
SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

DECEMBER 16, 1926.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. REED of Missouri, from the Special Committee Investigating Expenditures in Senatorial Primary and General Elections, submitted the following

PARTIAL REPORT

[Pursuant to S. Res. 195]

On the 17th day of May, 1926, the Senate of the United States passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a special committee of five, consisting of three members selected from the majority political party, of whom one shall be a progressive Republican, and of two members from the minority political party, shall be forthwith appointed by the President of the Senate; and said committee is hereby authorized and instructed immediately to investigate what moneys, emoluments, rewards, or things of value, including agreements or understandings of support for appointment or election to office have been promised, contributed, made or expended, or shall hereafter be promised, contributed, expended, or made by any person, firm, corporation, or committee, organization, or association, to influence the nomination of any person as a candidate of any political party or organization for membership in the United States Senate, or to contribute to or promote the election of any person as a member of the United States Senate at the general election to be held in November, 1926. Said committee shall report the names of the persons, firms, or corporations, or committees, organizations, or associations that have made or shall hereafter make such promises, subscriptions, advancements, or payments and the amount by them severally contributed or promised as aforesaid; including the method of expenditure of said sums or the method of performance of said agreements, together with all facts in relation thereto.

Said committee is hereby empowered to sit and act at such time or times and at such place or places as it may deem necessary; to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers, and documents, and to do such other acts as may be necessary in the matter of said investigation.

The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

Said committee shall promptly report to the Senate the facts by it ascertained.

Thereafter the following committee was appointed under the above resolution, to wit: James A. Reed, chairman; Charles L. McNary, Guy D. Goff, William H. King, Robert M. La Follette, jr.

Said committee held a number of hearings and had before it a great number of witnesses and received and considered a large amount of testimony, both oral and written.

The following is submitted as a partial report of your committee touching the senatorial primary campaign in the State of Illinois:

ILLINOIS SENATORIAL PRIMARY ELECTION

Candidates: Republican, Col. Frank L. Smith, chairman, Illinois Commerce Commission; Senator William B. McKinley. Democratic, George E. Brennan. Primary, April 13, 1926.

The vote received by the candidates for nomination is not complete, due to certain contests and other factors. At the close of your committee's hearings on August 5, 1926, the following figures had been obtained and established to that date:

Smith, 599,599; 5,617 precincts, with 436 precincts missing.

McKinley, 474,617; 4,064 precincts, with 1,989 precincts missing.

The total vote received by Brennan, who was without substantial opposition, was about 200,000.

EXPENDITURES

Nor are the contributions and expenditures on behalf of the senatorial primary candidates, so far as have been ascertained by your committee, to be accepted as final or complete. This is true for several reasons:

(1) The State of Illinois has no statute restricting the amount which may be expended by any candidate, nor any law requiring the candidates or their committees to file a statement of such expenditures. The Federal corrupt practices act has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the Newberry case in so far as the act applies to primary elections, and there is no duty imposed on the candidates or their committees to file with the United States Senate a statement of expenditures. Consequently, no such statements or accounts were officially made public and the total amounts, as drawn from the witnesses, some of whom were reluctant or protested the jurisdiction of your committee, are provisional.

(2) In some instances money was contributed to groups or a ticket of primary candidates for State and county offices who were allied with one of the senatorial candidates. In Cook County, for instance, the Republican faction controlled by Robert E. Crowe and Charles V. Barrett et al., who had previously supported Senator McKinley, put a county ticket in the field, and in a majority of their wards headed that ticket with Frank L. Smith for United States Senator. Indeterminate but considerable sums of money were contributed in behalf of these candidates and expended to aid the entire slate. For this reason, it was considered by your committee pertinent in arriving at the amounts expended to aid senatorial candidates, to inquire into these closely allied transactions.

(3) The lack of cooperation on the part of such organization leaders was discouraged. Robert E. Crowe, of the Crowe-Barrett faction and a Smith supporter, protested the jurisdiction of the committee over these blanket expenditures and refused to state the sums

of money received or from whom received. Particularly, he refused to state whether any part of \$15,000 collected by him in behalf of one of his group candidates had been contributed by Samuel Insull, who had partially admitted previously that he had made a contribution to Mr. Crowe (p. 1850), Edward H. Wright, comember of the Illinois Commerce Commission with Frank L. Smith, whose candidacy he supported, and a negro, likewise declined to state what money his colored organization "raised individually for its own expenses" (p. 1679).

McKinley contributions and expenditures

McKinley personal contributions (approximately)-----	\$350,000
Total minor contributions (estimated)-----	5,000
National Republican Committee of Cook County (Deneen group)-----	159,143
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Total-----	514,143

No itemized statement of the expenditures in behalf of Senator McKinley was produced. According to the best evidence, that of Colonel Green, approximately \$355,000 was expended, and of that amount all but an estimated \$5,000 was contributed by Senator McKinley himself.

Due to the unfortunate and subsequently fatal illness of Senator McKinley, he was unable to appear before your committee. His private secretary, Chester A. Willoughby, who stated that he had charge of the Chicago campaign headquarters, was subpoenaed but stated that he did not know anything about the financial plan of his employer's campaign. He did testify that such funds as he required were received from Henry I. Green, of Urbana, Ill., who was the general State manager for Senator McKinley's campaign, and that he "surmised" that these sums came from Senator McKinley. Colonel Green was thereupon called and testified that, except for small sums, in the aggregate not in excess of \$5,000, the entire financial burden of the primary campaign was borne by Senator McKinley personally.

Senator McKinley's campaign seems to have been loosely and informally handled, as the following passages from the testimony will indicate:

The CHAIRMAN. What are your relations to Senator McKinley?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Private secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held this position?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. I have been with the Senator about 20 years * * * and acting as his secretary the last eight years.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us all about the organization that Senator McKinley set up here.

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. I do not know anything other than the Chicago organization. * * * It was just a sort of a headquarters to meet people from down State as they came in and for the distribution of letters. We got out our own letters up here by multigraphing.

The CHAIRMAN. There was another organization, was there?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it located?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. But not in Chicago. That was down State at Champaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Champaign, Ill.?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of that?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Mr. Green.

The CHAIRMAN. Which Green?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. H. I. Green.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. He is an attorney; the personal attorney for Senator McKinley.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. When you had communications with the State headquarters in regard to finances, with whom did you communicate?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Mr. Green always.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Green the man who handled the money—

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For the State outside of Cook County?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. As far as I know he handled it altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. Altogether?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get money to use in your organization here when you needed it?

Mr. WILLOUGHBY. He would give it to us from time to time as we needed it.

Mr. Willoughby testified that the campaign in Chicago and Cook County was handled by Louis Behan, Roy O. West, secretary of the Republican National Committee, and Senator Deneen. Behan received, according to his testimony, "somewhere between \$17,000 and \$19,000" of the McKinley fund to be used in the wards controlled by the Crowe-Barrett organization of which he was a part, being city committeeman from the fifth ward.

As has been stated, Colonel Green submitted no itemized list or account of contributions or expenditures but stated that he had sufficient data "to show the total amount of money and, in a general way, its distribution." His connection with the campaign and the loose method of its financial conduct are illustrated by the following condensation:

The CHAIRMAN. * * * What was your connection with the last primary in Illinois?

Mr. GREEN. I have been Senator McKinley's personal attorney for about 15 years, and I could not define my position; but Senator McKinley came to my house one day last fall or summer, and we had quite an extended conversation about the probability of his candidacy. In that conversation he said that he would like to have some place—somebody in whom he had confidence—in which things could sort of head up, who in a general way would represent him when he was not here. We talked that over a good deal, and I finally said, "Senator, of course if I could do anything for you, you know I would." He said, "It would be fine if you would"; and so, from that time on, from time to time things did fall to me to do. He said that in the matter of payment of expenses I was pretty familiar with his business, and that he would rather like to have me look after or supervise that part of his campaign, and I said I would.

We discussed something at that time about what we thought it would cost. We thought it would cost about \$60,000; and I shortly thereafter received from him some currency, I think, the first time, and in a little while I had exhausted the \$60,000.

I told him that as the campaign was developing it would take a good deal more than that.

I had in my custody—not in my physical possession, but under my control—various securities that belonged to him. I can not remember the details of it, but in substance he told me to use my judgment in using from those sources as occasion required.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. What were these securities?

Mr. GREEN. * * * Liberty bonds, and * * * stocks and securities of that character, some of them * * * were not exactly in my custody but which he placed at my disposal later on.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us a little more specifically what those securities were?

* * * there was quite a quantity of what we call State bonds issued in connection with the hard-road program—I believe the technical designation is the State issue bonds—and some stock in the Pure Oil Co. I had a large amount of 7 per cent preferred stock of the Electric Power & Light Corporation. * * * A large part of it was Government bonds, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the aggregate of these securities?

* * * * *
 Mr. GREEN. He gave me currency or securities, which I converted, to an aggregate amount, as near as I can determine, which was actually expended, of right at \$350,000. I have still many securities which are in my custody, but that is the amount, about, which I did either convert or which I received from him in currency. * * * He authorized me to use my judgment about disposing of such as I wanted. I received in 1923, in my custody, for him and for people that he represented, probably a couple of million dollars of securities at the time that he sold out his interest in the public utility business.

As has been set out in the tabulation of McKinley contributions and expenditures, the Republican Party of Cook County expended in their campaign the sum of \$159,143. This was spent in behalf of the whole ticket or slate supported by the Deneen faction. According to the testimony of Mr. Roy O. West, chairman of the organization and secretary of the Republican National Committee, \$30,000 of this amount was contributed by Senator McKinley. The net expenditure of the Deneen organization, to be added to the McKinley expenditures, is accordingly \$129,143. The relationship of this faction to the senatorial primary campaign will be dealt with under the general heading in this partial report of "Republican factions in Cook County."

Smith contributions and expenditures

Smith expenditures (including unpaid bills)-----	\$253, 547
Samuel Insull (anti-World Court propaganda)-----	33, 735
Crowe-Barrett expenditures, Cook County (estimated)-----	171, 500
Provisional total-----	458, 782

Again, these do not represent the possible total expenditures on behalf of Frank L. Smith's candidacy. So far as contributions are concerned, your committee was unable to obtain a list of the contributors to the Smith campaign. In fact, the only data which your committee obtained covering this important subject were unwilling admissions made by witnesses as the result of repeated questioning and in reply to specific questions. A great deal of time was consumed in this fashion.

The following contributions were elicited from the testimony of Allen F. Moore, manager of Smith's campaign, Samuel Insull, and Ira C. Copley, and David J. Schuyler:

Col. Frank L. Smith, personal contribution-----	\$5, 000
Allen F. Moore, campaign manager, personal contribution-----	73, 117
Samuel Insull-----	125, 000
Samuel Insull anti-World Court campaign-----	33, 735
Ira C. Copley-----	25, 000
Clement Studebaker, jr.-----	20, 000
Daniel J. Schuyler-----	3, 600
Total-----	285, 452

This list does not tally with the totals expended but represents the best information at your committee's disposal.

The personal contributions of Colonel Smith and Allen F. Moore represent about 25 per cent of the total. Of the remainder, 93 per cent of the disclosed contributions to Frank L. Smith's senatorial primary campaign were made by traction powers and public-utility owners.

Colonel Smith was and is chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, which is empowered by law to fix the rates and control the operation of public utilities in the State of Illinois. Because of this fact your committee gave especial attention to the contributions made by owners and operators of public utilities in the State of Illinois.

SAMUEL INSULL

The estimated total investment in Illinois of the public utilities companies of Samuel Insull is in excess of three-quarters of a billion of dollars. The Insull properties include: Commonwealth Edison Company, The Peoples Gas, Light & Coke Co., The Chicago Rapid Transit Company, The Central Illinois Public Service Co., Public Service Co. of Northern Illinois, The Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee R. R. Co., The Illinois Northern Utilities Co., The Chicago, Aurora & Elgin Railroad Co., Mr. Insull's contributions to the Smith campaign were paid to Allen F. Moore in three payments—two of \$50,000 each and one of \$25,000, and each payment was made in cash.

In addition to this direct contribution, Samuel Insull expended an estimated total of \$33,735 in a campaign against the World Court in Cook County, largely in the foreign-born and negro sections. Colonel Smith's campaign was based primarily upon his opposition to the World Court. Senator McKinley had voted for the Harding-Coolidge resolution of adhesion to the World Court Protocol, and the unanimous testimony before your committee was that this was the principal issue in the senatorial primary. It is fair, therefore, to add this sum to the moneys spent in behalf of Colonel Smith.

Digressing for a moment, it will later be shown that Mr. Insull also contributed \$15,000 to the candidacy of George E. Brennan, Democratic senatorial candidate, who was running in the primaries without opposition. He refused to testify as to whether he contributed a sum of \$10,000 to the National Republican Committee of Cook County, which represented the Deneen group and which was supporting the candidacy of Senator McKinley. He did not, however, deny that he had made a contribution, as the record will show:

The CHAIRMAN. You know we are not just investigating Illinois.

Mr. INSULL. I do not think I have. I have not any knowledge of any such thing. I may have, but I have no knowledge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in evidence here, Mr. Insull, that your money went into the campaign—when you contributed to Roy O. West, as he testified, you knew that Roy O. West was supporting McKinley, did you not?

Mr. INSULL. I thought that they were going to end up by supporting McKinley; but I think at the time I made the contribution I did not know one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you did make the contribution, did you not?

Mr. INSULL. What?

The CHAIRMAN. Then you did make the contribution, did you not?

Mr. INSULL. I take my hat off to you. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell us how much it was?

Mr. INSULL. I am not going to say anything more, Mr. Senator. You see I am not used to being cross-examined. You are too smart for me.

The testimony of Roy O. West referred to is as follows (pp. 1628-1629) :

Mr. WEST. I ought to say in explanation, Senator Reed, that I have been collecting money for campaigns for about 25 or 26 years. I have never kept any books. I have never kept any records. My plan has been to place the money where it was intended that it should go, rather than to keep records which would burden me and would entail the necessity of a bookkeeper or somebody of that kind to attend to it. I wished to keep them out of my own account, particularly since the income tax law, because I did not want confusion as to that. Now, if I must give the names, here they are as I recall them, and I can give you most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WEST. Harrison B. Riley, \$5,000.

Henry I. Green, \$30,000.

Henry Haugen, either \$3,000 or \$2,500. He would give me whatever I asked him for.

William Wrigley, \$2,000.

Robert P. Lamont, \$5,000.

Noble B. Judah, \$9,000. He brought it over without our asking him for it.

* * * * *

Mr. Insull, \$10,000.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Where did Mr. Insull pay you this \$10,000?

Mr. WEST. It was given to me at the Commonwealth Edison offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that his office?

Mr. WEST. Well, I would not say. I rather think Mr. Doyle gave it to me, but I would not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. WEST. Mr. Doyle; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What Mr. Doyle is that?

Mr. WEST. He is connected with Mr. Insull. It may not have been Mr. Doyle; it may have been somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember his initials?

Mr. WEST. I do not know them.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he live here, in Chicago?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it given to you in check or currency?

Mr. WEST. Currency.

The CHAIRMAN. In an envelope?

Mr. WEST. Oh, well, I do not remember as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you solicited it?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with Mr. Insull about it, yourself?

Mr. WEST. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. On that same day or on a previous day?

Mr. WEST. I think on a previous day.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Insull say anything to you about the particular purposes for which it was to be employed?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say?

Mr. WEST. In 1897 I became one of the attorneys of the Commonwealth Edison Co., trying lawsuits. The company was very small. It was the Chicago Edison Co. then. I began investing with Mr. Insull in what was then the Edison Co., and then in his Middle West Utilities, which he later organized, and also in his Public Service Co., which he later organized; and I have had investments in those companies since, as has my wife and as has my mother. We have increased our holdings along in increases of stock, and we now have very substantial holdings in those three companies.

I have always conferred with Mr. Insull as to investments, particularly concerning his own companies and as to politics, during these 25 or more years—

28 years—29 years. I talked with him, he talked with me, months ago, about being for Colonel Smith for Senator. I told him that I did not see how I could be for Colonel Smith for Senator in all the circumstances, and I was not for him. When the conversation about this contribution came up, he said we could have it for local purposes, but that he did not want it used for Senator. "Well," I said, "I know your views on Senator. I am for McKinley and you are for Smith. It will not be used for Senator." I kept faith with him.

The CHAIRMAN. But it went into the jackpot and was dished out the same as the rest of the contents of that pot?

Mr. WEST. Well, no; I would not say that. At any rate, it went into the treasury.

Because of its importance, this testimony is reproduced in full. It will be noted that Mr. West states that the Insull contribution was made in cash.

Ira C. Copley is president of the principal gas works of Chicago, the Western United Gas & Electric Co., and of its holding company, the Western United Corporation.

Clement Studebaker, jr., is president of the Illinois Power & Light Corporation, whose properties are valued at \$163,000,000.

Mr. Studebaker was the purchaser of Senator McKinley's public-utilities holding when he sold them in 1923.

Brennan contributions and expenditures

Total expenditures of George E. Brennan-----	\$20, 841
Contributions:	
Samuel Insull-----	15, 000
John O. O'Brien-----	2, 500
John A. Muldoon-----	500
Total-----	18, 000

Mr. Brennan testified that he paid out of his own pocket the excess of expenditures over the contributions, as above listed.

In connection with the Insull contribution, the following testimony of Mr. Brennan is pertinent:

The CHAIRMAN. Jestng aside, this is a statement of your account?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It shows the total contributions: Samuel Insull, \$15,000; * * *.

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes. I want to say in that connection, Mr. Senator, that the contribution from Mr. Insull he indicated to you, was given to me the day that he left for Europe. He called me up on the phone and said, "Old fellow, don't you want to see me before I go away?" I went over to his office and he said to me, "Don't you need any money for the great Democratic organization of the State of Illinois?" I said, "Oh, we have no serious opposition. I don't contemplate anything; but nobody ever refuses money; and you always need money in political campaigns." He said, "I want to give you something. Of course I am a Republican."

The CHAIRMAN. You were an old friend of his; were you?

Mr. BRENNAN. I have been for years.

Total disclosed expenditures in Illinois senatorial primary campaign

William B. McKinley-----	\$514, 143
Frank L. Smith-----	458, 782
George E. Brennan-----	20, 841
Provisional total-----	993, 766

THE REPUBLICAN FACTIONS IN CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY

The following passages from the testimony of Roy O. West, secretary of the Republican National Committee and chairman of the National Republican Committee of Cook County (the Deneen group in Cook County), may serve as an outline of the various factions within the Republican Party in the city of Chicago and Cook County:

Mr. WEST. I am a committeeman for the Republican Party for the fifth ward of the city of Chicago: and, during the 1926 primary campaign I was chairman of the National Republican Party of Cook County, that being the name given to the so-called Deneen group. We have factions in this county.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I think we have now found the man who can give us a sketch of the different organized groups that were engaged in the campaign in Illinois. Will you please tell us in a general way what the Deneen group was?

Mr. WEST. The Deneen group in the 1926 campaign devoted itself particularly to Chicago and Cook County, there being 50 wards in the city of Chicago and six county commissioners' districts in the county outside of the city of Chicago. We had a ward committeeman for each of the wards, and we had a committeeman for each of the commissioners' districts. That committee opened headquarters at 175 W. Madison Street I should think about the last of January, or early February, and it devoted itself particularly to the Cook County offices, namely the sheriff, the county clerk, the county treasurer. There were the assessors, the board of review, the sanitary district trustees, the municipal court judges. Those were the local offices, there being about 150 names on our Republican primary ballot at that time; and we devoted ourselves particularly to that county campaign.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The Deneen organization, however, is not itself confined to Cook County, is it?

Mr. WEST. Well, we have not much of an organization down State. We are endeavoring to build up an organization down State. We did have an organization down State in the old days. I was chairman of the Republican State committee of five terms, and then we had an organization down State. After 1916 we did not give much attention to down State, but devoted ourselves to Cook County.

The CHAIRMAN. In this last campaign, then, is it correct to say that the Deneen organization functioned only in Cook County?

Mr. WEST. I should say that is correct. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. What were your relations—the relations of your organization—with Fred Lundin?

Mr. WEST. He had his own organization, and we cooperated on certain parts of the ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. What parts?

Mr. WEST. On most of the local ticket—most of it. He had some men that we indorsed, and we had men that he indorsed. He maintained his own organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization was supporting McKinley?

Mr. WEST. We supported McKinley later on in the campaign. We were not organized for the purpose of supporting anybody but the county ticket.

* * *

The CHAIRMAN. Passing now, Mr. West, from the Deneen group, known as the National Republican Party, what other group was there in the Republican Party with which you were contending for supremacy?

Mr. WEST. There was the Crowe-Barrett-Galpin-Brundage-Harding group.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Any others?

Mr. WEST. I think that will cover them.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they call themselves? They did not have as long a name as that, I suppose?

Mr. WEST. They called themselves the Regular Republican Party. I would rather they do their own naming, but that was what I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed you knew how they designated themselves?

Mr. WEST. They claimed that. Of course, we all claimed to be regular.

The CHAIRMAN. Crowe is the present—

Mr. WEST. State's attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. State's attorney, his jurisdiction being the county of Cook?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And a "State's attorney" here is what is commonly referred to as the "prosecuting attorney" in some other States?

Mr. WEST. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. I am now going to ask you to give me, if you will, the full names of each of these gentlemen. We will take Crowe first.

Mr. WEST. Robert E. Crowe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barrett.

Mr. WEST. Charles V. Barrett. He is here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I want to get it in the record, that is all, I know Mr. Barrett and I know Judge Crowe, but I want to get those in the record. Mr. Galpin.

Mr. WEST. Homer K. Galpin.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brundage.

Mr. WEST. Edward J. Brundage.

The CHAIRMAN. Harding.

Mr. WEST. George F. Harding.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Barrett's business?

Mr. WEST. Lawyer; member of the board of review of assessments.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Galpin?

Mr. WEST. Lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he any political connection?

Mr. WEST. Of course; he is very active. He is chairman of their committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But he holds no office?

Mr. WEST. I think not. His partner is South Park commissioner and, I think, master in chancery.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is his partner?

Mr. WEST. Mr. Behan—L. J. Behan.

The CHAIRMAN. South Park commissioner?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And also a master in chancery?

Mr. WEST. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what court?

Mr. WEST. The circuit court—but I would not say positively.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the local courts?

Mr. WEST. Yes. He was master in chancery for a number of years, and I think still has the place. It might be the superior court. It is either the circuit court or the superior court.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brundage?

Mr. WEST. Former attorney general of the State; a practicing lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he any official position?

Mr. WEST. I think not. He is receiver for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. I do not know that you would call that an official place.

The CHAIRMAN. Appointed by what court?

Mr. WEST. Judge Wilkerson, of this court in which we are sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. The Federal court?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harding?

Mr. WEST. He is a capitalist; former city comptroller; a large owner of real estate. I do not know what his other investments are.

The CHAIRMAN. But he holds no official position now?

Mr. WEST. I think not now. He is committeeman for his group, I think, for his territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there another group called the Lundin group?

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is their accepted title?

Mr. WEST. I do not know. The Lundin group, I suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the dominant men in that?

Mr. WEST. Mr. Fred Lundin.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the head, is he?

Mr. WEST. Yes. He is a former Congressman. He served as a Member of Congress a number of terms. He was State Senator a term or two. He was the man who really was very active in making Mr. Thompson mayor. They might be called the Small group. I do not know. They are affiliated with Governor Small.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call them the "Lundin-Small" group, then.

Mr. WEST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But what position did Lundin hold of an official character, if any?

Mr. WEST. None at this time. I think he has not for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he ever connected with the Small administration in any way?

Mr. WEST. No; not so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the leading men in the Lundin group?

Mr. WEST. Mr. Edward H. Wright, who is here; Capt. Percy B. Coffin; Frank P. Brady, now deceased. Mr. Brady was clerk of the appellate court. He died a few days before the primary.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WEST. I think that covers their chief leaders here. They are very strong down State compared to the other groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were their chief leaders in the State?

Mr. WEST. Governor Small.

The CHAIRMAN. And Governor Small's appointees?

Mr. WEST. Yes. I do not know the down State very much, any more.

The CHAIRMAN. What organization did the Lundin-Small group have in Cook County?

Mr. WEST. They had probably six or seven wards pretty well organized; maybe more. We thought they were strong in some places where we were weak.

Senator LA FOLLETTE. Can you give us those wards?

Mr. WEST. No; I could not. They were down on the southwest side. Judging from the returns nobody was very strong down there except the Crowe-Barrett crowd. We thought they were pretty good arithmeticians, some of them, down there. Better not put that in, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Lundin group and the McKinley group cooperate on the candidate for the Senate?

Mr. WEST. I do not know what the Lundin people did on the senatorship. I assume they were for McKinley, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You understood they would be for McKinley, did you not?

Mr. WEST. No; not necessarily. We did not have any particular understanding on that. I think Mr. Wright, who is here, and who is a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission with Colonel Smith—I think he was for Colonel Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright, will you please come forward a moment?

(Mr. Wright came forward.)

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the man that said there was a commission sitting?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. We had a session this morning, but we finished.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you can wait?

Mr. WRIGHT. As soon as we got through I came up here.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought I was going to accommodate somebody by letting them off, but if you are through we will just let you remain.

Was Mr. Wright the head of the Lundin forces in Chicago?

Mr. WEST. No; Mr. Lundin himself was, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. And you can not tell us about that organization?

Mr. WEST. No. I have told you all that I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do these three different groups comprise the various factions, speaking broadly, of the Republican Party in Cook County?

Mr. WEST. I think so.

This testimony may perhaps be supplemented by passages from the testimony of Colonel Green, Senator McKinley's campaign manager (pp. 1665-1666):

Mr. GREEN. This was a very peculiar campaign. Six years ago there were two factions in Illinois, or two organizations, and it was not necessary to spend very much, because Governor Lowden and his friends were on one side, and present Governor Small on the other side, and we lined up with the Lowden faction and we went along that way, printing and distributing literature in favor of Senator McKinley, and that is about all that was done. This year is an off year in the campaign. I frankly say that I can not understand Chicago politics.

The CHAIRMAN. I can not, either.

Mr. GREEN. We thought that the Crowe-Barrett-Brundage faction would be our friends. We thought that the proposition of the World Court did not have anything to do with local county politics, and therefore would not get into it. We were willing, I say frankly, to make some contribution to their county campaigns, feeling that that was the cheapest way by which we could get results. We could not come in here and build an organization of our own. It would be only right, if we had the benefit of that one, to use it, just as I did with Mr. West.

Under this primary election law the question of the value of organization, and the personnel of men, is pretty hard to measure.

As the result of this first conference, Senator McKinley reported to me that that organization was going to be friendly, and he also reported to me that he had said to them that of course he and Senator Deneen were friendly. That seemed to be satisfactory.

I think William Hale Thompson, however—well, I guess he is a part of the organization, but I may be mistaken. He may have an organization of his own. I think he was not friendly to Senator McKinley. It was reported to me that William Hale Thompson for some reason persuaded these people to make the issue of the World Court in the county campaigns, and that organization quit. That is the report.

The CHAIRMAN. Had there been some talk about the amount which the Senator was expected to contribute to that organization if they supported him?

Mr. GREEN. He and I talked about it. I do not know whether he talked with them about it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the amount you mentioned?

Mr. GREEN. I will state what I said; and there was not any agreement, but I thought if we spent \$1,000 in a ward, so far as that organization was an effective organization in the particular wards in which it would be advantageous, that we would be justified in doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. And that would be done through their organization?

Mr. GREEN. Yes. The Senator did not agree with me; neither did he disagree with me. I never was asked to furnish it or anything but was notified, to the contrary, that they would not go along with us.

The hopeless confusion of the factional situation in Chicago during the primaries is further illustrated by Charles V. Barrett's definition of the Crowe-Barrett organization (p. 1691):

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the Mr. Barrett who is referred to in the name "the Crowe-Barrett organization"?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell me in a general way what that organization is?

Mr. BARRETT. In the first place, Senator, the name is a misnomer. There are many elements in the organization. In the last campaign William Hale Thompson joined us so far as the county organization was concerned, together with some of his friends. Prior to that time he had not had any affiliation with us. There is a group known in Chicago as the Brundage group, Brundage being the former attorney general. He and his friends affiliated with the so-called Crowe-Barrett organization. There are three or four men in the organization so far as local affairs are concerned who are affiliated with Attorney General Carlstrom. Then there are some men in the organization who are friends of Judge Crowe and myself. It is a conglomerate organization. That is about all I can say to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the organization you call the regular Republican organization?

Mr. BARRETT. It is called the regular Republican organization because within the organization there was a majority of the regularly elected county central committeemen under the laws of the State of Illinois who control by a majority vote the power to nominate the regular officers in accordance with the statute.

The operations and affiliations of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League, both in the primary and general election, will be dealt with in a separate partial report covering the Anti-Saloon League as a national organization and its operations in the States covered by investigations on the part of your committee.

It also remains for the committee to report in extenso the record touching the refusal of witnesses to testify. Such a report will be filed as a separate document, for the reason that it will require separate consideration by the Senate.

The committee will report upon the other investigations made by it of conditions in other States. It is being written and will be filed in the very near future.

The present document is now delivered to the Senate chiefly because a number of Senators have requested early information touching the Illinois situation.

The committee reserves to itself upon making its final report the right to make such comments and recommendations as may seem appropriate.

Respectfully submitted.

JAS. A. REED, *Chairman.*
CHARLES L. McNARY.
GUY D. GOFF.
WILLIAM H. KING.

