

## TRUMAN'S FIRST NOMINATION FOR SENATOR WAS STOLEN

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The first nomination for United States Senator of Harry S. Truman was stolen. This has never been denied. It cannot be successfully denied as the election figures given below clearly prove.

Truman was first nominated for United States Senator in the Missouri primary in August, 1934. At that time Jackson County, Missouri, including Kansas City, was in the clutches of the Pendergast democratic machine, the most corrupt, the most brazen, gang of thieves who ever looted an American city. Its power was derived from complete control of the elections held in Kansas City and Jackson County.

The machine's control extended not only to all offices in the city and county, and the millions of dollars spent by them annually, but into the economic life of the community as well. It had several corporations through which it transacted a tremendous amount of business, including The Ready Mixed Concrete Company, Midwest Paving Company, Midwest Pre-cote Company, Midwest Asphalt & Material Company, a fire insurance company, a wholesale liquor company, an oil company and a soft drink company, to mention only some of them.

### The Machine Forced Its Wares On The People

No citizen was allowed to use anything built of concrete not bought of the Ready Mixed Concrete Company. A house built of other concrete was closed by city inspectors and its use refused to its owner. The owner of a lot desiring to build an oil station could not get a building permit from the city council until his tenant had signed an agreement with the Pendergast oil company to buy all his oil and gas from it as long as he was in business. An employee in the County Clerk's office told me that the County Court, (known in many states as the Board of County Commissioners) had that year, while Truman was presiding judge, paid the Pendergast oil company for enough oil, supposedly to be sprinkled on the unpaved roads of the county, to sprinkle the highways from Kansas City to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The machine's soft drink company made a drink called Golden Mist, the sale of which it forced upon restaurants and other places. A truck would stop before a business place

and the thugs in charge would go to unloading the Golden Mist. The proprietor, running out to learn what was going on, would be told by the thugs: "Here is the Golden Mist you ordered."

The proprietor would declare he had never ordered any and the thugs would reply: "You will pay for it right now or your business will be padlocked." To avoid being put out of business, and perhaps a beating besides, the proprietor would pay.

A large circus arriving in Kansas City found it could not unload because the way was blocked by trucks. An appeal to the police was in vain until the circus bought a thousand dollars of Golden Mist, then all obstruction was removed.

A prominent doctor remarked to me that he and every other business man in Kansas City was completely at the mercy of the Pendergast machine and, explaining, said: "If the machine even suspected my loyalty I would be arrested for traffic violations every morning and the water would be cut off from my home and office."

#### Gambling Dens and Bawdy Houses Ran Openly

Kansas City was a wide open town. Gambling and bawdy houses operated openly. During the prohibition era, 1919 to 1933, liquor dives ran openly every day in the week including Sunday. Some of the favored cafes were permitted to use waitresses in the nude. Representatives of the machine regularly collected blackmail from these places—its take-off for keeping police from interfering.

For eight years prior to his entry into the United States Senate, in 1935, Truman had been Presiding Judge of the County Court. This so-called court had no judicial functions; it was the body which controlled the affairs of the County, such as levying taxes, issuing licenses, employing the personnel of fifteen hundred, building roads, disbursing several million dollars annually, etc.

#### Truman Hand-Picked By Boss For Senator

Truman held this office entirely as the result of the benign ukase of Boss Pendergast. During those eight years there was no part of the county government which did more than this body over which Truman presided to keep the corrupt machine in power. According to newspaper accounts at the time, in 1934, Truman went to the Boss and asked that he be given the office of county collector, the best paying office in the county, saying there were judgments against him, resulting from the failure of his haberdasher

business, which he wished to pay. The Boss told him he had applied too late, that the office of collector had been handed out but that the office of United States Senator was open and Truman might have that if he liked. Truman, considerably aghast at the prospect, finally concluded to accept the offer and entered the primary.

#### Very Dangerous To Oppose Machine

During the years of the early thirties there was practically no opposition to the machine—it was dangerous to life and limb and business to oppose it. For years Boss Pendergast had one hundred thousand votes, mostly ghosts, which he could place just as he pleased. Very few candidates for state office would fail of nomination if he supported them. He would support a democrat or a republican for Governor as best suited his interest. Governors supported by the Boss would permit him to dictate the appointment of his henchmen as members of the Board of Election Commissioners. The law provided that election judges and clerks should be equally divided between the two leading parties. Many of the judges and clerks appointed by these Pendergast Commissioners in the guise of republicans were in fact democrats, others were republicans on the pay roll of the city or county, other republicans were bribed by cash by the machine. Those republicans who could not be bought were threatened with great bodily harm and even death if they refused to sign the election returns desired by the machine. It was well known that the machine's gangs of thugs would cruise over the city on election days for the express purpose of terrorizing and beating up election officials who would not sign the election returns desired by them. Hence the result was that for years returns were made in all the precincts of the county, with very few exceptions, just as the Boss wanted them. These conditions, with which all politicians were familiar, were fully known to the law officers of the county but since they were creations of the Boss and were his henchmen, they did nothing about them.

#### Election Returns Made By Blue Print

At the time of Truman's first nomination for Senator the machine gave little attention to how many voters actually voted or the candidates they voted for— these factors were ignored. The machine was only interested in the size and nature of the returns made. The machine had reduced election returns to an expertness never equalled in this country before or since. In fact, making the returns was a simple matter of following a

blue print as the following votes returned for Judges Fitzsimmons and Leedy, who were candidates for the Supreme Court at the election of 1934, will show.

When an election is held with any semblance of honesty the popularity or unpopularity of a candidate in his home county always shows in the returns. Judge Leedy had lived in Kansas City for years; Judge Fitzsimmons lived clear across the state in the city of St. Louis. It would naturally have been supposed that Judge Leedy would run ahead or behind Judge Fitzsimmons in Jackson County according to his standing in the county. There were 545 voting precincts in Jackson County, including Kansas City, and here is the way these two candidates for the highest court in the state ran in over half thousand precincts, in 1934:

Jackson County Complete

Fitzsimmons for Supreme Court

Division 1 179,004

Leedy for Supreme Court

Division 2 179,003

So expert election crooks, in returning over 179,000 votes, made a difference of only one vote between these two judicial candidates.

After every census the Congress reapportions, according to population, the representatives in Congress among the states. In 1930 Missouri had sixteen congressmen but on account of the change of the basis for the apportionment the Congress, in 1931, reduced the number to thirteen. It then became the duty of the Missouri Legislature to pass a Congressional, re-districting bill, reducing the districts from sixteen to thirteen. But the Legislature failed to re-district the state, and, as a result, Missouri's thirteen congressmen had to be nominated and elected at large in 1932.

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
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
Truman's plurality	17,045	118,959	136,004

In 1932 Cochran received an average of 170 votes to the 545 precincts; in 1934 the machine allowed him less than 3 votes to the precinct while Truman was allotted an average of 252 votes.

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

After the 1934 election the Kansas City Star and a civic committee set about quietly to get evidence of the machine's crookedness in elections. It was learned that there were thousands of names of men and women who had been dead for years still on the registered list of voters; other thousands of fictitious names were registered from vacant lots, vacant buildings, boarding houses and hotels and still thousands of others who had registered more than once—often ten, twenty or thirty times each—known as “repeaters.”

As stated, for years the Pendergast machine had had complete control of the Board of Election Commissioners and this padding was the result. Democratic Governor Stark's Election Board Purges 85,000 Ghost Votes

Governor Stark, a democrat, appointed an honest Election Board, headed by Edgar Shook, a democrat, which proceeded to purge the list. This was a slow process and

required considerable time. The number of names which were stricken from the list and who failed to re-register because of the election frauds prosecutions was estimated as high as 90,000. The following is an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on the subject:

#### “MISSING: 85,000 GHOSTS

“In the general registration held in Kansas City last week, an estimated total of 178,000 names was placed upon the books. In the registration for the presidential election of 1936, the total was more than 263,000 names. In other words, 85,000 ghosts have disappeared from their usual haunts.

An interesting figure—that 263,000. As we pointed out in an editorial of October 1, 1936, it represented 63 per cent of Kansas City’s population. By comparison, St. Louis had a 1936 registration of 429,847 or approximately 51 per cent of total population.

The new registration figures reflect, first, the series of vote fraud trials conducted by Federal Judges Reeves and Otis, which have resulted in many convictions and no acquittals; second, the appointment by Governor Stark of an Election Board free of Pendergast control. It is these things that have caused the rats of the Pendergast machine to run to cover. It is these things that have caused 85,000 ghosts to evaporate in a little more than two years’ time.

And while the Federal Government and an independent Governor are acting to make Kansas City elections honest, Kansas City officials who took an oath to enforce the law have not instituted a single prosecution.

What a shameful business it is!”

#### 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.

Under the law of Missouri Cochran was the only person who could have contested Truman's nomination. To do this the 139,054 votes returned in Jackson County would have had to be recounted at considerable expense to be paid by Cochran. More important was the prospect Cochran faced of having Pendergast throw his 100,000 votes against him in the election and thus bring about his defeat. He did not anticipate at that time that the landslide democratic majority in the election would be 260,000. Even so, if Pendergast had transferred his 100,000 votes to the republican nominee Cochran

would have been left only 60,000 majority which could have easily been absorbed by Pendergast's followers in St. Louis and other parts of the state.

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.

District Attorney Milligan, Democrat, and F. B. I. Prepare Cases

The evidence concerning the election frauds was presented to Maurice M. Milligan, United States District Attorney, a democrat, and he was asked to prosecute those guilty. Milligan found that only the state election laws had been violated but he ascertained that the election frauds had violated a federal law, which reads as follows:

"If two or more citizens conspire to injure any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution of the United States, \* \* \* they shall be fined and imprisoned."

Milligan set out in a masterly way and, with the assistance of the F. B. I., prepared the evidence on a large scale.

United States District Judge Albert L. Reeves delivered a stirring charge to the grand jury which continued for two hours; he recounted instances in which city employes, policemen and others had conspired to deprive voters of their rights of franchise, he said:

Federal Judge Reeves Denounces Election Crooks

"The right to vote in America is a precious birthright. Police were present in more than one case, and some of the crimes were committed by employes on the city pay roll.

"In one instance an employee on the city pay roll and not an election official went to a polling place and seized it. That man told judges and clerks what to do and how to do it. He informed the duly constituted election officials that there would be no count of the ballots. He took the ballots that had been cast and altered them. He changed them from the party of the voter's choice to the party of his own choice.

"At the end of the day a woman election judge protested. The man, with a policeman present, rushed to the woman and said to her: 'You will sign the return or you will be taken for a 1-way ride.'

"That man deprived voters of a sacred right. It is a page from the Middle Ages. It is

only one instance.”

### 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 \$1500. 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. Milligan made a notable record in these cases-one that any lawyer would be proud of.

### There Was a Reign of Terror In Kansas City

In sentencing some of the defendants Judge Reeves said: “There is a reign of terror in Kansas City.

“A score of businessmen have mentioned to me that in Kansas City they do not dare take an attitude against conditions. They tell me that there are secret influences that will militate against their businesses. They say there is a system of espionage and they dare not vote their sentiments. The espionage of Kansas City is such if it were known they voted ‘wrong’ there would be a secret boycott against their business, their tax assessments would be raised and their businesses would be driven out of the city.

“Judges are subjected to a reign of terrorism We are compelled to stop the use of our\* telephones, yet still we are threatened almost daily and are victims of outrageous abuse and profanity. How long will this reign of terror continue in Kansas City, that forces businessmen to go on like mummies? How long? This terror that drives businessmen to secrecy and seals their lips. These floods and tides of abuse that sweep into the judges homes.

“It seems to me, the time has come for business men and citizens to stand up against this reign of terrorism, to stand against these things that have brought shame to our city. We need men and women who will stand up and take their punishment, if need be, so that we may have that most precious boon—the right to cast our votes and have them counted as cast.

“The indictments brought forth horrible facts. These men and women have struck at

the very pillars of our republic.”

Tainted Titles To Stolen Offices Then Judge Reeves turned his attention to the feelings of those officials who hold office as a result of the 1936 general election.

“Every person elected then had support that did not belong to him, that made imperfect his title to office,” he said. ‘ I wonder how the men in public office would answer the question, ‘How do you feel, after testimony showing thousands of ballots counted for you did not belong to you?’ ‘How do you feel about accepting ghost votes, in having them counted for you?’ Those are questions that would embarrass all officials elected in that election. They hold office by tainted and impaired titles of office. That is the effect of these votes that were cast.”

The lives of Judge Reeves and Judge Merrell E. Otis, who also presided at several of the trials, were repeatedly threatened.

The Kansas City Star, which had given much assistance in exposing the election frauds, said in the editorial following:

#### CITIZENS CAN END IT

“There is an obvious and ready means of ending the Kansas City conditions described by Judge Reeves yesterday in sentencing the persons convicted in the latest election fraud trial. It is inconceivable that the thousands of honest citizens of this community would longer tolerate a system of which the election fraud itself was a product.

But Judge Reeves pointed to other conditions—to fear on the part of businessmen that their businesses would be injured or destroyed if it were known that they were against the machine; to fear that tax assessments would be raised; to espionage, and to threatening telephone calls and other harrassment of federal judges themselves—that are equally intolerable with the stuffing of ballot boxes and the stealing of votes that deprive citizens of their rights at the polls.

The way to end all that and to restore decency to Kansas City is to register and to vote. And this can be done without fear. The new election board not only is able to guarantee honest registration and voting, but to afford protection to the men and women who desire to cast their ballots in accordance with their conviction. The whole job can be done, and done thoroughly.”

The evidence accumulated by Milligan and the F. B. I. showed literally thousands of violations of the state election laws. The state authorities could have had the evidence for the asking. The State Attorney and most of the judges had been elected by Pendergast and were completely under his influence. Not a single violation was prosecuted in the state courts.

As the election fraud cases were drawing to a close, Milligan's term of office expired. On the recommendation of Senator Bennett Champ Clark he was nominated by the president for another term. Truman violently opposed Milligan's reappointment.

Truman and Boss Confer On Milligan's Reappointment In a Washington dispatch to the Kansas City Star it was stated:

"Truman returned to his office today after a trip to Kansas City and St. Louis. While in Kansas City he conferred with Thomas J. Pendergast, the democratic political leader there, and they discussed the Milligan appointment.

"After the conference, Pendergast announced that anything to be said regarding Milligan would be by Truman on the floor of the senate, leading to the belief that the senator would actively oppose the reappointment. Milligan's first term expired today."

Truman Denounces Milligan And Grand Jury

Milligan's nomination came before the Senate February 15, 1938. Truman said he was against vote stealing and thought election crooks should be punished. He said the Grand Jury was hand-picked and their attitude ascertained in advance; that democrats were being railroaded to the penitentiary. He made no mention of the fact that the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court had approved the prosecutions. He further said: "I have never thought and do not now think that Mr. Milligan is qualified for the position of district attorney for the Western District of Missouri. He is not professionally qualified nor is he morally qualified. My opposition to Mr. Milligan began long before vote fraud cases were brought to fight in Kansas City. His moral and political thinking never appealed to me. Because the President asked for him I have not attempted the usual senatorial prerogative to block this nomination."

Senator Bennett Champ Clark said he had known Milligan "for 25 years and have the fullest confidence in him." He said when Milligan was originally appointed "the Department of Justice selected him from a number of eminent Missouri lawyers" any one

of whom would have been satisfactory to him.

#### Senator Bridges Exposes Election Frauds

Senator Bridges exhibited to the Senate two pictures taken in Kansas City, one of a residence at 912 Tracy Street where 141 voters were registered and one of a vacant lot at 700 Main Street where 112 were registered. He said in 1936 Ward 2 in Kansas City had a registration of 23,524 and a population of 18,200, showing 5,324 more registered voters than people in the ward; that in 1936 the registration in the wards of Kansas City was 263,934 and that two years later, in 1938, after the election fraud prosecutions, the registration was 177,506, a decrease of 86,428. Truman made no comment concerning these figures.

Senator Bridges also called attention to the conviction of Alfred Hendrix, who had been district director of the W. P. A. for 16 Northwest Missouri Counties, for pay roll padding; he was fined and sent to jail. Senator Bridges called attention to the further fact that Hendrix was Truman's campaign manager for Northwest Missouri in his race for Senator in 1934.

The Senate took a voice vote on confirming Milligan's nomination and, according to the newspapers, every Senator present voted for the confirmation except Truman.

#### The Grand Jury Denounces Truman's Charges

The members of the Grand Jury resenting the implications of Truman concerning them made a report to the Court saying:

"Your grand jury desires to go on record as resenting the statement that it is a 'hand-picked' grand jury, and that its attitude was ascertained by the court in advance. Your grand jury reports that no person ever at any time approached any member of this grand jury in an attempt to learn its attitude regarding vote fraud prosecutions or any other crime. Your grand jury resents the suggestion that it is a partisan body seeking the conviction of Democrats alone and states that on the contrary seventeen of its total of twenty-two members are Democrats themselves and that only five of its twenty-two members are Republicans. Your grand jury declares to this court that its only thought is to see that all persons, regardless of their affiliations, political or otherwise, who are guilty of criminal offenses, shall be indicted and says that the statement that it is a 'hand-picked' body, and the insinuation that it is a partisan body, are absolutely untrue.

“Your grand jury further reports that in its efforts to proceed in its investigation with fairness and impartiality, and desiring to learn whether the statement, ‘Convictions of Democrats is what they want,’ was true, has informed itself by an investigation of the public records and has learned that such statement was and is untrue, and that the true facts are as follows:

“Grand juries have indicted a total of 181 persons for vote frauds. Of this total, 111 persons were Democrats, and seventy persons were Republicans.”

Rex Allaman, who was foreman of the Grand Jury, is a well known Missouri democrat and is now and for several years has been a prominent Democratic office holder.

The following is an editorial from an independent newspaper, the Springfield (Missouri) News and Leader, concerning Milligan’s confirmation:

#### MISSOURI’S ‘DEMOCRATIC PARTY’ GOES TO JAIL

“We now have Thomas J. Pendergast’s conception of the ‘democratic party.’ It has been given us by United States Senator Harry S. Truman, who, of course, is nothing more and nothing less than the voice of Mr. Pendergast. The Kansas City vote fraud prosecutions, the senator declared in Washington Friday, are in reality only persecutions. It looks like he (United States Attorney Milligan) is trying to put the whole democratic party in jail.

In the mind of Mr. Truman men who illegally marked ballots, who erased votes legally cast, who stuffed into the ballot boxes votes of people who did not exist, who disregarded the votes cast to report totals wholly false, who crammed the boxes with ballots they had marked in some back room, who padded the registration lists with fictitious names, who, in every conceivable way, sought to deprive the citizens of Missouri of their most sacred right of franchise constitute the “democratic party.”

We fear, judging from the past and the revolting record that is being written in the Kansas City courts, the senator is correct. The sixty-six election crooks already in the penitentiary or on their way and the scores of others about to follow them have been the “democratic party” in Missouri. It is they who have cast the ballots and who have named our public officers. Voting by the citizenship has been a farce and a fraud.

No doubt this “democratic party” of Mr. Pendergast’s, which the senator fears will be behind bars, would have gone on for years doing our voting for us had it not been for

Maurice Milligan whom Senator Bennett Champ Clark recommended for nomination as United States district attorney. Mr. Milligan, it seemed, was an honest and efficient man. He believes in the franchise of the American citizen and he disapproves of dishonesty and corruption. In fact, he frowns upon all the fundamental doctrines of this "democratic party" Mr. Truman fears is on the wane.

(Continued center next page)

Vote returned for Cochran and Truman for United States Senator in 8 of the 16 wards in Kansas City in August, 1934.

PRECINCT	WARD 1		WARD 2		WARD 3		WARD 4		WARD 9		WARD 10		WARD 11		WARD 12	
	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN	COCHRAN	TRUMAN
1	2	474	0	544	0	448	0	650	0	164	0	230	i	419	3	641
2	0	518	0	453	0	390	0	557	2	372	4	180	2	365	0	305
3	1	676	0	574	0	947	0	248	0	385	4	252	0	404	4	251
4	0	690	0	351	0	269	0	335	0	127	7	176	1	674	0	233
5	2	746	3	696	0	261	0	456	3	133	2	193	1	550	0	365
6	2	729	0	560	2	441	0	385	8	153	2	303	0	510	6	260
7	2	1011	0	511	0	323	0	268	0	458	3	273	1	233	3	206
8	1	667	0	774	0	250	0	342	1	416	5	233	2	442	2	284
9	1	750	0	240	0	254	0	358	1	542	1	189	2	437	0	300
10	1	727	0	457	1	732	0	443	2	168	0	372	0	210	0	214
11	1	660	0	517	0	260	0	540	4	285	2	195	1	400	1	278
12	2	546	8	486	0	406	0	425	2	211	1	200	2	291	0	287
13	4	414	2	358	8	191	0	262	1	103	3	139	4	460	2	234
14	0	648	0	778	0	408	0	223	3	232	2	121	3	337	0	230
15	5	535	2	371	2	222	1	545	4	127	0	206	0	281	2	204
16	2	736	0	645	2	232	1	615	0	510	1	230	4	364	0	189
17	2	877	0	471	2	253	7	630	9	492	0	412	1	374	0	330
18	1	765	0	808	0	204	3	450	0	426	2	199	2	302	0	138

19	2	456	9	675	5	240	2	307	3	207	1	59	2	233	0	223
20	0	692	0	241	0	307	0	213	0	261	1	115	0	388	1	236
21	2	562	0	792	4	432	5	181	2	253	4	138	4	197	2	326
22	4	496	0	719	0	165	2	306	1	240	1	187	2	306	0	250
23	1	554	0	800	1	281	0	302	4	182	6	368	4	465	0	178
24	3	297	0	802	0	136	5	158	1	360	2	467	2	274	1	308
25	1	499	0	393	7	130	7	311	2	194	1	254	7	298	1	175
26	3	392	0	416			12	98	2	353	2	218	2	233	3	166
27	0	591	0	713			8	217	8	392	0	373	2	388	2	263
28	4	468							9	408	0	358			7	160
29	0	309							4	162	0	166				
30											2	161				
Totals	49	17,485	24	15,145	34	8,182	53	9,825	76	8,316	59	6,967	52	9,835	40	7,234

Totals for eight wards in Kansas City: Cochran 387, Truman 82,989\*

The vote for Cochran and Truman in Jackson County outside of Kansas City, in August, 1934:

Township	Cochran	Truman
Blue	114	11,085
Brooking	13	899
Osage	9	691
Prairie	38	859
Sni-A-Bar	35	1,257
Van Buren	14	492
Washington	81	2,066
Totals	304	17,349

Independence, Missouri, the home of Truman, is situated in Blue Township. The election crooks were just as adept in the country districts as -they were in Kansas City.

#### REGISTERED VOTERS IN KANSAS CITY

	In 1934	In 1944	Difference
Ward	21,671	8,462	13,209

1....			
2....	20,097	9,018	11,079
3....	13,845	6,546	7,299
4....	18,534	9,586	8,948
5....	12,043	8,522	3,521
6....	10,460	7,911	2,549
7....	13,933	10,836	3,097
8	17,065	16,882	183
9	14,504	9,234	5,270
10	14,909	10,588	4,321
11	15,226	9,407	5,819
12	16,749	9,666	7,083
13	12,868	9,268	3,600
14	14,632	10,502	4,130
15	19,221	16,089	3,132
16	16,577	13,248	3,329
	<u>Totals 252,334</u>	<u>165,765</u>	<u>86,569</u>

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch was conservative when it said there were 85,000 ghosts missing. The official figures, given above, show the number to be 86,569.

We appreciate that Mr. Milligan has been a traitor to his "Party." He has shown an inclination, as Mr. Truman truthfully declares, of putting its best members in jail merely because they are crooks. Already 50 have been convicted, one has pleaded guilty and 15 have thrown themselves on the mercy of the court. A hundred and twelve others are awaiting their turn. And so the "party" which has no use for men of Mr. Milligan's character, had decreed that he must go. If the "party" is to survive and to continue to govern Missouri it must punish those who prove false to its colors. In gangdom the law of gangdom governs. A man must remain steadfast or else."

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 136,004), 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. (See last page.)  
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

Even with the opposition vote divided it seems certain that Governor Stark would have been nominated if Senator Barkley of Kentucky, the Democratic Majority Leader and mouthpiece of President Roosevelt on the floor of the United States Senate, had not done the unheard of thing of coming to Missouri, mixing in the primary campaign, and making a speech in Truman's behalf.

Of course Barkley knew Truman's background, knew he came right out of Boss Pendergast's vest pocket, but he also knew Truman's record as a New Deal "yes-man"

during his service in the Senate. Evidently Barkley did not want him replaced by a man of independence like Governor Stark or District Attorney Milligan.

It is safe to say that Barkley's speech changed at least 4,000 votes (out of a total of 656,501 votes cast) from Stark and Milligan to Truman which was enough to give him a plurality and the nomination.

#### Senator Barkley Butts In and Gets Told By Milligan

When it was learned that Barkley was coming to Missouri to speak for Truman, District Attorney Milligan sent him a letter containing the following:

"1. What do you think of the discredited Pendergast political machine which defrauded thousands of citizens of Missouri of their sacred right to cast a ballot and have it counted as cast and having been repudiated by the voters of Missouri, is now seeking to stage a comeback through the re-election of Harry Truman?"

"2. Do you think that a senator who was nominated by 50,000 ghost votes and now holds office by virtue of fraud and corruption of the ballot is entitled to re- election?"

"3. Do you approve the conduct of Senator Truman in the senate when he attacked both me and the federal judges of Missouri in his attempt to defeat my confirmation as United States attorney at the time we were investigating and prosecuting the very fraud and corruption of the ballot which sent him to the senate?"

"4. Do you know that the federal government spent years of hard work and expended thousands upon thousands of > dollars in restoring the freedom of the ballot to the people of Kansas City because of the corruption and fraud practiced by the very same corrupt machine which sent Truman to the senate and now seeks to re-elect him?"

THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS OF THE REVISED STATUTES, 1939, OF MISSOURI, SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES:

Section 4475: Receiving stolen goods.—Every person who shall buy, or in any way receive, any goods, money, right in action, personal property, or any valuable security or effects whatsoever, that shall have been embezzled, converted, taken or secreted contrary to the provisions of the last four sections, or that shall have been stolen from another, knowing the same to have been so embezzled, taken or secreted, or stolen, shall, upon conviction, be punished in the same manner and to the same effect as for the stealing of money, property or other thing so bought or received.

Section 4457: Grand larceny—punishment for.—Persons convicted of grand larceny shall be punished in the following cases as follows: First, for stealing an automobile or other motor vehicle, by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding ten years; second, for stealing a horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, mule or ass, by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding seven years; third, in all other cases of grand larceny, by like imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding five years.

#### 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.

Pendergast and O'Malley are now out of prison and Pendergast is on probation. The United States District Court sentenced Pendergast and O'Malley to two years in the penitentiary for contempt of court, for deceiving the court in the insurance cases. They appealed to the United States Circuit Court, which affirmed the judgment. They then appealed to the United States Supreme Court and that Court discharged them on the ground that the action was barred by the statute of limitations.

#### Truman Picked For Vice-President By Roosevelt and City Bosses

In July of this year the Democratic National Convention, meeting in Chicago, had

thirteen candidates for Vice-President placed in nomination before it; namely, Vice-President Wallace of Iowa; United States Senators Bankhead of Alabama, Barkley of Kentucky, Lucas of Illinois, O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Thomas of Utah and Truman of Missouri; Governors Broughton, of North Carolina, Cooper of Tennessee, Kerr of Oklahoma and O'Connor of Maryland; also former Governor McNutt of Indiana, and Justice Frank Murphy of Michigan.

President Roosevelt first wrote a letter, in which he damned Vice-President Wallace with faint praise, saying Wallace is a friend of his and if he were a member of the convention he would vote for him, but did not say he thought he would add strength to the ticket. Later the President wrote a letter endorsing Truman, in which he said he thought Truman would add strength to the ticket. It is fair to assume the President, who knows his politics as well as any one, was entirely familiar with Truman's background, his long and intimate affiliation with Boss Pendergast, and, generally, the type of man he is.

From the list of eminent men whose names were presented to it the convention nominated Truman. His nomination, which was greatly aided by the President's letter, was brought about by the big city machine bosses of the party, Hannegan of St. Louis, Kelley of Chicago, Flynn of New York and Hague of New Jersey.

These bosses had for years been on terms of intimacy with Boss Pendergast and had, in times past, joined with him in influencing Democratic National Conventions. They knew of Truman's obedient and loyal service to Pendergast during his eight years as presiding judge of the county court and afterwards in the United States Senate. They like Truman's type of man, they like the kind of service they know they may depend upon if he should become President.

#### One Heartbeat From The White House

If Truman is elected Vice-President in November he will be just a heartbeat from the White House—a long way for a docile understudy of Boss Pendergast and a creation of his plunderbund and criminal machine to go—it is up to the people of this country to say whether he shall go that far!

The above cartoon was published by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch at a time when Kansas City was making a desperate fight to overthrow the Pendergast machine. Later

Wendell L. Willkie, who was campaigning for President, made a speech in Kansas City in which he said:

“The people of Kansas City in wiping out the Pendergast machine have destroyed one of the cancers in democracy and they should never allow it to raise its slimy head again.”

ANOTHER ARTICLE ON THE PENDERGAST MACHINE COMING.

IN ABOUT TEN DAYS I WILL RELEASE ANOTHER ARTICLE ENTITLED  
THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE PENDERGAST MACHINE.

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:

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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

Angelo Donnici, “Mayor of Ninth Street”: Sent to the Penitentiary.

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

And there are others.

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The above convictions and sentences, except in the cases of Lazzia and Gargotta, were obtained in the United States Court. Lazzia was convicted in the state court of highway robbery in 1914, which was before the reign of King Pendergast. 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, who never kowtowed to the Boss during all the reign of terror but often defied him, the one shining light in the darkness that enshrouded the judiciary during the rule of the Boss, 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.

The fact that many others were not sent to the Penitentiary is no proof of their innocence. Literally thousands of crimes, in violation of the laws of Missouri, went unprosecuted because the Boss had complete control of the law enforcement agencies. These crimes ranged from murder and to the stealing of national and state offices to the sale by force and violence by the machine of its wares to the business men of the community.

The partisans of Harry S. Truman would have it believed that for the 18 years he has been County Judge and Senator he has been an angel in a cesspool of unspeakable vice and corruption, untouched and unpolluted, by his years of close affiliation with the leaders, large and small, of the Pendergast machine. But Truman himself has dispelled this illusion; before an AFL meeting, in Kansas City, on September 26, 1944, he 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." Think of it—Being proud of being a member of the most corrupt political organization this country has ever known!

There is an old Greek proverb which was first used by Homer in the 9th century, B.

C.—now 2,900 years ago. That proverb is just as current and apropos of conditions of life today as it was when first used by Homer. It is:

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER.

EWING YOUNG MITCHELL

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