by his own men was a rich source of income. It was said his "take" amounted to a million a year.

Lazia was indicted, later convicted and was sentenced to one year in the jail of Christian County and one yeyar in the jail of Gentry County. This was on February 28, 1934, more than a year before Truman became a senator.

On July 10, 1934, Lazia was assassinated in a gang warfare. Among his last words were: "Tell Tom Pendergast I love him." Charles V. Carollo was Lazia's body guard and was driving his car when he was killed. He succeeded Lazia as boss of the northside tough district. Lazia's funeral was one of the most ornate ever held in this country. Flowers cost an immense sum and thousands of people lined the streets as the cortege passed.

Lazia's tragic death, his bizarre funeral, and his leadership in the scandalous, criminal conditions then prevailing in Kansas City, made the headlines over the country. That was a year before Truman became Senator, not three or four years after, as he stated in Los Angeles, but he cannot remember those things now.

HORSEMAN NUMBER THREE

I rate H. F. McElroy as Horseman Number Three because he was city manager of Kansas City and in complete charge of its activities, subject to the orders of the Boss. Just a week after Pendergast was indicted he resigned and soon after took to his bed. A short time after he was indicted for embezzling \$365,000.00 he died.

After McElroy's resignation a terrible condition of mismanagement and corruption in the city's affairs, was uncovered. R. E. O'Malley, who was then the head of the city water department, quit, Otto P. Higgins, Director of Police, quit after his department had been accused by Governor Starke, Democrat, of protecting a \$20,000,000.00-a-year gambling racket. It was found that \$356,500.00 had been paid by the water department to a "dummy" firm, at the rate of \$5,000.00 per month, to check water leaks; more than 100 employees were dropped from the pay roll of the water department. B. W. Gnefkow, who was Pendergast's secretary and betting commissioner, and who drew \$160.00 per month as a "sanitary inspector", was cut off the pay roll. Gnefkow told a Federal grand jury the Boss had recently won \$40,000.00 in five weeks, on the races, and had lost \$70,000.00 in the month of November.

McElroy maintained an "emergency fund" which amounted to more than \$5,843,000.00 in seven and a half years. It was made up of money taken from bond funds. Accountants could not trace where much of it went. It was understood the Boss and other machine leaders got a good part of it. The city recovered \$200,000.00 from

the bonding companies on account of losses in this fund.

Policemen, firemen, and all other city and county employees, were compelled to contribute to "campaign funds." After the fall of McElroy the police and all others were required to make sworn statements of the amount each contributed. In 1938 the total was \$450,000.00, of which the county employees contributed about \$75,000.00. The lug for the police averaged \$104.00 per annum.

Only \$210,479.00 reached the treasurer of the Democratic County Committee. What went with the balance of \$239,521.00 could not be ascertained. It was assumed the latter amount reached the pockets of the Boss and other machine leaders.

HORSEMAN NUMBER FOUR

I rate Harry S. Truman as Horseman Number Four because he was in charge of the administration of the affairs of the county. Jackson County, including Kansas City, is one of the wealthiest and most populous in the United States. Truman was presiding judge of the County Court. True, there were two associate judges but he was the controlling influence. The number of county employees ran from 1,200 to 1,500 according to the political exigencies of the times. The county distributed several millions annually and in addition, during Truman's service, \$60,000,000.00, which had been voted through fake elections, was spent on the roads and court houses. A large part of this vast sum went into the pockets of Pendergast's numerous construction and material companies. If the "take" from this fund had not been entirely satisfactory to the Boss he would not have supported Truman for Senator.

Truman was the fifth man to whom the Boss had tendered his support for Senator, former Senator James A. Reed, Congressman Joseph B. Shannon, Charles M. Howell, former Democratic state chairman, and James P. Aylward, chairman of the democratic county committee, all had refused Pendergast's support for the place before it was handed to Truman.

When the Democratic National Convention, in July of this year, nominated Harry S. Truman, of Jackson County, Missouri, for Vice-President of the United States, it turned a great calcium light upon him.

The best way to learn the true nature of a man is to ascertain the character of those

with whom he is closely associated over a long term of years. The best way to learn the true nature of an office holder is to ascertain the character of the influences which made his political career possible.

Truman, before an AFL meeting, in Kansas City, on September 26, 1944, said: "I am a Jackson County organization Democrat and proud of it! THAT IS THE WAY I GOT TO BE A COUNTY JUDGE, A SENATOR, AND THE CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT."

"As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." —Proverbs 23:7.