

CHAPTER XXV  
FUNERALS OF GANGSTERS

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## CHAPTER XXV

### FUNERALS OF GANGSTERS

I. *The Funeral of  
Colosimo, 1920.*

The funerals of gangsters have invariably attracted wide attention, partly because of the great pomp with which they are celebrated and partly because of the extraordinary variety of persons—gunmen, politicians, and people prominent in public life—which there assemble to assist in the ceremony. These ceremonies are at the same time an exhibition of the wealth and the influence of the men themselves, and a revelation of the intimate relations between politics and crime.

The funeral of no man in Chicago ever brought together, in all probability, as complete and picturesque a representation of the Chicago that lies outside of the "Gold Coast" as that, in 1920, of James (Big Jim) Colosimo, overlord of the old levee district. Among the honorary pall-bearers were aldermen, judges, congressmen, noted singers of the Chicago Opera Company, leaders of his immigrant group and his associates in underworld activities. Thousands of Chicagoans read with astonishment of the manifestations of personal friendship of the thousands who joined the funeral procession. The scene was described by one newspaper under the headline "Levee Says Goodbye to Big Jim":

"Jim Colosimo was buried in Oakwood Cemetery today with a huge cortege—one thousand members of the First Ward Democratic Club, headed by John Coughlin and Michael Kenna, led the procession. Behind the hearse was Dale Winter and Rocco de Stefano, in a closed car.

"The ceremonial which had been held at the house was brief and very simple. The Rev. Pasquale de Carol, a Presbyterian minister, delivered a prayer. When it ended, Alderman Coughlin knelt at the casket and recited the 'Hail Marys,' several hundred mourners chiming the responses. The alderman pronounced the words of prayer for the dead.

"The Apollo Quartet sang the hymns. They had just finished when Dale Winter, leaning on De Stefano, came swaying down the stairs. As the band played 'Nearer My God to Thee,' Jim was carried to the hearse.

"Five thousand mourners saw their friend borne away. The procession went through the heart of the district where the name of the dead had been a power, less and less sinister as the years rolled by.

"When the hearse arrived opposite the cafe it slowed to a halt, resting for ten minutes.

"Among the men present, besides the pall-bearers, were Mike Fritzell (later a friend of Druggan), Ben Zellin, Tom Chamales of the Green Mill Gardens.

"At the cemetery a eulogy was delivered by De Stefano, Colosimo's attorney and life-long friend.

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"Next Tuesday the vault containing the private papers will be opened and the size of the estate determined."<sup>1</sup>

Two agencies in the community stand aloof from this general public interest in the funerals of underworld characters. Because of fundamental principles, both refuse to approve the glorification of the gangster or underworld chieftain. The first of these is the Roman Catholic Church. Father Philip F. Mahany has written<sup>2</sup> the following interpretation of Cardinal Mundelein's refusal of Christian burial to gangsters:

"His Eminence makes it plain to his pastors that any gangster who, because of his conduct, is looked upon as a 'public sinner' or who by his refusal to comply with the laws of his church regarding attendance at church services and Easter duty (reception of the Sacrament of Penance and Holy Communion during the Easter season), such a man is to be refused Christian burial.

"Therefore it cannot be assumed that the fact of one's being a gangster or bootlegger is alone the cause of his being refused Christian burial, for each individual case must be considered. If there is a doubt as to his giving public scandal, etc., by reason of his position in life, the Cardinal counsels that simple rites be observed at his funeral."

In the case of Colosimo the situation was confusing. As he had risen to power he had formed relations with men in all stations of life. His many-sided friendships and alliances were mixed, good and evil. The Church, in denying him burial in a Catholic cemetery, made its position clear. Archbishop Mundelein issued an order to Father Hoban, Chancellor of the Arch Diocese, "forbidding him from permitting" the body to be buried in a Catholic cemetery or brought into a Catholic church. It was pointed out in the press that Colosimo had not, in his manner of living, abided by the rites of the church, and by divorcing Mrs. Colosimo and marrying Dale Winter, had broken one of the church's sacred canons.

The second of the two great agencies to insist upon a somewhat antiquated definition of public morality was the press.

#### "Vice King Funeral.

"Following the body of Big Jim Colosimo to the grave today will move a cortege which should interrupt the complacent thought of Chicago. Three judges, eight aldermen, an assistant state's attorney, a congressman, a state representative, and leading artists of the Chicago Opera Company are listed as honorary pallbearers, as well as gamblers, ex-gamblers, dive-keepers, and ex-dive-keepers.

"A cavalcade such as moved behind the funeral car of Cæsar is to pay homage to the memory of the man who for more than a decade has been recognized as the overlord of Chicago's underworld. Such tribute from men set up to make and enforce our laws, to a man who in much of his life was a law unto himself, is more than the tribute of friendship. It is a tribute to power, regardless of the source or justice of that power.

"Jim Colosimo ruled his world. Out of his rule came sudden death

<sup>1</sup> *Chicago American*, May 15, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> A statement prepared for this study.

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to him. Raised to the throne of the half world, he was a maker and breaker of political aspirations. His methods were ruthless, considering the law only in so far as to avoid its penalties. The penalty which came to him was not of the law but of the kingdom which he had built up, yet it brings to his grave a concourse notable for its lights and shadows.

"It is a strange commentary upon our system of law and justice. In how far can power, derived from the life of the underworld, influence institutions of law and order? It is a question worthy of the thoughtful consideration of those entrusted with the establishment of law and order and of those dependent on and responsible for such trust."<sup>1</sup>

A newspaper reporter of the *Chicago American* on May 14, 1920, contributed this explanation from his observation of Colosimo's personal influence and political power:

"No matter what he may have been in the past, no matter what his faults, Jim was my friend and I am going to his funeral."

"These and similar words were heard today from the lips of hundreds of Chicagoans. They were to be heard in the old Twenty-second Street levee district, over which Jim for so many years had held undisputed sway, they dropped from the mouths of gunmen and crooks, while many a tear ran down the painted cheek of women of the underworld.

"They were heard from many a seemingly staid business man in loop skyscrapers and from men famous and near-famous in the world of art and letters, who had all mingled more or less indiscriminately with the other world which walks forth only at night. All these classes, hundreds of each, will be present at the funeral."

2. *Same: Its Significance.* The reporter's story puts the emphasis upon friendship. Colosimo was a great friend and established many friendships among all ranks. These friendships were personal relations. *Political power in a democracy rests upon friendship.* A man is your friend, not merely because he is kind to you, but because you can depend upon him, because you know that he will stick and that he will keep his word.

Politics in the river wards, and among common people elsewhere as well, is a feudal relationship. The feudal system was one that was based not on law but upon personal loyalties. Politics tends, therefore, to become a *feudal system*. Gangs, also, are organized on a feudal basis—that is, upon loyalties, upon friendships, and above all upon dependability. That is one reason why politicians and criminal gangs understand one another so well and so frequently enter into alliances with each other against the more remote common good.

The editorial writer puts his emphasis upon the fact that the rule which Colosimo established and maintained was a rule outside of and antagonistic to the formal and established order of society. This charge is undeniably true, for it is an undoubted fact that friendship, which is one of the most amiable and commendable of human characteristics, frequently does under-

<sup>1</sup> *Tribune*, May 15, 1920.

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mine the more formal social order. Idealists are notoriously not good friends. No man who is more interested in abstractions like justice, humanity and righteousness than he is in the more common immediate and personal relations of life, is likely to be a good mixer or a good politician.

The city of Chicago, if we look at the map, is clearly divided into two regions, the east side and the west side—the lake front and the river wards. On the lake front are idealists and reformers, and in the river wards party politics based on friendly relations. This contrast between the two sides of the city, with their different social systems, is part of the problem of the interlocking relationships of crime and politics; and the repeated failures of the public in its attempts to break the alliance is an indication of the extent and persistence of these relations. In the practical work-a-day world in which Colosimo lived, the clear line of demarcation between right and wrong, as defined by law and public policy, did not exist.

Politics, particularly ward politics, is carried on in a smaller, more intimate world, than that which makes and defines the law. Government seeks to be equal, impartial, formal. Friendships run counter to the impartiality of formal government; and, vice versa, formal government cuts across the ties of friendship. Professional politicians have always recognized the importance, even when they were not moved by real sentiment, of participating with their friends and neighbors in the ceremonies marking the crises of life—christenings, marriages, and deaths. In the great funerals, the presence of the political boss attests the sincerity and the personal character of his friendship for the deceased, and this marks him as an intimate in life and death.

It was the practice of John Powers, throughout half a century, to attend the funerals in his ward, to send flowers, and to pay the expenses of the poor. When Samuzzo Amatuna was killed in the booze war, his attempt to save the "alky-cooking" industry for the Italians who engaged in the business, at a time when it was very dangerous to assume leadership, gained him a great following. He had saved little for himself in the business because he was liberal with the profits. John Powers was one of the early arrivals at the funeral, and as he stood on the front porch his neat small figure arrayed in the most proper apparel, with his gray head and white mustache, attracted the attention of the multitude in the streets; and in the crowds at the cemetery it was often repeated that, according to the Italian custom, he had "kissed Samuzzo twice," once in the home and the second time at the cemetery. The politician needs to be conversant with all the social ritual and he assists in the ceremonies with propriety and grace. It would be wrong to assume that he is devoid of genuine sentiment and that his life-long intimate relations with the neighborhood population, sharing their common adversities, does not entail a genuine friendship, but public appearances are of great value to the politician and "one vote is as good as another."

### 3. *Dion O'Banion's Funeral.*

Dion O'Banion was buried without benefit of clergy, because of the order of the church—even though in the advance publicity of the funeral it was mentioned that Dion had been Father O'Brien's altar-boy at the Holy Name Church for four years.

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### *"Bury O'Banion Without Benefit of Clergy."<sup>1</sup>*

"Dion O'Banion to be buried today without benefit of clergy. It was admitted by friends that every effort had been made to have his funeral services conducted in some church.

"There was to be a six-piece orchestra; who would conduct the services was not known last night. O'Banion belonged to no fraternal organization which could be called upon to hold the ceremony.

"Flowers came to the chapel in truck-loads. So many came that wreaths and baskets were stored in back rooms after the walls of the golden lighted little room with its stained windows were lined and only an aisle was left down the middle of the room.

"There was a huge wreath from the Teamsters' Union; a basket of roses bore the card of Al (Scarface) Capone, and another sunburst of chrysanthemums flowing from a basket was from David Jerus."

Other prominent Chicago clergymen, as for instance Dr. Thompson, expressed fear that the hero worship of O'Banion would have a demoralizing effect upon the youth of Chicago, and Dr. A. J. McCartney thought the incident indicative of something wrong with the whole system of criminal restraint and procedure.

### *"In Ten Thousand Dollar Casket Dion Lies in State.*

"Dion O'Banion lay in state in the chapel of the Sbarbaro Undertaking Rooms at 708 North Wells Street in a ten thousand dollar casket. It was the 'best money could buy.' Its designers in Pennsylvania sent it to Chicago in a special express car that carried only the casket for freight.

"O'Banion was thirty-two years old when killed.

"For four years Dion had been Father O'Brien's altar boy at the Holy Name Church."<sup>2</sup>

George P. Stone in the Chicago *Daily News* reported the following about notables attending the wake:

### *"Pals Bury O'Banion as 5,000 Pack Street.*

"Many notables who did not attend the funeral proper were at the wake last night. Alderman Dorsey Crowe, in whose political campaign O'Banion was active just before his death, was at the wake. So were Judges Burke, LaBuy, Schulman, O'Connell and Borrelli of the Municipal Court, and former Judge Barasa."

But the criticisms of the church and the press again did not deter a great throng from attending the funeral, regardless of what their motive may have been.

### *"Chieftain Is Borne to Cemetery in Regal Rites.*

"Thousands and thousands lined sidewalks, stood on fire escapes and on roofs, as the twenty-four automobiles full of flowers, the one hundred twenty-two funeral cars, the scores of private cars, and the hearse carrying the ten thousand dollar silver and bronze casket rolled slowly by.

"Traffic was halted for twenty minutes along east and west streets

<sup>1</sup> *Tribune*, November 4, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribune*, November 3, 1924, by Maureen M'Kernan.

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in the loop, shortly before noon. This has few precedents, as funerals are forbidden to pass through the loop district except by special permit. Two motorcycle policemen from Stickney, Illinois, led the procession from the parlors to Jackson Boulevard, inasmuch as Chief Collins had refused a city escort. However, the mourners had a permit from the West Park System, so that as soon as the procession reached Jackson Boulevard it was met by a squad of West Park motor policemen who cleared the way ahead.

"The Rev. Father Patrick J. Malloy, of St. Thomas of Canterbury Church said a few simple prayers in Latin and then in English over the grave and the body.

"The police announced that it had learned that the band over which O'Banion had leadership had decided to maintain its organization. There was to be no individual leader, but the members would be ruled by the council form of government, the council consisting of Louis Alterie, Dapper Dan McCarthy, Max Eisen, Vincent Drucci and Earl Weiss."<sup>1</sup>

The funeral of Dion O'Banion set a new record for ostentatious display. There can be no doubt that the magnificence, the large attendance, and the publicity of these last rites tended to glorify the life and daring deeds of the gang leader, even beyond the limits of the world in which he lived. Uale, the New York gangster chieftain, is said before his murder to have repeatedly expressed the wish for a funeral that would surpass in lavish display that of his reputed sworn enemy, O'Banion. His desire was granted. The beautiful silver casket in which the remains of Uale reposed was said to have cost fifteen thousand dollars, and New York was scandalized by the numbers in attendance at the funeral.

4. *The Funeral of Nails Morton, the Community Hero.* Often the leader of a criminal group is a local community hero because he is identified with some activity or cause in which the people of the locality have a common interest. This is often the case among immigrant colonies in Chicago. The funerals of Samuzzo Amatuna and Nails Morton show the way in which an immigrant group glorifies its representative, even when he may also be a criminal.

Samuzzo Amatuna was but a young man of twenty-six when he was killed. He was known for several years as a gunman. He had participated in enforcing labor rules and demands and had been held by the police in several murder cases, but he was also known as charitable and strongly nationalistic. He had been an intimate of Diamond Joe and of the Merlo family. Just prior to his death he became engaged to a young lady of that family. Merlo had been a highly respected leader of the Italians, a figure in politics, and a dispenser of popular justice, and he had used his power to control such of his following as were quick to resort to the gun and to restrain them from using it.

The Scalise-Anselmi case was pending at the time Amatuna was killed. While to the general public this case was one in which bootleggers and politicians engaged in a battle resulting in certain deaths, the closer national group saw in it a war between Irish and Italian for the control of an industry

<sup>1</sup> *Herald and Examiner*, November 15, 1924.

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as illegitimate for one as for the other. The Irish had captured the government, the public officials were Irish and there were several hundred crooked police sharing the profits of the Italian bootleggers. The general correctness of this last statement was corroborated by Chief Collins himself, who made wholesale transfers immediately after this affair. Making and selling booze is not regarded in most sections of Chicago as immoral, even if it be illegal. Furthermore, the nationalist group was consolidated by the attacks flung at it by the prosecution through the newspapers. These attacks reflected upon the whole people. The net result was the feeling that between those of our own blood and strangers we would rather have our own reap the harvest. There was resentment in the group because Amatuna had been denied the mass and burial in a Catholic cemetery, and every effort was made to have the order changed, with a final measure of success when Father Luige was permitted to say a simple prayer in the street alongside the church, and as much effort was exerted finally to allow the body, after several days delay, to be buried in Mount Carmel Cemetery.

The funeral of Nails Morton illustrates the gangster's role as defender of his nationals. It indicates also that in a metropolis the same individual may have several personalities, one for each separate world in which he participates. "To one set of acquaintances he is a gallant soldier; to another, a dauntless defender of his race; and to the police a notorious gangster."

Nails Morton was not killed in action, as a gangster by gangsters, but died by falling from a horse. "His death caused genuine grief among his loyal friends. Fellow gangsters, at a loss to express their feelings except through revenge, kidnaped the horse and solemnly 'bumped him off.'"

The following article, reporting the funeral of Nails Morton, appeared in the *Daily News* of May 15, 1923:

#### "Tribute to Nails Morton Five Thousand Jewish People Attended the Funeral Acclaiming Him Protector.

"Funeral services this afternoon brought dramatically to light a phase of the gang chieftain's character that few outsiders knew while he was alive. Five thousand Jews paid tribute to Morton as the man who made the west side safe for his race. As a young man he had organized a defense society to drive 'Jew baiters' from the west side. Speakers at the brief services extolled Morton for his work for his race and for his gallantry in the World War. The other side of the career that ended was not mentioned."

There were religious, fraternal, and military services, with Rabbi Julius Levi, the Elks, and Morton's former "buddies" of the One Hundred Twenty-third Infantry officiating. Officials of the city, state, and federal government attended. Hundreds of dollars worth of flowers were sent to the chapel by friends.<sup>1</sup>

A memorial service was planned by friends, marking the first anniversary of Morton's death.<sup>2</sup> The printed announcement carried the names of Rabbi

<sup>1</sup> *Herald and Examiner*, May 15, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily News*, May 9, 1924.

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Felix A. Levi, Rev. John L. O'Donnell, Gen. Abel Davis, and Captain Ed Maher. Attorney Frank D. Comerford was to deliver the principal address. Others to participate were Jacob Epstein, Sol. P. Roderick, Morton Kallis, Earl Weiss, Max Eisen, Terry Druggan, Frank Lake, John Torrio, Dan McCarthy, Dave and Hirschie Miller, Izzie Rothchild, and "Lovin' Putty" Annixter. This announcement offended Gen. Abel Davis, who refused to take part in the memorial service and characterized this movement as a mistake. On May 13, 1924, the *News* carried the following story of the statement of Gen Abel Davis:

"Rips Glamor out of Gunman's Memorial.  
Gen. Abel Davis Calls Nails Morton Scheme Mistake.  
Backers Postpone it.

"Davis said that he thought 'they are making a mistake in flaunting the man's record in the faces of decent citizens.' He refused to take part in the program and the meeting was postponed.

"The incongruous associations in the membership list of the proposed association suggest the life that Morton lived. To one set of acquaintances he was a gallant soldier, to another set a dauntless defender of Jewry, and to the police a notorious gangster with the slaying of two policemen charged against him."

In the case of Nails Morton it was not the church that refused to sanction the celebration of the anniversary of the gangster's death, but a prominent personage in his cultural group. The effect, however, was to define the situation and to make clear to his followers the distinction between good and evil as the public defined it.

Unless the slain gangster is identified with service to the immigrant group of which he is a member, the participation of the community in the funeral services may be slight. This was the situation in the case of "Bummy" Goldstein, a young Jewish gunman, who was shot a week or so later. There were bootleggers, gunmen and politicians at the funeral and there was some good spoken of him, but the community participated very little. Some elderly men came into the funeral parlor to hold a prayer service, but there was a chasm between the youthful gangsters and the older conservative people. The gangsters gave the elderly men a cold reception and they went away. An old man who sat beside the coffin reading Psalms was told to go. In fact, an undertaker, long established in business in the Jewish community, had refused even to accept Goldstein's body for burial. There was no resentment felt by the gangster group—in fact, the youths deemed themselves emancipated and considered the religious ceremonials as old fogysm.

5. *Recent Decline of Display.* The earlier Genna funerals, those of Angelo and Mike, were examples of the display of pomp which is intended to impress the antagonists with a sense of power. The funeral of Tony, as a spectacle, was unimpressive, even though he, too, had a very expensive casket and the family itself did all it could for him. There were two theories as to why Tony's funeral was a "flop." The first was that a police order had prohibited an ostentatious funeral. The second was that Tony had incurred the hatred of the Italian "alky-cooking" industry. He had effected a transition in the industry from

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household production to factory production; he had substituted alcohol recocking for distilling from mash. Distilling from mash was done on a small scale and produced about one gallon of alcohol to every ten gallons of mash. The mash still could be traced by its smell and Federal warrants could be issued on evidence of the smell. Recocking produced really double its volume in alcohol because even one hundred per cent proof means fifty per cent alcohol. Tony had told the neighborhood cooks, "I don't need you. I can hire a man for fifteen dollars a day to sit by and smoke his pipe, watching the still, and he can produce as much 'moon' as all of you put together." Tony Genna had incurred the unpopularity of the capitalist who displaces household industry by a factory method.

The decline in display in gangster and underworld funerals can perhaps best be appreciated by reference to the following lists of the notables present at the wake or the funerals of ten of the underworld leaders of Chicago during the last seven or eight years:

*Big Jim Colosimo*, shot May 11, 1920.

#### Honorary Pallbearers

Alderman M. Kenna	Dr. J. C. Hanmore
Moe Ottheimer	Dr. A. M. De Vault
George Burman	A. Serrietella
John Irwin	J. H. Adler
Judge B. Barasa	Andrew Craig
Judge J. K. Prindiville	Harry Kavanaugh
Michael Igoe	Dwight McKay
Congressman J. W. Rainey	Mike Merlo
Congressman Thomas Gallagher	Francis Borrelli
Judge J. R. Caverly	Joseph Esposito
Hon. Louis Behan	Maestro Gracomo Spadoni
Sol. Van Praag	Francisco Daddi
James Carr	Tito Ruffo
Adolph Gassman	Alderman J. O. Kostner
William McLean	Alderman Dorsey Crowe
James Mackay	Alderman George E. Maypole
George Silver	Alderman Timothy Hogan
Ike Bloom	Alderman John Toman
John Torrio	Alderman John Powers
Mike Potzin	Alderman James P. Bowler
Allessandro Moggi	

#### Active Pallbearers

Dr. Peter Furno	Frank Camilla
Rocco De Stefano	Charles Castello
State Senator John Griffin	John Buddinger
Patrick O'Malley	John Vacco
Alderman John Coughlin	Ike Roderick

#### Among Those Present

Mike Fritzell, later friend of Druggan  
Ben Zellin  
Tom Chamales of "Green Mill Gardens"

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*Anthony D'Andrea*, shot May 11, 1921.

#### Honorary Pallbearers

Judge Joseph Sabath	Judge William Fetzner
Judge George Kersten	Attorney W. Navigato
Judge R. H. Miller	Attorney G. Spatuzza
Judge D. F. Marchett	Attorney Thomas Nash
Judge Kirkham Scanlan	Attorney Ben J. Short
Judge H. M. Friend	Attorney M. Ahern
Judge D. S. Morrell	Attorney D. Barone
Judge D. M. Brothers	Attorney J. Priore
Judge P. L. Sullivan	Attorney Francis Borrelli
Judge F. S. Wilson	Attorney Stephen Malato
Judge O. M. Lorrison	M. Rosini
Judge J. A. Swanson	N. Pape
Judge L. Jacobs	S. Insalato
Judge J. W. Brien	J. Zappina
Judge J. K. Prindiville	V. Chisesi
Judge Bernard Barasa	H. Tiffo
Judge George Holmes	G. Crapple
Judge W. L. Morgan	F. DeBartalo
Judge J. Schulman	V. Pace
Judge Hugo Stewart	

#### Active Pallbearers

Stephen A. Malato, special prosecutor for the state  
Diamond Joe Esposito  
Peter Russo, leader in Unione Siciliana  
Otto Anerino, representing the Hod Carriers' Union  
Peter Fasco, representing the Hod Carriers' Union  
Joseph Maresechi  
Carmen Vacco, city sealer

Funeral cortege was about two and a half miles long.  
About eight thousand people attended.  
Flowers estimated at eight thousand dollars.

He was forbidden the last rites of the Catholic Church, but his brother, a priest, was allowed to give a very short sermon.

*Dion O'Banion*, killed November 10, 1924.

The following notables did not attend the funeral but were at the wake:

Alderman Dorsey Crowe	Judge O'Connell
Judge Burke	Judge Borrelli
Judge La Buy	Former Judge Barasa
Judge Schulman	

Among truckloads of flowers were some from The Teamsters' Union, Scarface Al Capone, and David Jerus. Rev. Father Patrick J. Malloy, of St. Thomas of Canterbury Church, spoke at the grave.

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*Angelo Genna*, killed May 26, 1925.

### Pallbearers

All of them members of the Unione Siciliana.

Tony Abbato	Frank Coppola
Joe Piazza	Paul Agate
M. Aratzio	Vito Cash
Biogo Accabodi	Joe Gondolpha

In the front ranks of mourners:

State Senator John T. Joyce  
Alderman John Powers  
State Representative William V. Pacelli  
State Representative Charles Coia  
City Sealer Carmen Vacco  
Diamond Joe Esposito  
Mike Carrozzo  
Al Capone was also present.

Three hundred cars in which were people and thirty cars containing flowers were in the procession. The funeral cost was estimated at one hundred thousand dollars. Casket of solid silver with name in gold letters. No ceremonies at the church because it was a murder case but Father Bifoletti, of the Holy Guardian Church, officiated at the cemetery.

*Mike Genna*, shot June 13, 1925.

Buried with secrecy. Captain Stege announced that squads of detectives would be on hand to seize every criminal or suspect who might appear to watch the passing of the youngest of the dread Gennas. No mourners; no flowers; no attendants except the undertaker.

*Tony Genna*, shot July 8, 1925.

Denied rites of Catholic Church; no lavish display; hasty burial without even a prayer; unhonored, little mourned; few flowers.

James and Sam Genna fled after Tony's death. Pete believed to be in Italy. James killed January 11, 1926.

*Samuel (Samoots) Amatuna*, shot November 9, 1925.

Body taken to Pogallo, Sicily, his native village, for burial.

*Hymie Weiss*, shot October 11, 1926.

Pallbearers were all school friends from St. Malachy's School. Last rites of Catholic Church denied. The following sent flowers:

Mrs. and Mr. Joe Donovan  
Pat Mondane  
"The Colonel"  
Sally and Leo Ziv  
Mr. and Mrs. A. Cohen

Costly cars of mourners had signs, front and rear:

John Sbarbaro for Municipal Judge  
Joe Savage for County Judge  
King-Eller-Graydon, Sanitary District Trustees

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Among those present were:

Eisen	Cocky Doers
Kaufman	Leo (Nebo) Weiss (no relation to Earl Weiss)
Gusenberg	Marty Dwyer
Drucci	Larry Dowd
Big Ed Vogel	Chinks
Puggy White	Jack Peoples
Whitey Marlowe	

Police squads were at the funeral to arrest gangsters, but Drucci, Eisen and Moran have no fear.

*Vincent Drucci.*

Among those who attended the wake were:

James (Fur) Sammons  
Bennie Jacobs  
Gusenberg brothers

Among those who attended the funeral were:

Al Capone	Dapper Dan McCarthy
George Moran	Joe and Mrs. Saltis
Maxie Eisen	John Oberta
Frank and Pete Gusenberg	Frank McErlane
Potatoes Kaufman	

Mrs. Dion O'Banion consoled the widow.

Denied rites of Catholic Church.

Military rites, five pallbearers were in uniform.

*Big Tim Murphy*, shot June 26, 1928.

Pallbearers

John McDermott	James O'Neill
Frank Hughes	Harold Spencer
Daniel Higgins	John McGuire
Joseph McCarthy	M. Scott

Seven hundred to one thousand people in attendance; no one of prominence. John Oberta among his friends and mourners. Twenty automobiles in the cortege; five cars piled with flowers. Two thousand five hundred dollar steel casket trimmed with silver. Denied church rites; buried in unconsecrated plot in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.

A survey of the notables in attendance at gangster funerals clearly shows the declining number of public officials in attendance as well as decreasing ostentation. The effect of the present popular uprising against the alliance of organized crime and politics is shown most unmistakably in the recent funeral services for Big Tim Murphy.

6. *Passing of Tim Murphy.* On June 26, 1928, at 11:10 p. m., Big Tim Murphy fell before the machine-gun fire of an enemy car which drew up before his house in West Rogers Park after a mysterious ringing of the door-bell, which called him to the front lawn.

The headlines announcing his assassination pushed the Democratic Convention off the front page. For the following two nights traffic police were

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stationed at corners two blocks east and two blocks west of his house to direct the hundreds of automobiles that sought to approach his house during the wake. Automobiles were parked for five blocks along his own street, Morse Avenue, and for two blocks each way on the cross streets of that area. Men, women, and children stood in double and triple line from six until after ten o'clock both evenings, progressing slowly into the house to view the body, six feet and three inches, in a simple silver and steel casket surrounded with costly and ornate floral display, in the parlor of the Murphy home. His brothers-in-law, the Diggs brothers, directed the procession in the front door and out through the rear into the yard equipped as a playground for children.

West Rogers Park is a new neighborhood. Middle class mechanics and business men own individual and duplex homes, surrounded with lawns and gardens. Tim was a good neighbor—the people of his neighborhood, including the children, knew him well. He liked to be neighborly and he liked to “fool around” with children. While his body was being removed from a nearby funeral parlor, children came rushing from their play. Excitedly one of them asked, “Who is that?” “That’s Big Tim.” And even the children remained silent.

There had been an incursion of successful bootleggers into West Rogers Park. These were liberal neighbors; they would gather in the basement recreation room of a bootlegger politician and would invite friends there to partake of the cold barrel of beer which is always on ice, and to listen to Tim’s banter and “gags.” There had been no objection to these new neighbors because they were not objectionable in their neighborhood. Mrs. Murphy was a good church member in the neighborhood parish and had become acquainted with hundreds that attend the church. The priest, confident of the wholesomeness of his neighborhood, had inveighed against “racketeers;” he was the most conscious of the invasion.

Three years in Leavenworth penitentiary had changed the “racketeer” world considerably, just as it would change any other phase of fast moving Chicago life, and Tim Murphy had lost his hold because others had moved up into his place. Since his release, therefore, he had been trying many “rackets” because he was not settled in any. Thus, when his career was so shockingly ended there was a confusion and multiplicity of motives ascribed. Joseph Aiello, of the Aiello Brothers, had bought a house almost around the corner from Tim Murphy. It was known that during the absence of Capone, a homeless exile in southern and western cities, according to the chief of police, Tim Murphy had accepted the command of the “strong arm” force attending the Capone interests. The Aiello brothers, now his neighbors, were supposed to be bitter enemies. It was of this phase that West Rogers Park was most conscious. The neighborhood had Americanized the Aiello name and was buzzing with expectations of another murder in the neighborhood in the “Ay-leo” family. The Aiellos were attached to the north side syndicate, according to the newspapers—the Bertsche-Moran-Zuta gambling, vice and booze syndicate. During the past year there had been bombing war between the Capone interests and the former syndicate. Twenty-three days later an Aiello was killed.

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The police did not give as much weight to this phase as to other motives. There was the killing of Maurice (Moss) Enright about nine years ago, who had given Tim Murphy his start in labor union "racketeering." While Tim was the most important labor union "racketeer," he was not the pioneer. Con Shea and later Moss Enright have priority to the claim.

Statements by Mr. Walker of the Employers Association, special prosecuting attorney investigating "rackets," recently discharged by Mr. Crowe, alleged that Tim Murphy had tried to "horn into" the cleaning and dyeing "racket," now dominated by "strong arm" men, and that his aggressiveness had left no alternative than to eliminate Tim by the gun. This angle, too, has dwindled except that one man, John Hand, was held under bail bond because of his connections with the leaders in the cleaning and dyeing organizations and is known to be a business agent of the Candy Jobbers' Union.

It is well known in Chicago that Tim was a chief among "racketeers," but the extent of his influence cannot be appreciated until one hears how many union and merchant association "racketeers" have been made by Tim. While he was at his height, dozens of "strong arm" business agents claimed to be friends of Tim; dozens of them thrived under the long shadow of Tim Murphy's prestige as terrorist and politician, for Tim had been a legislator, secretary to a congressman, and a sergeant-at-arms in Congress. He had "beaten raps" at memorable trials, typical for the spectacular failure of the law. There was one "rap" he could not beat entirely and that is the Polk Street Station robbery of April 6, 1921. It has turned out queerly that the ace investigator for the Federal Government, who had prosecuted him for the Pullman robbery of August 20, 1920, is himself now serving time for a mail robbery. While Tim's friends used this as evidence that he was framed, it cannot be denied that it injured his prestige, because the power to "beat raps" is the backbone of the prestige of a gangster chief.

One theory for the killing of Tim Murphy, which is reported to have been corroborated by his mother at the last session of the coroner's inquest, was that he had demanded the return of some of the money contained in the loot of a railroad robbery and that the person who had held this money for safe-keeping refused to return it.

Tim Murphy's funeral was unattended by officials and politicians of importance. With the onslaught that the newspapers have been making upon the alliance of organized crime and politics, it was expected that the press would make capital of the presence of personages. The few important officials that paid their respects came to the wake, singly, late at night. At the funeral the old back-of-the-yards friends were the only politicians of importance. Johnnie Oberta, Mike Ruddy and Kitty Mulhall were there and wept for Tim. Perhaps that is what Tim meant when he said, "Back of the Yards a man's a man." Risking the adverse publicity, these were the few who stood by him. Such was the precaution of politicians and gangsters, that the tags on the floral tributes were removed and no outsider had an opportunity to know who sent them. The church refused every form of funeral service. An old friend, Kenny, the undertaker from back-of-the-yards, recited the Lord's Prayer. Tim was buried in the Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.

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### 7. *The Uale Funeral in New York City, 1928.*

While the funeral of Tim Murphy showed the effects of the pitiless publicity which has been given to the connections between crime and politics in Chicago; Brooklyn, New York, furnished a record-breaking funeral when on July 5, 1928, Frank Uale, Brooklyn gunman chief, politician, bootlegger and neighborhood philanthropist, was buried, according to his wish, with greater pomp and ceremony than Dion O'Banion. His casket cost fifteen thousand dollars, exceeding O'Banion's by five thousand dollars. There were tons of flowers, the floral tribute being estimated at fifty thousand dollars; ten thousand mourners and two hundred fifty automobiles.

Newspaper writers, who have been interested in establishing the national and international ramifications of organized criminals, laid the murder to Capone interests of Chicago. Uale, alias Yale, was reputed the killer of both Colosimo and Dion O'Banion. Other statements described him as the contractor for Chicago killings by New York gunmen. While the New York police have not solved this murder, it has been followed by a series of gang killings there, also unsolved.

Uale was typified as the "Robin Hood of Brooklyn;" he lived by the gun and died by it. He was also called the "god-father of one thousand children." A mass was celebrated for him at St. Rosalia's Catholic Church in Brooklyn, where the church attitude toward gangsters is not as sharply defined as under Cardinal Mundelein's orders in Chicago.

### 8. *Conclusion.*

The funeral of a great underworld chieftain like Colosimo clearly reveals the nature of the friendly and human relations out of which the alliance of crime and vice with politics develops. In the hour of death, personal ties are disclosed, which in life were concealed. Judges and other politicians who refrain from attendance at funerals will be present at the wake, as was the case at the deaths of O'Banion and of Tim Murphy. The definition of disapproval upon the careers of gangsters and other underworld leaders has been applied by both the church and by newspaper editorials. The last two or three years have, in fact, witnessed a decline in ostentatious display at funerals. But this evidence of the declining glory of gang heroes is to be attributed not merely to the edict of the archbishop, nor to the outraged protests of editorial writers; it is the effect of the growing popular movement against the inter-relations of crime and politics.

But the most powerful factor of all in the decline in the popular participation in funerals is, in all probability, the profound change that is taking place in the nature of the relations of organized crime and machine politics. The old basis in friendly relations is being superseded by a cash nexus. Political protection for the powerful financial interests of organized crime is coming to rest less and less upon friendship and more and more upon pecuniary considerations. But to the extent that friendly relationships and neighborhood connections still remain the bond that cements relations of gangster and politician, they will continue to find expression at the wake and at funerals as long as human nature remains human nature.

CHAPTER XXVI  
THE GANGSTERS' APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

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## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE GANGSTER'S APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

1. *Psychology of the Gangster.* The gangster's defense of his mode of life arises only when he comes in contact with the legitimate outside world. Only then does he become conscious of a conflicting way of living. In his own group, on the contrary, he achieves status by being a gangster, with gangster attitudes, and enhances his reputation through criminal exploits. His contacts with the police and the courts and his successive confinements in the corrective, reformatory and penal institutions, beginning with the Juvenile Detention Home, then in turn the Industrial Training School, the reformatory and the penitentiary, gain him the prestige of a veteran in his group. His return from the State Reformatory at Pontiac or from the penitentiary at Joliet is the occasion of sympathy and rejoicing from his gang brothers. The bitterness engendered within him by punishment and the feelings of revenge nurtured by his mutual association with other convicts have more deeply impressed upon him the psychology of the criminal world. Then, too, the stigma which society places upon him as an ex-convict identifies him the more with the underworld.

Usually the gangster is brought up in neighborhoods where the gang tradition is old. He grows up into it from early childhood in a world where pilfering, vandalism, sex delinquency and brutality are an inseparable part of his play life. His earliest relation with the law is with the policeman on the beat, who always has something on the little gang, and "copper hating" is the normal attitude. A series of extracts from the life history of a gangster<sup>1</sup> shows how the boy naturally absorbs gang attitudes:

"When we were small we used to watch the older boys and we joined in the same things when we were a little older. There was crap-shooting, pilfering, and rough-housing among them. On election nights or Hallowe'en, we would burn fences or wagons or anything else we could get our hands on which would make a fire. The little fellows would steal potatoes to bake on the fire. One time we burned an old patrol wagon.

"We never could be friendly with the cop because we were always in wrong. We always got out of his way quickly with a warning cry, 'Jigger, the cop.'

"For instance, we would always steal iron from back of the foundry and sell it to peddlers to get our money for shows.

"The truant officer came to the house often, but I was never taken up for truancy."

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<sup>1</sup>"Life and History of a Gangster," a document specially secured for this study.

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### 2. *Autobiography of a Gangster: Childhood Period.*

This same man, now an ex-convict from Joliet, has been a gambler, pimp, shoplifter, burglar, and stick-up man. But his criminal career began in early childhood.

"I shot craps as early as I could understand dice, and saw crap-shooting in the alley before that time. When my brother Charlie was driving for the Express Company he sometimes gambled his whole pay away.

"I think this was my earliest remembrance of the 'law;' when I was six years old my oldest brother, Charlie, was arrested by detectives, just before he got the rap at the John Worthy School. I can remember a thundering knock at the door and two big detectives came in. It was about two o'clock in the morning. They made Charlie dress in a hurry. While Charlie was dressing, my mother was getting me to ask the detectives questions in English."

Among the children of the neighborhood no shame attached to stealing. "Copping" was a part of their play life. Going "on a bum from school" and pilfering went together.

"Later, we always went to shows in a gang and would yell and holler and get put out. Sometimes after we were put out we would throw bricks at the back door of the picture show. We liked 'the thrillers.' The nickel shows in those days had a good many shootings and killings.

"We used to 'hitch' the street cars to Lincoln Park. The boys would steal bottles of milk off the porches, maybe a few would steal rolls from the store and in that way we would get our lunches. I don't remember that I ever asked my mother for carfare or lunch. She would be likely to say, 'If you want to eat, come home to eat.'"

Naturally, any mother would be averse to her little boy in the primary grades of a school on the west side starting off for Lincoln Park with a gang of small boys, but the gang made possible this most tempting of adventures.

The parents of this future gangster were Italian immigrants. The father, a laborer for the same industrial establishment for nearly thirty years, also had a news stand on the street corner near the plant. This was tended during working hours by his small sons who stole pennies and nickels from the income. The mother not only cared for nine children in a little back-yard shanty near the railroad tracks on De Koven and later Farquar Streets, but also "carried bundles on her head." Twenty-five years ago the finishing of clothing was largely the work of Italian women in their own homes. The task of providing the necessities of life was tremendous for both father and mother. The situation was made more acute by the virtues of the parents. The mother toiled constantly, as she does today, to keep a clean house. Both parents were thrifty. Toiling so hard to make ends meet,<sup>1</sup> they grudged the spending of pennies for pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> After a score of years their determined thrift has actually accomplished their ambition. They now own a house about two miles west of their original home on Bunker Street, after a series of westward moves. The young children, brought up in

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Without the gang, life would have been grim and barren for these children. Only in rare instances, unless the family moves away, does a boy escape from the demoralizing influence of the neighborhood and the gang.

3. *Same:* Growing up in the gang life is not "a bed of roses." One spends when flush, and when "broke" is in danger of a fall. Arrested without money and with no friends ready at hand, one is likely to be convicted. There are the cousins or friends in politics, but even they, as small fry, cannot "fix" without money. Employment at legitimate occupations is occasional, if not rare, and very often arranged as a convincing blind for criminal occupations.

"I used to be a messenger at night for a telegraph company. That gave me a chance to wear a uniform so that I would not be picked up when prowling around. With another boy I would go in for burglary. One of us would go up in the elevator with the elevator man while the other 'jimmied' the show-cases and cabinets in the cigar stand in the lobby. While I was a messenger I used to send or bring line-loads to the levee and we would steal from stores and hotel rooms and sell to the girls in the burlesque shows on South State Street.

"Very early I would be picked up on the downtown streets, selling papers at night, and I was well acquainted at central police station. Often they took me to Detention Home to stay over night and I made fast friends with the matron. If I would shoot my money away in craps I would go to the Detention Home and stay over night and tell my parents the next day that I was picked up by the police. The next day I would make up the loss, selling papers or stealing."

Out of the gang at the school came the fast friends and the acquaintances of later life who have made their mark in the criminal world. This man can recall famous forgers, leading gamblers, burglars, labor racketeers, and many notorious criminals in every form of criminality, who were neighborhood boys in his own gang.

The above extracts and notes from the autobiography of a criminal have been introduced to show why most gangsters have no apology to make for their criminal careers. The life histories of other gangsters also corroborate

the neighborhood of their present house, have no delinquency record, not even a truancy record, whereas, of the four sons who lived their childhood in the gang area, from Canal Street to Racine, three have records of some kind of delinquency or crime and one has turned out well.

The one son who is an outstanding success, displayed an aptitude for drawing while still in grammar school. One teacher became intensely interested in him, called the parents' attention to his talent and encouraged the boy to pursue this interest. A great deal of his time was spent in sketching at home, isolated from the gangs. When he graduated from this grammar school this teacher secured a job for him in a large firm doing a great deal of advertising. The manager of the Chicago branch noticed the boy's sketching and persuaded him to take an art course in a reputable night school. When this manager first spoke of this plan, the boy's immediate question was: "Will they take a guy from Bunker Street in an art school?" and the second remark was, "Where can my dad get the dough to send me?" The Bunker Street boy's esteem of himself and of his opportunities was low. After attending the art school for one year he was transferred by the firm to the main office in another city and of late years he has risen to the position of a traveling advertising sales manager.

In speaking to the other boys about him they said, "He was lucky he got away from home so soon."

"Do you mean the home or the gang?"

"I mean the gangs around the home."

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the conclusion arrived at by the famous French criminologist, Gabriel Tarde, that certain individuals become criminals in much the same way that other persons become policemen.

The gang youth does make comparisons between getting a job and going into a "racket," but from the standpoint not so much moral as of practical considerations. He takes as his pattern the men in the neighborhood who have achieved success. His father, although virtuous in his grime and squalor and thrift, does not present as alluring an example to him as do some of the neighborhood gangsters. The men who frequent the neighborhood gambling houses are good-natured, well-dressed, adorned and sophisticated, and above all, they are American, in the eyes of the gang boy.

The following case indicates the prevailing attitudes toward the various types of "rackets" as compared with regular employment by youths in an Italian neighborhood:

"When an ex-convict returned to Chicago from Joliet four years ago at the age of twenty-five, one of his first observations was that bootlegging had made many of his neighbors rich. 'Every Wop has got a car in front of his home.' Young hoodlums had been given opportunities in various rackets through connections and influence with resourceful chiefs—one was a gambling house manager, others were employed as a bootleg convoy, another was running a successful 'fence' for stolen goods and others held political jobs. He discussed with his friends the chances of securing a legitimate job while he remained on parole. One of them finally asked him: 'Do you really have a yen<sup>1</sup> for being a poor working sap?' His ironic answer was, 'Yes, my father worked as a laborer for twenty-seven years. He is all worked out now and his boss is going to pin a medal on him.'"<sup>2</sup>

Where the choice of a young man is between a low paid job as an unskilled laborer and good wages for driving a beer truck, a stigma is soon attached to legitimate employment. The conspicuous expenditures and lavish display of the *nouveau riche* of the underworld confuse and pervert the traditional standards and values of even the law abiding persons in the community.

When Angelo Genna was buried, an Italian woman and her Bohemian daughter-in-law were discussing the funeral. "Did you go to the funeral?" asked the older woman. "No, I didn't," said the daughter-in-law. "I had to attend to the baby, but they sure say it was some funeral. I was to a party with Mrs. Genna a couple of weeks ago and she wore an ermine coat and she was one sparkle of diamonds. Well, I thought, if you're gonna be straight, you're gonna be poor." "But," said the old lady, "you see they get bumped off." "But they like to get bumped off, like this fellow in this house," said the younger one. Later a criminal member of this family was asked about this danger of being "bumped off" and he said, "It's fun to live a marked man," and then went on to tell about the clever precautions and loyalties which his chief had established against the dangers of too sudden an end.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Yen"—a longing for; ambition.

<sup>2</sup> From a life history secured specially for this study.

<sup>3</sup> Adapted from notes on an interview obtained for this study from the family of a criminal gangster.

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As intimated in the above case, the risks of an illicit or criminal career are calculated and, in certain cases, due precautions taken. Or the risk itself becomes an added attraction for adventurous young men. This confusion in community standards in regard to the respective merits of legitimate and criminal occupations is generally not clarified by the gangster's first experience with the law. Both with the police and with the courts, the young delinquents center their attention upon the technique of getting "another chance." The most interesting aspect of a criminal career is the "crazy quilt" formed by the due process of law in relation to the criminal.

After a summer of shop-lifting and burglary, which netted in one haul about nine hundred silk shirts, a young chap of Boys' Court age was arrested in a department store with a stolen bathing suit in his possession. He appeared before a court and told the judge he was too poor to buy a bathing suit. The judge released him with a lecture and gave him the bathing suit. At another time he was picked up by a policeman in company with two others. There was evidence of burglary, but they were still of Boys' Court age. The judge asked the boys if they knew Mr. Gelapi. The boys answered, "Yes, we know Mr. Gelapi." The judge explained that Mr. Gelapi called up by telephone with regard to their case, and said that he was from Artie Quinn's Gambling Place on North Clark Street. "I know Artie Quinn," the judge added with fervor; "I went to school with him;" and the boys were dismissed.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Protection by Friends.* The experienced criminal or the boy brought up in gang culture approaches his "trouble with the law" as a matter which can be met in a thousand ways—there are friends and "fixers," perjury, bribery and intimidation. There is a certain behavior which befits a man of character in his society. He must give no information about his friends, he must not believe the police when they say that his friends have "squealed"—that is a usual method of causing associates to weaken. From the stories he has heard from childhood up he knows that he may have to stand a beating or the excruciating Third Degree, but in his mind he knows it is an experience that will bring him the plaudits of his group, just as a young soldier does under the baptism of fire. If he is convicted, he was not given a chance—it was a "bum rap." This "bum rap" may mean either that he was "framed," or he may be entirely guilty of the charge but he finds a reason why he was discriminated against, because both in his own career and that of his friends there have been instances of equal guilt with no punishment or lesser punishment as a result. This might extend to the most serious of crimes.

Sometimes, as in the following case, after a long period of immunity, a gangster is convicted because his own political "pull" was not as great as that of the man whom he had robbed.

In a long criminal career beginning in early childhood a young man is arrested for a stick-up. He uses his customary influence through a high public official in the county and it fails. It is one of those misfortunes in a criminal career. He has had a "fall." In discussing this situation he makes no attempt to explain that he was innocent of the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from a document secured for this study.

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charge, but goes into long details of how factionalism in politics had brought about a break between his protector, a county official, and another influential public official; who is a friend of the man who was robbed. He was not punished for his guilt. Rather, he was the victim of competition between the two factional leaders. In this test of their comparative strength his fortunes as a criminal were at stake. He does not deny his crime, nor those of his brother, who is a foremost leader of a notorious criminal gang.<sup>1</sup>

The world of the gangster is one in which the burglar is convicted and the "fence" retains the goods. Indeed, the "fence" may be an important figure in the neighborhood's political life. The gangster grows to consider the world a place in which everyone has a "racket" but the "poor working sap," because as he looks around he finds ample customers for his loot, ample police protection for money, and almost anything in his world can be "fixed." The underworld knows in advance when a certain "rap" will be beat. In several important cases, bets were placed prior to the verdict by the jury.

### *5. The Gangster's Defense.*

It is not until the gangster comes into contact with persons outside of the underworld that he gets his first sense of the necessity of justifying his behavior. The following case is typical of the reaction of bewilderment on the part of young gangsters when asked to explain their criminal careers and the disposition to find a defense in the rationalization "that everyone is doing it:"

When a youthful criminal with a long history of offenses from earliest boyhood was asked his own opinion about the causes of his own criminality, he was baffled at first. But later he came out with the answer, "Who around here hasn't a record?"<sup>2</sup>

The next tendency of the youthful gangster is to make invidious comparisons between the opportunities for success in a criminal versus a "legitimate" career. He contrasts the "easy money" and the "good times" of the gambler, beer runner, "stick-up artist" and "con man" with the low wages and long hours of "the poor working sap." He speaks in flowing admiration of the power, the courage, the skill, the display and the generosity of the outstanding gang leaders. His glorification of the life and the characters of the underworld is complete evidence of the absence of any feeling of inferiority or shame about his own criminal aspirations. The following statement by a gambler and confidence man is representative of the attitudes of the majority of criminals:

"The men of the underworld are the brainiest men in the world. They have to be, because they live by their wits. They are always planning something, a 'stick-up,' a burglary, or some new 'racket.' They are constantly in danger. They have to think quicker and sharper than the other fellow. They have to 'size up' every man they meet, and figure out what 'line' to use on him. The leading men of the underworld can move in every circle of society. They are at home in Chinatown, along the 'main stem,' in gambling dives, or in the best hotels

<sup>1</sup> Notes from the life history of a gangster secured for this study.

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from an interview with a criminal gangster obtained for this study.

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and the 'Gold Coast.' When they have a lucky 'break' they can live like millionaires; when their money is spent they plan new schemes."<sup>1</sup>

When the gangster becomes moralistic in defense of himself, he presents an array of facts to prove his claim that everybody has a "racket." He begins with the police. The gangster is situated where he observes the policeman as the beneficiary of his earnings. At times these exactions by the police become so heavy that he finds himself in a situation where he actually is working for the police.

"I don't mind one man getting a little graft, but now we have four men, four sets of them come one after another. I would be glad if they left me a quarter (meaning one-fourth of his proceeds)."

The gangster points to his "fences," men who dispose of his stolen goods. These "fences" are often men of wealth and respectability in the eyes of the gangster. The politician in the neighborhood where the gangster lives grafts on the criminals when they need "political pull" and uses them for the purpose of fraud and intimidation, as in elections. The gangster does not exaggerate when he says that he has never seen a straight election. His own gang fellows, once given even the minor jobs where they have entree to big politicians and holders of public office, become rich on the basis of the graft they receive for information, favors and protection.

In prison he may be associated for the first time with the defaulting banker or the unscrupulous promoter of dubious ventures. In this way, he sees the seamy side of big business. The more intelligent of his play-fellows in the gang may have worked up from thieves of accessory automobile parts to "fences" for accessories and even for automobiles, and now operate on a large scale, living their daily lives among society people, that is, the people of ordinary respectable status. Others may have gone into the selling of stock in general, stocks which are not listed in the stock exchange or approved by the Blue Sky Laws and the margins between selling short without a basis or selling stocks which may never pay and those which may pay, are only very vague.

In making comparisons between himself as a criminal with grafting police and politicians, the gangster feels his own superior virtue. The best statement of this universal attitude of the underworld has been perhaps best expressed by Al Capone in an interview as follows:

"There is one thing worse than a crook and that is a crooked man in a big political job. A man that pretends he is enforcing the law and is really taking 'dough' out of somebody breaking it, even a self-respecting 'hood'<sup>2</sup> hasn't any use for that kind of a fellow. He buys them like he would any other article necessary in his trade, but he hates them in his heart."<sup>3</sup>

In defense of his own criminality, when brought face to face with the righteous, the criminal becomes highly moralistic. He may deem the function

<sup>1</sup> Extract from an interview with a gambler and confidence man.

<sup>2</sup> "Hood" underworld abbreviation of "hoodlum."

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from an interview with Patricia Doherty in an article in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*.

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of his gang that of protecting the interests of his national group or neighborhood. When a certain west side gangster was told that there were no Jewish gangsters in Milwaukee, his first question was, "Do the Jews get pushed around much in Milwaukee?"<sup>1</sup> The attitude of gangs to protect the community's safety against hostile foreign groups in the race conflict has been the basis of the status of gangsters among the law-abiding people in the neighborhood. Around Davey Miller and his gang, including Nails Morton, there is a tradition of defenders of the race. It is the defense of the Jews against the Poles. But there are innumerable homelier every-day incidents of which the following is an instance:

"A young Jewish workman was frequently attacked by gangsters on his way to his shop. He went into Davey Miller's place, told him his story, and Davey Miller assigned two of his gangsters to accompany the young man to his work. The attacks ceased to occur after the Irish gangsters near the shop observed the companions of their victim—the erstwhile lone Jewish workman."<sup>2</sup>

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Sacrifices  
for Loyalty.*

The large size "racketeer," the big-timer, feels he has a function to perform. He is engaged in violence in connection with labor organization; he points out the instances where the "racketeer" has taken a forlorn or unorganized group and has brought them to a state where they command desirable wages. As one gangster said:<sup>3</sup>

"They sent 'Quizzy' (Quesse) up. Before he took hold of the janitors there were men begging for room to sleep in so that they would fire the boiler at night. Look at them now. They get salaries of three hundred to four hundred dollars a month and are given apartments to live in."

In the Anselmi-Scalise case, almost the entire Italian group in the city was consolidated in support of these men who were bootleggers and who were accused of killing policemen, on the basis of the inflammatory and prejudicial remarks made against them by the prosecution.

Even the bootlegger and the beer runner are defended by his fellow gangsters and by the sporting world, in addition, as men who are performing a valuable function in society. They may even be extolled with admiration for their bravery in risking their lives in service for their customers. The following statement was made by a man thoroughly familiar with these areas of life in the city where the worlds of gambling, crime, sport and politics overlap:

"If he is a beer distributor or a bootlegger he doesn't make or sell the stuff for himself, he furnishes it to others who want the pleasure of drinking. The only time I ever saw the facts told fairly in the press was when Red Shannon was killed down in Florida. The Miami newspapers came out with a black border and they gave the life of Red Shannon and the risks he took against the coast guard to bring in genuine imported whiskey for the pleasure of all of us."

<sup>1</sup> From an interview with a Jewish gangster secured for this study.

<sup>2</sup> From an interview secured for this study.

<sup>3</sup> An interview with an investigator for this study.

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"Yes," the interviewer objected, "but they 'bump' each other off, and a life is a life."

"Very well, but they choose that life. They choose to fight their own battles and bury their own dead."<sup>1</sup>

7. *Is the Gangster  
Remorseful?*

Many law-abiding citizens, when they try to picture themselves in the place of the criminal, imagine him constantly tortured with the pangs of remorse. It is difficult for them to believe that the gangster is seldom, if at all, conscience stricken because of his crime. In four years' association with criminal gangsters, the writer encountered little or no remorse among Chicago gangsters. The following cases indicate the nearest approaches to remorse on the part of the criminal.<sup>2</sup>

A student of criminology invited an ex-convict to attend the Symphony Concert and later the opera at Ravinia (a suburb of Chicago) one Sunday afternoon. This former criminal had served several prison terms and had entered his life of crime after a preferred career in the military service; he was on the one hand a church-goer and a scholar, and on the other, a "con-man" and "jail-bird." Upon first acquaintance and for many weeks thereafter this man always tried to minimize his career as a criminal and would lay the offenses which had been proved against him to drink. On this Sunday afternoon, in the leisure between the symphony concert and the opera, the student suddenly turned upon his "con-man" friend and said, "You are trying to prove to me that you are a drunkard. That doesn't interest me. I am interested in criminology. What interests me is the criminal." This turned the tone of the conversation. There had been the church, music, and art, as well as pleasant associations during the day, which probably brought on a certain tone and memory which recalled to him the wholesome life. He had heard an especially good sermon on the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife." He began by telling about the sermon and later he said in a tone laden with remorse, "I have not been punished for the little I stole, but for breaking this commandment." It developed that his work as a "con-man" always involved first a triangular relation with some married woman and it was only after a scandal had already been exposed that the woman would take courage to have the checks, drawn by this man, rejected, and he would then be convicted on a plea of guilty. According to his statement, he would plead guilty in order not to have a trial and bring shame upon the famous name of his family.

Another instance of remorse is that of the president of a labor union which had taken to direct actionism. It is probable that after the direct actionist gained control in the union, the president was a mere figurehead. When the evidence of the violence by way of destruction of property was disclosed, this president committed suicide, leaving a note to his wife insisting that he had always been a good man.

"I tried all my life to live honest and upright. You and all my friends know this—I could never stand the disgrace of being connected

<sup>1</sup> An interview with an investigator for this study.

<sup>2</sup> Cases specially secured for this study.

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with a matter like this, although I am innocent. One day in jail before I was bonded out is enough for me. Now after twenty-nine years of life, with the best woman in the world, I have to go."<sup>1</sup>

These are two instances of remorse. In the first case that of a man coming from a highly respectable group, in a society without a criminal culture. But he had sunk into devious ways, and was definitely disgraced by dishonorable dismissal from an honorable service. His plight was mainly and basically due to the fact that he was a very proud and popular man but could not keep up the enormous expense which was necessitated by his exceptional social opportunities. In prison and out, he always sought to escape the association of criminal society, for no one hates the ordinary criminal more than this man does. Yet his remorse was not for his crimes of stealing, but for his sin of adultery.

The other case is one of remorse by a man who was not a criminal at all, certainly not an habitual or professional criminal. There had been a change of policy in unionism with the increasing restraint placed upon the functions of collective bargaining through injunction, and direct action was the only way out. Before he could realize it, the president was culpable for a situation over which he had little or no control. He had never been anything but a law-abiding, hard working man. Once in the clutches of the law, he could imagine nothing but prison and disgrace. His life had come to an impasse.

Neither of these two cases, then, represents remorse for his crimes on the part of the criminal. Can any case be found in which the gangster feels remorse? Certainly he feels remorse, not for his crimes, but for being caught and convicted. Remorse arises when the efforts and defenses for escape from prosecution are blocked and one reaches an impasse. As long as there is practical hope, then in one's own mind there is a continual surging of possibilities of action, until the final sentence has been pronounced. Even then thought runs through the unused alternatives and to the failures that were merely adventitious. Within the friendly group interested in one's case, there is a stirring about, great amount of discussion, rumor, argument and counter-argument about means that can be used and about resources that can be marshalled which are a counterpart of the surging thoughts in the mind of the victim in the hands of the law. Remorse arises far more frequently in a city where due process of law is effective and the bulwarks of the law are without a breach. When there is nothing to be done about one's trouble, the thoughts turn inward in a self-appraisal. A man mopes about his troubles and remorse follows. The remorse of the gangster is not based on his original guilt for the crime, but in a mistaken maneuver or a mistaken choice of friends or misplaced confidence.

There is a meaning to the fact that three times as many felons confess the offense as charged (without a lesser plea) in Milwaukee as in Chicago.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, December 1, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter I. Recorded Felonies, a statistical analysis by Dr. C. E. Gehlke, Table A-71.

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8. *Gangsters' Mutual Loyalty.* Although the criminal gangster is untroubled about his crimes, he is stirred to the depths of his feelings and sentiments by any charge of personal treachery to his friends. Betraying a comrade is the only crime in the underworld for which its members are one and all likely to feel genuine remorse.

The cases of Charles (Limpy) Cleaver and of Timothy (Big Tim) Murphy show how deep seated is the resentment against disloyalty to one's fellows.

"With large teardrops rolling down into the deep furrows in his hardened face, Charles 'Limpy' Cleaver, on trial before Federal Judge James H. Wilkerson as the principal defendant in the \$133,000 Evergreen Park mail robbery, today charged William Donovan, one of his alleged accomplices and government star witness, with wholesale murder and robbery. 'Sure he will squawk, and plenty,' Limpy almost shouted to a *Journal* reporter after the morning session. 'He will do a lot of squawking about me, the dirty lying dog.' He rubbed his eyes with a rough palm. ' . . . , they're calling me the brains of them jobs. I never had any brains because if I did I wouldn't know a rat like him. Him and Willis Jackson were the guys with the brains. They pulled some of the biggest robberies in Chicago.'"<sup>1</sup>

Captain Shoemaker, chief of detectives, admitted he had advised Cleaver to confess, but that the defendant said he valued his reputation too highly to do that and would go to the penitentiary "like a man and not like a rat." Instead he applied this most insulting epithet of the underworld vocabulary to a fellow defendant.<sup>2</sup>

While Tim Murphy was in prison at Leavenworth, Frank Conovan, released from the same penitentiary, accused Murphy of being a stool-pigeon. "Even his old pals, sent down with him, give him the cold eye when they meet him. Cosmano and Peter Gusenberg have only looks of scorn for the old leader. He bears no confidence. The rest brand him as a possible stool-pigeon because he is too friendly with the guards."

In answer to Conovan, Big Tim, in his Leavenworth cell, wrote a letter in which he defied "any prison rat" to call him a stool-pigeon. He said further in the letter: "That's a lie. Cosmano and I are the best of friends. He has been transferred to my cell, even, and we are together. If I have got any enemies at all in the penitentiary, they are stool-pigeons."<sup>3</sup>

9. *Do Gangsters Reform?* If the gangster does not feel remorse, what are the motives that lead to his reform? This question assumes that many criminals forsake the life of crime and turn to law-abiding pursuits. All students of criminology are aware that this change in behavior frequently occurs. There are many reasons for it with different individuals, but the main consideration seems to be the conclusion that *crime does not pay*.

\*Often the criminal upon his release from the state reformatory or the state penitentiary attempts to follow a law-abiding life. He frequently suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, July 26, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribune*, July 27, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily News*, November 3, 1923.

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ceeds, even against great odds. But many ex-convicts find the difficulties in the way of reformation almost insuperable.

While on parole one ex-convict tries going straight alone. The struggle is grim and not unmixed with some petty criminality. A parole scandal arises. He is picked up by the police on a queer charge of indecent exposure while dressing in his rooms. The case is pending in the police court. The time is shortly before an election. He gets continuance after continuance until after the election on the promise that he will do *everything* for certain candidates in the election. The case is finally stricken from the records, but meanwhile a warrant has been issued by the Parole Division, which cannot be revoked. He is in jail for several weeks. He is then taken to Joliet and held idle and unassigned waiting for a parole hearing. The hearing is held and he is found not guilty. The papers releasing him are delayed. His writing privileges are limited under the regulations of the prison. He finally reaches a friend who inquires about the papers. They have been held in someone's desk while he was waiting daily and hourly for his release. While he is in prison he breaks out with boils. When he comes out, he has trouble again finding a job. Finally he finds a job not very distant from the protection of his gang interests. As far as his friends achieve success it is success in underworld occupations, and these successes are free from pursuit by the law.<sup>1</sup>

The forces operating against the return of a gangster to a law-abiding life can be seen in a different setting in the next case. Here the youth, although profoundly moved by the death of his father, has a vivid sense of his inability to extricate himself from the factors that have shaped his career.

Untrained, the school period wasted through truancy and delinquencies, working intermittently at blind alley jobs or never having worked at all, a gangster, at the moment in a very solemn mood because of the very tragic death of his father, was conversing with a visitor who had come to console the mother. The family was left in difficult straits and this gangster was the oldest of the children. Naturally, the visitor asked what he was doing and what he intended to do, because without question the young man was stricken with grief and appalled by the poverty around him. Earlier in the conversation he had told of his exploits helping to run beer under Dion O'Banion when he was only eighteen years of age and of the toughness and courage of some of his neighborhood "pals." When he was confronted with his responsibility for the bereaved family, he thought for a moment very despondently and then said, "Well, what kind of a job can I get? Who'll give me, with a record, a job?" And then he added, "It is better to be in prison than poor and free."<sup>2</sup>

A third case shows how powerful a factor in the return to a criminal career is the assistance and kindness of old associates in crime. Their aid is frequently given with more human sympathy than is the more formal help extended by welfare agencies. This contact with old acquaintances in the

<sup>1</sup> From a case secured for this study.

<sup>2</sup> From notes by an investigator for this study.

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underworld not only places him under obligation to them, but prevents him from carrying out his purpose of reformation.

When a gangster came out of Joliet with the intention of going straight, the various social and public agencies for the supervision and uplift of the ex-convict made their efforts to secure him a legitimate job, but during the rather depressed summer season all of them failed. At the same time his gang, brothers of old acquaintances, noticed his shabby prison "dress-out" suit and the misfit sweater vest, and invited him to come to their homes for a suit. Others contributed "fins," "sawbucks," and "double sawbucks"<sup>1</sup> as philanthropy to tide him over, and finally, through more important criminals, whose acquaintance he made in Joliet, he gained access to a great gangster chief who gave him a permanent job in one of his many outlaw enterprises.<sup>2</sup>

#### 10. *Gang Standards Versus the Law.*

When an individual gangster reforms, it is not from feelings of remorse for his misdeeds, but because he finds from his own experience that crime does not pay. But the criminal gang as a going concern strives so far as it is able, to make crime both profitable and safe. This is seen not only through its activity in electing its picked candidates and in employing lawyers with reputations as "fixers," but in its resort to violence to insure the freedom of its own members when they become enmeshed in the web of the law.

The gang not only has its own code which governs the conduct of its members, but it even goes so far as to impose it upon outside society. In recent years in Chicago, the public has become familiar with the bold practices of criminal gangs in terrorizing witnesses and in exacting the death penalties upon them and upon members of the gang who are suspected of having given information to the police. An inside view of the attitudes and codes of a notorious criminal gang shows how a closely knit group develops its own standards and is outraged and puzzled by the attempts to deal with them according to the law.

Several youths belonging to this notorious criminal gang held up the clerk of a shady hotel located in a disreputable area. During the holdup, the gunman on guard at the hotel exchanged shots with one of the youths. In this duel the watchman was killed and the young gangster wounded. The wounded youth was taken by his gang fellows in a machine to a hallway and left there. Three hours later, when he was almost exhausted, they picked him up again and took him to a hospital. They allowed this lapse of time probably through fear of apprehension, because they knew the police would likely immediately search all of the hospitals upon hearing that one of the gang was seriously wounded.

At the hospital he received the best medical attention. While the arm was stripped of the entire bicep muscle and the shattered bone was exposed, every effort was made to save it. The boy endured the treatment with great patience and the arm was saved from amputation finally. During the hospitalization period, which extended over months, he had

<sup>1</sup> A "fin" is five dollars; a "sawbuck" is ten dollars; and a "double sawbuck" is twenty dollars.

<sup>2</sup> Data from the life history of an ex-convict secured for this study.

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a constant flow of visitors with gifts of fruit and cigarettes. Boys brought their own radio sets—he had three or four different sets at work in his room. They arranged to avoid taking him to the House of Correction Hospital by having deputy sheriffs on alternating watches, whose salaries they paid to the county. With an especially constructed frame supporting the arm, he was taken to a court and bail bond was set at over twenty thousand dollars. The bail bond was arranged in cash. The hours during hospitalization were passed in fleet conversation about “jobs” and “raps,” and gossip about gang friends. As soon as he became a little better, the boys would bring up his girl friends who were admirers of the young gangster.<sup>1</sup>

There was but one difficulty in the way of beating the “rap.” A taxicab man insisted upon standing up as a prosecuting witness. One day his doorbell rang and as he stepped to the door a shower of shotgun slugs ended his upright citizenship.

In this gang there are periods when trouble upon trouble engulfs certain members. These become the subject of highest interest, with all the resources of the gang bent towards discovering the weakest places in the law’s machinery and making the defense moth-proof. The influence of these boys is far-reaching. While the deputy sheriffs were on guard over the boy in the hospital, they tried in every way to ingratiate themselves with the gang. There had been a change in sheriffs and a Democrat was elected, who later died. During the short period while the change was considered an accomplished fact, the deputy sheriffs feared that they would be displaced in their jobs, and the young gangsters reassured them that they would use their influence with the most powerful of the gangsters, who were friends of the new sheriff, to retain the jobs of the deputies.

There was one rift in the normal order of the gang’s relations. A certain fellow was widely advertised, even in books, as the leader of this gang. Queerly, when on a job with his gang fellows, others would get into trouble but he was never apprehended and would walk around scot free. On the night of the catastrophic holdup he had not acted in a very manly way when he allowed the wounded youth to remain so long without aid, and bit by bit the gang began to suspect that the leader had turned policeman or informer to the police. He incurred the stigma of “the rat” and the hatred of the gang. One night it was reported that this leader had been shot in the back by a policeman who caught him trying to strip a car. Not one of the gang attended either the wake or the funeral, and within the gang it has always been accounted for as one of the typical bluffs of the police—this claim that “they got him.” He had turned informer and the gang claims he got his due at the hands of the gang.

Those members of the gang that have been punished by conviction and sentence—one boy who returned from the reformatory and another from Joliet—have never quite recovered from the puzzling outrage of their fate. In their speculations of how it came about, there is always an increasing number of possible factors as to who could have been the enemy or who

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from a document secured especially for this study.

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could have been the "squealer," or what the ulterior motives might have been for him or the prosecution that they were actually sent up.

Among the members of this gang there is no remorse for their depredations, no regret for their intimidation and even murder of witnesses who dare to testify against them. On the contrary, they form a group dominated by the gangster's code of loyalty, engaged in relentless war upon society and upon all those who seek to see that justice is enforced upon them. The welfare, standards, and laws of organized society evoke no response in their hearts and minds. They seem to have no conception of justice, of laws, and of courts, except as some external superimposed system of oppression which they must by hook or by crook obstruct and evade.

#### *II. Conclusion.*

The picture of the gangster presented in this chapter differs widely from the current descriptions of him, whether those of soft-hearted sentimentalists or of hard-headed realists. When allowed to speak for himself, he is seen to be neither an innocent youth led astray by bad companions but ready to make good if given a chance, nor a hardened and vicious individual who has deliberately and vindictively chosen to wage war on society.

The story which he gives of his own life shows him to be a natural product of his environment—that is, of the slums of our large American cities. These slum areas have been formed in the growth of the city. They have been ports of first entry for each new wave of foreign immigration. These slum areas inhabited by national groups, as well as industrial areas like back-of-the-yards, are subject to the constant misfortune of the drawing off and moving away of the legitimately successful people. The constant ambition that grows with the rise of the people is to get out into the better districts of the city. As the successful families move away they leave behind the unsuccessful, laboring foreigner, who is not accepted as a model for the children and youth in their process of Americanization. But there also remain the gangster and politician chief, who become practically the only model of success.

It follows that the gangster is a product of his surroundings in the same way in which the good citizen is a product of his environment. The good citizen has grown up in an atmosphere of obedience to law and of respect for it. The gangster has lived his life in a region of law breaking, of graft, and of "fixing." That is the reason why the good citizen and the gangster have never been able to understand each other. They have been reared in two different worlds.

The stories which the gangsters tell of their own lives should enable the good citizens to deal more intelligently and therefore more effectively with the problem of organized crime. In the first place, it will enable the public to realize how deep rooted and widespread are the practices and philosophy of the gangster in the life and growth of the city. In the second place, an understanding of this should make possible a constructive program that will not content itself with punishing individual gangsters and their allies, but will reach out into a frontal attack upon basic causes of crime in Chicago.

# CHAPTER XXVII A WHO'S WHO OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN CHICAGO

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## CHAPTER XXVII

# A WHO'S WHO OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN CHICAGO

### I. *Mode of Compilation.*

Our study of the history of organized crime disclosed the persistence and the continuity of *leadership* in the organization of vice, gambling, booze, and crime, often in syndicate and interlocking forms. Names like Mont Tennes, Al Capone, Barney Bertsche and Harry Cusick recur through the years and often appear in more than one of these fields. These facts early suggested the value of making a card catalogue of criminals in Chicago and selecting from these a certain number of the more active, successful, and prominent for a *Who's Who of Organized Crime in Chicago*. It was also believed that a card catalogue of criminals would provide material for a statistical analysis of certain of the facts and factors in organized crime.

In selecting the names of criminals for the card catalogue, it was decided to put the emphasis upon present and recent rather than past criminal activity. The following available sources of information were consulted:

1. Every name appearing in the criminal news of Chicago newspapers for a period of one year was listed, the stories clipped, classified and filed, and the names catalogued.
2. The names of criminals entered in the daily police bulletins were also classified and catalogued.
3. From the current news the names of gang leaders were noted and their gangs traced through the newspaper archives for twenty-five years. This method yielded not only the names of those affiliated with the leaders, but the names and activities of conflicting gangs or syndicates and leaders.
4. The life histories of the leaders in their gang settings were compiled, and geographical locations of the gangs, as well as the motives for conflict and cooperation, were traced.
5. For a period of three and a half years, first-hand contacts were established wherever possible with both leaders and followers in gangland. A collection of a limited number of life histories of gangsters who were also ex-convicts, fairly well distributed over the city, was also assembled.
6. From the Crime Commission of Chicago twenty-six hundred probation records furnished names, which were classified and added to our catalogue.
7. From the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, one hundred names, selected for their use of the habeas corpus, were obtained and added to the list.

The catalogue contains approximately seven thousand names. It is not claimed that this card catalogue of criminals is complete. Captain John Stege, as chief deputy of the Detective Bureau under Chief of Police Morgan Collins, stated that he had compiled a list of approximately eighteen thousand criminals during a four-year period. This larger list of characters known

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to the police was probably not complete. But, our card catalogue of seven thousand names may be taken as fairly representative of recent criminal activity in Chicago.

Out of these seven thousand records, four hundred names were selected for the *Who's Who of Organized Crime*. The first consideration was the persistence of the name appearing in current news through a considerable period of the twenty-five years covered by the historical studies. The second point was the position of the man in criminal news and criminal history, his importance, prestige, or notoriety. From the standpoint of organized crime, the affiliation of a person with a gang was also a main factor in his selection. The killing of a man in gang warfare attracted wide newspaper publicity, and in the theorizing of newspaper and police investigations following the death, gang affiliations and motives for the gang conflict came to the surface. The individuals considered as killed in gang warfare were carefully traced for previous histories, for affiliations and for indications of motives and causes.

2. *Same: Incompleteness  
of the Police  
Department Records.*

Finally, this list of the four hundred men most persistent, most notorious, and most clearly affiliated with organized crime was cleared through the Bureau of Identification of the Police Department and the office of the secretary of police. The Identification Bureau files contain:

- (a) Records of conviction of a felony in Cook County. This is subject to human lapses and mistakes.
- (b) An occasional record of a conviction in a federal court.
- (c) Frequent, but not regular, records of the conviction of a man with a record in Cook County by a court in another county in Illinois.
- (d) Records received through exchange with bureaus of other cities and with the National Bureau, of convictions in other states. In spite of the increasing efficiency of this system of exchanging records, it cannot be said that these so-called foreign records are complete for every man registered in the Chicago Bureau who previously or subsequently established a record elsewhere.

There is no established rule or law by which one can determine whether the bureau would have a record or not. From the point of view of the legal process or due process of law, there are records for men of whom there is no information of criminal activity except their arrests. If we were to consider the following list of steps in the due process of law—

Arrest,  
Discharged in police court,  
Dismissed for want of prosecution,  
Bound over,  
Bond forfeited—fugitive,  
No bill,  
True bill,  
Nolle prosequi,  
Stricken off,  
Lesser plea,  
Guilty plea on the original charge,

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Cause affirmed on appeal,  
Reversed and remanded,  
Final acquittal,  
Probation,  
Fine,  
House of Correction,  
County Jail,  
Pontiac,  
Joliet,  
Foreign prisons,  
Parole,  
Commutation,  
Violation of parole,  
Violation of probation—

the police record of the process on any charge might end with an entry in any one or more of these columns, under any of these headings, without giving the result of logical previous or subsequent steps. This is true of the summary sheet showing the man's previous record, with a more detailed exposition of the facts of the crime in the case for which he is held at the given date. The history of the disposition of each case could be given more completely, especially for Cook County cases.

The right of the bureau to take the record of a man, even though there is no charge against him, when he is a notorious criminal or a man whose identity is valuable for the detection of crime, is not limited by law. Under the energetic efforts of Captain Shoemaker, for instance, many records of notorious, dangerous criminals, both powerful and influential, were taken even though they were so protected politically or so stationed with regard to legal evidence against them that the due process of law could not touch them.

While there is no law or regulation against bringing a man to the Identification Bureau for registration, the person has certain rights at common law and under the statutes. We find, therefore, that resort to habeas corpus or admission to bail may snatch a case from the hands of the police before the individual is examined and recorded in the Identification Bureau. When probation follows conviction, probationers are allowed to leave the court without being taken to the bureau. A man may be repeatedly arrested, the number of arrests reaching as high as fifty; he may even have been fined; and yet never have been brought to the bureau. Cases turned over by the police to the federal government usually escape registration at the Identification Bureau, as well as those of Chicagoans arrested by the federal authorities. Arrests made by the sheriff of Cook County are free from examination by the bureau. Suburban arrests in the county, even those whose independence from Chicago is merely a matter of governmental formality, do not come under the authority of the Bureau of Identification.

Finally, bringing a man to the bureau remains in the discretion of the policeman who makes the arrest. This is the most important limitation upon its activities. With a quarter of a million arrests per year, using the dragnet method and the raid very widely, it would be too much to demand that everyone be registered, finger-prints and pictures taken and filed. About sixty thousand people are brought to the Bureau of Identification in a year. When finger-prints are taken, compared with those in the files, and no

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previous record found, the prints taken are kept for a year and later thrown out.

Still, with the freedom from legal restraint which the bureau enjoys, it would be reasonable to expect that the records of notorious criminals, gang members and gang chieftains, and of other professional criminals, would be found to be in the bureau. Since the importation of gunmen and the geographical mobility of certain types of criminals are facts well known, it would be fair to expect not only the finger-prints to be on hand for the notorious criminal, but that exchanges have been made and out-of-state or foreign records filed. Our experiences show that the actual files are far short of the expectation, and that the weakness is due to the failure of the Detective Bureau to bring such men to the bureau. The exceptions to this practice are Chiefs of Detectives Shoemaker and Stege.

Further, in the Juvenile Court, the Boys' Court, and the St. Charles School for Boys, regardless of the gravity of the crime committed or the length of the criminal activity of the individual, the finger-print records are not taken, filed, or exchanged with the Identification Bureau; even though, upon his first conviction in the criminal court it is known that a particular criminal has had a long police record and a long criminal record in the Juvenile and Boys' Courts, such histories are not traced. While it is abhorrent to record as a criminal a young delinquent, who through mischief has fallen into the hands of the law, or even one who has made the grave mistake in early youth, yet there would be no moral wrong involved in retracing the record of a young criminal in the criminal court to the Juvenile and Boys' Courts records when such records would establish a professional criminal history. Two examples would serve to establish the justice of this point of view:

(1) William Colash, at present twenty-one years of age, has been seven times an inmate of St. Charles, has a long police record, is known to have killed a jailor in an escape from an Iowa jail, but he has no record in the Identification Bureau. If he had been committed to Pontiac, then the Reformatory's Identification Bureau would have furnished the Identification Bureau of the Chicago Police Department with a record, but he has never been sent to Pontiac and has never been convicted in a criminal court in Cook County.

(2) Aaron Moshiek has a long police record for forgery, beginning in childhood. He has been in the Juvenile Court and the Boys' Court numerous times. His bureau record is short, and does not indicate his lifelong specialization as a professional forger.

3. *Defects of Method in the Police Records.* The Bureau of Identification record is but one reflection of the immunity of certain types of criminals, organized with money and political influence, as discovered by all of the reports in the Survey. If the Survey record were more complete, it would even more glaringly reflect this condition, which is not due to the police alone, but to the failure of *all* of the institutions for criminal justice.

The bureau is in the hands of identification experts. The methods of police identification, anthropometric, photographic, and finger-print, are highly developed. Captain Evans and several of his subordinates are experts

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in this field. But this bureau is, and perhaps all identification bureaus in the United States are, very distant from and almost devoid of scientific methods for the study of their own archives after they are accumulated. The individual is treated as an individual, and while policemen, both in the Bureau and out, acquire a great deal of valuable knowledge in the detection of criminals, little of this is collected. For instance, individual policemen know from memory outstanding criminal families; but there is nothing in the record to indicate that a long known pickpocket is the son of another pickpocket who has also been known to the police as a pickpocket with a long record, nor that two women brought in as pickpockets were the wives of two notorious pickpockets. As to gang affiliation, each person is treated as an individual; for the individual crime associates may be mentioned, but nothing is compiled by taking out the record for a given crime and the records for all associates and grouping them as a basis for a possible operating gang. Further, the bureau is doubtful as to whether the addresses given are correct for the criminals. We know, from additional data about the individual and the gang, that he is a member of, for example, the *Forty-twos*, and that if the address is not exactly correct in the bureau records, it is in the proper vicinity.

A good deal of what appears in the newspapers is taken by the reporters from the police officers at the time of the arrest; yet there is no clipping file kept at police stations because newspaper accounts are not an official record; and the official records are very lean and have many lapses in them. The knowledge gained by the policeman about a district or about a type of criminal is not gathered and accumulated in files. With the repeated shake-ups in territories the criminal remains versatile, while the policeman is constantly coming in green with no accumulated data which can be handed on.

In the office of the secretary of police the statistical method is used in tabulating the records. The annual reports are an example of the results of these tabulations.

The spotting of maps for certain types of criminals as a basis for police policy has not been used as a method. To illustrate what the value of map spotting of criminals would be, we give this example: if the records of pickpockets of Chicago, which are usually comparatively complete, were taken as they are and spotted on a map, it would be discovered that most of them originated in what is now the Twentieth Ward, with all the consequent conclusions that follow. For instance, Chicago pickpockets are mainly Jewish. The analytical charts of bootleg gangs disclose their territorial nature.

#### 4. *Who's Who in Vice and Gambling.*

The clearing of the four hundred selected names of the *Who's Who*, through the Identification Bureau, netted valuable information, which was abstracted and entered for purposes of comparison upon analytical charts. In the vice and gambling group a list of names was traced, which names were later classified under three headings: (A) those who had Identification Bureau records; (B) those who should have Identification Bureau records because of information from other sources regarding indictment or even conviction; (C) those who have no Identification Bureau records. Although the following names are chosen from vice and gambling, there is

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a sufficient proportion of them also in booze to show the interlocking interests and directorate of these three enterprises. The list as classified follows:

## *A. Record in Identification Bureau.*

<i>Vice</i>	<i>Gambling</i>	<i>Booze</i>
Bertsche, Barney	Arnstein, Nicky	
Bertsche, Joe	Bertsche, Barney	
Heitler, Mike	Bertsche, Joe	
McGurn, James	Heitler, Mike	
Mangano, Lawrence	McGurn, James	
Pope, Frank	Pope, Frank	

## *B. No Record in Identification Bureau, but Other Record of Conviction.*

<i>Vice</i>	<i>Gambling</i>	<i>Booze</i>
Craig, Andy		
Cusick, Harry	Cusick, Harry	
Cusick, Jack		
Grabiner, Joseph		
Grogan, Barney	Grogan, Barney	Grogan, Barney
Lewis, Frank	Lewis, Frank	
Lynch, Jack	Lynch, Jack	
Miller, Dave	Miller, Dave	Miller, Dave
Miller, Harry		
Miller, Hirschie	Miller, Hirschie	Miller, Hirschie
Patton, John	Miller, Max	Miller, Max
Quinn, Arthur	Patton, John	
Skidmore, William		
Volpi, Anthony	Volpi, Anthony	

## *C. No Record in Identification Bureau, nor Other Record of Conviction, but Notorious in These Activities.*

<i>Vice</i>	<i>Gambling</i>	<i>Booze</i>
Adler, Sam	Adler, Sam	
Bloom, Ike		
Capone, Al	Anixter, Julius	
Capone, John	Capone, Al	Capone, Al
Capone, Ralph	Capone, John	Capone, John
Carr, Chas.	Capone, Ralph	Capone, Ralph
Cohen, Sam	Carr, Chas.	Carr, Chas.
Cooney, Dan	Cohen, Sam	
Coughlin, John	Cooney, Dan	
Hare, Sam	Coughlin, John	
Harris, Sam	Hare, Sam	
Heitler, Joseph "Dutch"		
Jackson, Charles	Jackson, Charles	
Jackson, Dan	Jackson, Dan	
Kenna, Michael	Kenna, Michael	
Roderick, Ike		
Zuta, Jack	Lazarus, Isadore	
	Zuta, Jack	
	O'Leary, James	
	Tennes, Mont	

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5. *Same: Group A—Leaders  
Not Fully Recorded  
in Police Records.*

Upon examination of the available Identification Bureau records (ten only) of leaders and close associates in vice and gambling (Group A, above), only Mike de Pike Heitler and Lawrence Mangano were found to have records of prosecution for activities in vice and gambling. The other eight have records which initiated *prior* to their entry into the latter occupations—initiated or accumulated in the days of their direct activity in crimes of violence and crimes against property. These men's full records, individually, are as follows:

1. *Jack McGurn*, whose real name is James Gebardi, a gunman associated for several years as bodyguard of Capone, was brought in on the order of Captain Shoemaker especially for the purpose of registering his fingerprints and initiating a record for future reference. He had no previous record. According to the system, it is proper to assume that these fingerprints were exchanged with the Central Bureau at Washington, and even though McGurn came from New York, he had no previous record there.

While there are the many limitations enumerated, this case illustrates that the police department has a way of registering known gunmen, retainers in vice, gambling, and booze, on general principles for future reference. The case of Jack McGurn, as well as other known gunmen who have no records, is corroborative of an observation made by a student in the heyday of gambling in Cicero, when on a certain occasion several attaches of a gambling house were laid off "because there are too many guys around here with records." At this time the managers were expecting police raids.

A year or more after this registration, Jack McGurn was injured on two occasions in machine-gun attacks which were ascribed to gambling war motives. The record taken at the time of the registration *makes no reference to the activities* in which he is engaged. The effort is concentrated upon physical identification. His occupation is given as chauffeur. It is also to be noted that he was not at that time a syndicate leader. His importance is due to his association as a subordinate with Capone.

2. *Barney Bertsche*, frequently mentioned within the last year as a member of the north side gambling syndicate, began accumulating a criminal record in 1885. He served time in Pennsylvania, in Wisconsin, in Tennessee, in Paris, France, and in Joliet. The charges were all for picking pockets or "con game." A pardon from the Governor of Tennessee in 1892 and a commutation in 1915 in Illinois indicate that he has been capable of significant efforts for securing his own liberty. He is now a man in the sixties. In spite of the charges of violence and bombing against the large-scale gambling syndicate of which he is the most prominent member, he has never been harassed by the law since he has entered his present activities. The last difficulty with the law recorded in his record was the conviction in 1912 and his commitment to Joliet in 1914 on a charge of "con game" for conducting the clairvoyants' trust in Chicago. Bertsche made a strenuous fight, took the case to the Supreme Court on appeal, was released on a writ of super-seedeas after he was in the penitentiary, and his sentence was finally commuted by Governor Dunne. As to his record in the Identification Bureau,

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we state with special emphasis that it was initiated prior to his rise to an important position in gambling, and *no entries have been made on it since.*

3. Barney Bertsche's brother, *Joseph Bertsche*, who has worked under three aliases and whose name has been associated frequently with Barney's in gambling operations, has been tried in Chicago in 1915 for burglary of a safe, along with associates, and was found not guilty. In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in Cleveland, in Pittsburgh, in Detroit, and in Indianapolis he has operated as a burglar, and has been picked up on vagrancy as a suspicious character in Milwaukee. He has been tried and convicted of burglary in several of these cities; he has also been pardoned by the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1899. In 1927 he was sentenced to a four-year term and a five thousand dollar fine for the robbery of a mail truck in Cincinnati in 1921, and is now safely in a penitentiary. This conviction is *not recorded in the Identification Bureau record*, but is a matter of newspaper history. His record *does not include any of the vice and gambling activities* and was initiated in his earlier burglary and robbery days. He is at present about fifty-four years of age.

4. *Frankie Pope*, of recent wide publicity as operator of a gambling house in the disputed north side territory, formerly widely known as an associate of the Capone syndicate in Cicero, has an Identification Bureau record in 1919, 1920 and 1921, for robbery and conspiracy. All the charges against him have been stricken or dropped. There are *no charges against him for gambling activities.*

5. *Michael Heitler*, known as Mike de Pike, for many years a vice lord in the Des Plaines Street district, has an Identification Bureau record which is an outstanding contrast to all the other important characters in vice and gambling. It was initiated in 1916 when he was sentenced to Leavenworth for conspiracy in the violation of the Mann Act, by the United States Court in Chicago. He has been tried and fined as a keeper of a disorderly house and the keeper of a gambling house in Chicago. The contrast lies in his Identification Bureau record for convictions for the activities in vice and gambling, in which he has been a chief for many years. The newspapers also report one sentence by the Federal Court for violation of the Volstead Act in 1923, but this does not appear in his Identification Bureau report.

6. *Nicky Arnstein*, associated with Tim Murphy and Wertheim in the De Luxe gambling house on the north side (the most fashionable in Chicago), was registered at the bureau when he was tried and sentenced for conspiracy to dispose of stolen bonds. This was a federal charge. He received a two-year sentence and was fined ten thousand dollars. Once his record was initiated, exchange with New York City showed that in 1915 he had been sentenced to Sing Sing for two years and ten months from New York City, for obtaining money under false pretenses, and again in 1925 he was arrested in New York City on a charge of grand larceny. There is no set rule to determine under what circumstances or in what types of cases the United States Government brings defendants in criminal cases to the bureau.

7. *Lawrence Mangano*, age thirty-five, was prosecuted for pandering, in 1912, and the charge was stricken off in 1913. Prior to that date he has one sentence to the House of Correction of six months and a fine of three

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hundred dollars and costs, on June 14, 1911. Between 1913 and the present date there is one arrest for receiving stolen property in 1921. He was bound over on twenty-five hundred dollar bond, but the record does not state the outcome. In 1922 he was fined twenty-five dollars and costs as the keeper of a disorderly house. About the same date he was bound over on two charges of burglary and one of larceny on ten thousand dollar bond, but the record does not state the outcome of the case. In September, 1928, he was given considerable space in the newspapers in connection with the bombing of the home of Captain Luke Garrick of the police precinct in which a gambling house operated by Mangano is located, at 522 South Halsted Street, known as the Minerva Athletic Club. This bombing occurred after a raid of the gambling house.

8. The meager records of *Al Capone* and his *two brothers, Ralph and John*, are discussed later under the subject of "Meager Records in Bootlegging."

6. *Same: Groups B and C, Leaders not Recorded at all in the Police Records.*

Aside from the few records discussed above for men engaged in vice and gambling, there are other men very important in organized crime, who, according to newspaper and other information, should have records in the bureau, but who have none. Some of them have been indicted and convicted on various charges. All of them have been prosecuted. For instance—

1. *Harry Cusick*, important in the Capone syndicate in vice, gambling, and booze, is known to have been convicted as a panderer. It is true that he received a pardon from the governor of the state while his conviction in the lower court was pending on appeal. The only explanation that can be made for the absence of a record in this case would be that habeas corpus and bail bond proceedings snatched him from the hands of the Identification Bureau repeatedly during the operation of the due process of law. The case of Harry Cusick, from the time of its first hearing before Judge Fisher in the Criminal Court, through the Appellate Court, and while awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court, was in process for one and one-half years. Governor Small's pardon came while it was pending in the Supreme Court. For a year and a half after the conviction in the lower court, the opportunity was always open to register Cusick in the bureau.

2. *Andy Craig* is reputed to have risen from a pickpocket, fence, and later a prosperous bondsman in the Harrison Street district to importance in the vice syndicate. Newspaper articles, as for instance in the *Chicago Herald* of December 13, 1903, trace his entire evolution up to the point of his becoming an important factor in the vice syndicate and a professional bondsman and politician, yet there is no record for him in the Identification Bureau. At one time there was a newspaper report of a dispute over the removal of a record after he had become prosperous.

3. The notorious *Miller brothers*, famous in vice, gambling, booze, politics, and gang warfare in the Ghetto, have been prosecuted at various times. *Hirschie Miller* and *Nails Morton* were tried twice for the killing of two policemen in the Beaux Arts Club. They were acquitted, but no record is to be found for Hirschie Miller. *Max Miller* was tried for a killing in Max

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Eisen's resort on West Division Street. In the same altercation Chickie Hadesman was wounded. There is a record for Hadesman but none for Max Miller. It is true that Miller was acquitted and that it was a battle among gangsters. *Harry Miller*, while a member of the police force, was involved in the narcotic traffic. He has no record.

4. *Dago Frank Lewis*, also of the south side gambling and vice syndicate, has been indicted for bookmaking. There is the possibility, too, that he is the man who served a Pontiac term in his youth; yet he has no record in the bureau.

5. *Johnny Patton*, the boy mayor of Burnham, with a probable early record of probation and arrests as part of the Capone booze and vice syndicate, is not on record.

6. *Prince Artie Quinn*, lifelong gambler, fence, and recently indicted in the vote frauds investigation, has no record.

7. *Skidmore* is another example of the same kind, connected with police graft investigations into crooked politics and graft collections in vice and gambling, reputed pickpockets' bondsman.

8. *Mops Volpi*, bodyguard of Al Capone for several years and formerly of Diamond Joe Esposito, has no record. His reputation as a reliable gunman is well established. Just prior to the final peace among the Capone-Genna forces on the one hand and the O'Banion forces under the chieftainship of Hymie Weiss on the other, an earlier attempt at peace had failed because Hymie Weiss wanted Mops Volpi "put on the spot" for certain of his exploits with the machine-gun. He was indicted and acquitted in 1920 for a murder, and in the same year a charge of receiving stolen property was stricken off. There is no record of Mops Volpi.

7. *Who's Who in Bootlegging.* The names of one hundred twenty-six bootleggers, prominent in the newspapers and in the historical study of the beer wars, were selected for clearance through the Identification Bureau. For these, eighty-three records were found. All the facts on these records were charted.

The first and most striking observation that can be made about bootleggers is the almost *total absence of a record* of arrest or prosecution for violation of the liquor law. The federal prosecutions, as has already been stated, are not recorded with regularity because the federal government does not bring its arrests to the Identification Bureau for identification; it seldom forwards to the bureau information with regard to the fate of the individual arrested in the due process of law. It occurs, therefore, that on the entire chart there is only one entry in the case of one of the foremost bootleggers of Chicago, of a fine of five hundred dollars and costs and sixty days in the House of Correction (which he did not serve) for violation of the liquor laws.

A glance at the chart, which tabulates the records of these individuals by offenses, immediately discloses that robbery, murder and assault to kill, burglary, grand larceny, and kidnapping characterize the criminal careers of famous bootleggers who have previous criminal records.

The same chart indicates the types of punishment to which these individuals have been subjected, and inversely is a picture of their immunity. Very few of their cases are dismissed for want of prosecution. In consider-

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ing this chart it should be emphasized that the bureau records are weak in recording arrests. There is no definite rule that every person arrested must be registered in the records of the bureau. While occasionally arrests are shown on the record, even though there was no subsequent prosecution of any kind, the overwhelming number of records of any particular case against a particular man may begin at any point in the due process of law. Occasionally, in extreme cases of omission, the only record is a conviction, without even recording the charge.

The arithmetical average age of the first crime committed by seventy-three of the eighty-three bootleggers, for whom the records give ages, is twenty-three years. The arithmetical average present age for these seventy-three bootleggers is thirty-five years. The span between the two average ages is twelve years. If the records of the Juvenile Court and the Boys' Court were consulted, the average age of the first crime committed by these bootleggers would fall much lower, but even in the cases of men of established criminal record, the records of these earlier courts, where their criminal careers were first developed, are not consulted and are not a part of the Identification Bureau records.

Five out of the eighty-three were charged with kidnapping in election frauds, which is a suggestion of their activities on election day; thirty-one out of the eighty-three have been charged with robbery, and several have been charged more than once; twenty-eight out of the eighty-three have been charged with murder or assault to murder, many of them more than once; twenty-five of the eighty-three have been charged with grand larceny; twenty-two have been charged with burglary, some of these more than once. Having gained an impression of the character of criminal careers of bootleggers, it is well to remember that the span between the present age and at the time of the first crime recorded is twelve years, which means that these criminal careers were established before prohibition.

The dates of recent crimes indicate that the robber, murderer, burglar, and thief in bootlegging has not ceased his previous criminal occupations. Indications are that he selects more profitable enterprises in the same line, but continues even though he is in the beer trade.

The bootlegger-criminal is born in Chicago, with few exceptions, and even in those exceptional cases usually his first crime was apparently committed in Chicago. Eleven of them have been charged with carrying concealed weapons. There is a widespread impression that pickpockets have gone into bootlegging and have ceased previous operations, but there is only one such case on record of a Chicago man and one of an out-of-town man who came to Chicago late in his criminal career and here engaged in "con game," extortion, robbery, and murder. Only two bootleggers have been charged with extortion. It seems that evidence is very difficult to obtain of the practice, deemed to be widespread, of "horning in" on the profits of the traffic in alcohol.

#### 8. *Same: The Bootlegger's Immunity from Justice.*

What characterizes the penal record of these eighty-three bootleggers? *First*, there is a marked absence of dismissals for want of prosecution—only three cases for two persons. Since the record in police court is only seldom entered, it is reasonable to think that subsequent to the

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arrest large numbers of their cases do not even reach a police court trial. As soon as they are arrested they are released on bond or habeas corpus and are not taken to the bureau and no record is made.

*Second*, in the cases recorded as "bound over" the most outstanding fact is the great disparity in the amount of bonds for the same crime. Bond forfeitures are only fairly frequent among bootleggers for various other crimes. Fugitives from justice, presumably men out on bond, combined with the column of "bonds forfeited" will produce a larger proportion; viz., twenty-five per cent of them have forfeited bonds or are fugitives from justice.

*Third*, "no bills," for crimes classified under the main classifications which characterize these careers, have been a factor in twenty per cent of these careers.

The outstanding fact in the termination of the cases is that they are either stricken off or in an overwhelming number of cases given a light fine and costs for felonies. Fines are almost entirely for disorderly conduct or carrying concealed weapons, but considering the nature of the charges which characterize their careers, these disorderly conduct charges may be assumed either to be lesser pleas or else the only charge upon which police had evidence sufficient for conviction.

The House of Correction sentence is two-fifths as frequent as the fine, even considering the character of the crime. The record of a fine or a sentence is not followed up to the extent of making certain whether or not the fine was paid or the time served in the House of Correction.

Sentences to the County Jail are one-third as frequent as those to the House of Correction, and one-seventh as frequent as fines.

About one-fourth of the eighty-three cases have been sentenced to Joliet at some time or another in their careers, but this gross figure is subject to several considerations. The very first glance will reveal the names of men whose cases were later reversed, remanded, and dismissed. Secondly, several of these terms were served in the early careers of these men. There are also names of men who have served the very minimum of time under the sentences and names which figured in the pardon and parole scandal publicity. On the other hand, there are names of men who have served time in federal penitentiaries, of which terms there is no record in the Identification Bureau.

Eleven of the eighty-three have Pontiac sentences in their records—about half as many as have Joliet sentences. Some of the names are duplicated. There are about as many probations in their records as there are Pontiac sentences. Some of the identical names are sprinkled about in all of the columns representing penalty. For thirty-three Pontiac and Joliet sentences, there are fifteen violations of parole. Parole violation repeaters are frequent. The records show that while on parole they continue the same character of crime as that for which they were originally committed. They also indicate that violation of parole may be used as a lesser penalty than would result from going on trial for the new offense.

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9. *Same: A List of Leading  
Bootlegger Criminals with  
Meager Police Records.*

Many of the gangsters notorious in the press have meager records in the Identification Bureau. Very often these are records for charges which were stricken off or had otherwise fallen by the wayside at some point in the due process of law early in the career of the man. Some meager records of notorious gangsters and gangster leaders are a tribute to the insistence of Chief of Detectives Shoemaker that the Identification Bureau be made a means of effective aid if, and when, the great gangster is wanted. The securing of the records of these highly influential terrorists and wealthy bootleggers and gamblers, when there is no legal evidence against them, is beset with danger and requires courage. The list, undoubtedly, is a step in the right direction. The Identification Bureau ought to be even more conscious of what is going on in the city, even though the law seems to catch in its meshes, and to hold, only the minor gangster. The remarkable fact is not that the records are meager and ought to be long, but that these gangsters, prominent in organized crime, appear in the records at all.

*Albert Anselmi* and the associate or accomplice tried with him for the shooting of two policemen in 1925 were closely associated with the Genna brothers in the liquor business—the cooking of alcohol and the distribution of alcohol. At the time Scalise and Anselmi were under indictment for the killing of these two policemen, a record was taken of them at the bureau. It is assumed that when a record is taken fingerprints are exchanged, and neither of these men had any record anywhere in the United States. The friends of Scalise and Anselmi, who were fighting loyally for them at the time of the trial, were, many of them, reputable people and they insisted very earnestly that these men were not criminals. They are examples of merchants or capitalists in a contraband business who must protect themselves by carrying a gun. Their friends meant that they were guilty of no other crime than bootlegging prior to the killing of these two policemen. They were finally found not guilty.

Of the nine *Aiello brothers* and their numerous cousins by the same name, there is only one of record. He was arrested in Pittsburgh as a pickpocket suspect in 1918; he was then a man of twenty-seven years of age. On November 20, 1927, he was brought in at the time of the gambling war in which the Aiello brothers were the armed forces for the north side syndicate in dispute with the Capone interests and others. It may be that the Aiellos have entered these syndicates through the bootlegging business. They were able to obtain and furnish sugar in the bootlegging business when that began. From that they tried to expand and participate in these syndicates. It may be that the Aiellos were engaged entirely in legitimate business prior to their entry into the bootlegging via the furnishing of sugar.

*John Burns*, alias Klenza, Hawthorne Hotel, Capone gunman, has only been in the bureau once on general principles. That was on September 19, 1916. He was probably registered in connection with the McSwiggin case. He was at that time only twenty-four years of age and the fact that the main activities of Capone were in Cicero may account for the lack of any record during the three years from 1921 to 1924, when this man could have accumulated a record. One indictment

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in a booze investigation about the time of this registration in the bureau might explain the reason for his registration.

*Joseph Bolton*, known to the press as one of the Bolton brothers, beer bosses in the territory around Ashland and Taylor avenues, participants in syndicated gambling in the same vicinity and, of late, patrons of the Forty-two gang, served a term at Pontiac for robbery nine years ago. He was paroled, violated parole, was returned and discharged. Seven years ago he was arrested on general principles but with no consequence. Since the Volstead era there is not a scratch against him.

*Al Capone's* record at the Identification Bureau was taken in 1925 after the shooting of Torrio which he survived. It is likely he was brought in then more for the purpose of information and because they thought he had a motive. Again, during the McSwiggin investigation he was wanted at the bureau. That is recorded and no more, though the histories of vice, gambling, and booze, as well as the current facts place him at the top of a pyramid in every form of terrorism, whether it be in contraband or legitimate lines, or in "merchant racketeering."

*Ralph Capone*, brother of Al, associated with him in all the branches of vice, gambling, and booze, reported frequently to be the keeper of a disorderly house, was only arrested once in Chicago and turned over to La Grange, Illinois, for carrying a gun. That was in December, 1923. The very curt entries are: "1-30-28, arrested as vagrant in New Orleans; 6-1-26, arrested on general principles and for carrying concealed weapon"; yet in the last entry there is the whole story of the effort of all the institutions and agencies of justice to establish the facts around the killing of McSwiggin; but that is not mentioned. He was indicted in July, 1926, by a federal grand jury for violation of the prohibition laws, which indictment together with seventy-three others, including his brother Al, was dismissed, and the prosecution admitted that there was not sufficient evidence to carry a conviction. Not only his importance in organized crime in Chicago, but the fact that there was an indictment is absent from this short record.

*John Capone*, the youngest of the brothers, was fined five dollars and costs for disorderly conduct in 1922, but it served to record him in the bureau.

*Frank Cramer*, also of the Saltis group, who is only about twenty-seven years of age, has a meager record but a telling one. Four years ago he was given probation for one year on a larceny charge, and in 1928 he was again given a probation for larceny reduced to petty larceny by Judge Eller. He is a minor member of the gang, but seems to be able to "beat his raps." If the record were a record of his criminal activities and not only an identification record, it is not likely that, having begun at the age of twenty-six years to establish a career of crime, he allowed four years to elapse before he committed another larceny. Immunity both for his activity in the Saltis gang and for his own enterprise is more probable.

*Nick Cramer* (Kramer), fifty-six years of age, known for several years to have been associated with Joe Saltis, was wanted by the police when Saltis and Oberta were tried for the murder of Mrs. Foley and was then a fugitive from the city, has recently been arrested and the police are holding him at present as a fugitive in the case of that murder. He had no previous record in 1926 when he was brought into the bureau by Shoemaker only for the purpose of registration.

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*George Druggan*, brother of Terry Druggan, now twenty-seven years of age, was brought into the bureau in September, 1926, on general principles. He is a small-time gangster and hoodlum. During all of the summer of 1927 a case was pending against George Druggan for the violent slugging of a man. He has assaulted a license inspector with a baseball bat and broken his limbs when he demanded a license of him. (The license inspector was fifty-four years of age). He was indicted. There were eighteen continuances in the case and finally a jury acquitted him. The record in the bureau was initiated on general principles in September, 1926, and even though there was this subsequent arrest and indictment and long prosecution prior to the acquittal, there was no further entry made in the case nor is there any previous record.

*Frank Foster*, close associate of the O'Banions, one of the earliest of bootleggers, importer and carrier of Canadian whiskey, brother of John Citro, who at one time was a close associate of Samoots Amatuna, according to the newspaper reports, was indicted for murder in 1924, which was later stricken off, and he was again indicted in the election frauds in 1926. The Identification Bureau records indicate only a disorderly conduct charge in 1920, two days in the House of Correction and a fine of one hundred dollars and costs for driving an automobile while intoxicated in 1925.

*John Gennaro*, also of the Capone gang, age thirty-four, at the age of twenty served a year in the House of Correction for robbery. The plea was changed to larceny. At the age of twenty-four he was taken in a robbery with a gun, and nothing more is said. Since then there is nothing against him except his association with Capone.

*Ben Jacobs*, partner of Sam Pellar who was wounded when Hymie Weiss fell before machine-gun fire at the corner of the Cathedral opposite the O'Banion headquarters, was recorded at the bureau in 1926 when it was suspected that he and his partner, Sam Pellar, put Hymie Weiss "on the spot." He then gave his occupation as investigator. He was wanted before the coroner but there were no consequences, as in all gang killings. Eleven years before the day when the third of the O'Banion dynasty fell, Ben Jacobs was held on a charge of manslaughter and found not guilty. Of the activities of Jacobs and Pellar as lieutenants and disciplinarians in charge of elections for Eller, there is nothing in the Identification Bureau record.

*Nick Juffra*, also associated with O'Banion, known as one of the earliest of bootleggers, recently prosecuted under the Volstead Act and arrested during the famous raid of the Sieben Brewery, has only one entry against him aside from the contempt entry for which he was sent to jail at Rockford when Torrio, Druggan, and Lake suffered the same mortification. The entry prior to bootlegging was a small fine of ten dollars and costs for obtaining money under false pretenses. Who would surmise this man was an O'Banion gangster!

*Julian (Potatoes) Kaufman*, de luxe gambler and son of a wealthy commission merchant, has been associated with important gangsters, notably those of the old O'Banion gang, as a receiver of stolen property, but has been important in general organized gambling and has been mentioned frequently after murders charged to O'Banion gangsters. As to his record, the Identification Bureau has only one charge for receiving stolen property, for which he was indicted and the case was later nolle

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pressed. It is a meager record for a man so frequently sought and so prominently mentioned in organized crime.

*Joseph La Cava*, of the wealthy and notorious La Cava brothers, associated in business with Capone in the Cicero syndicate and later syndicates in gambling under the Thompson administration, was brought into the bureau only for registration in 1926. An indictment under the Volstead Act does not show on the bureau record because it was under the federal jurisdiction. In 1928 he was held during the gambling war bombing but nothing happened. Again the only reason his record is in the bureau is the energy of Shoemaker and his appreciation that gangsters, though influential, should be recorded in the bureau.

*Frank Lake*, partner of Terry Druggan, who rose from a fireman to millionaire brewer and race horse owner, whose many difficulties with federal law have filled hundreds of columns of newspaper space, known early in his life to have been for a period in charge of the pickpockets in the Maxwell Street police area, has only one entry in the records. It was made when he was sentenced to one year in the county jail by Judge Wilkerson for contempt of court after his breweries were raided.

*Vincent McErlane*, brother of Frank McErlane of the same gang, is comparatively a young man, age twenty-eight years. He was brought into the Detective Bureau in 1926 on the order of Shoemaker, merely to be recorded and photographed. Twice the same year he was fined for carrying concealed weapons. Otherwise he had no previous record.

*Jack McGurn*, long known as an associate of Capone, in a glaring limelight when during the Aiello-Capone war he was wounded while on the northside, has no criminal record whatever. The only reason he is registered is the energetic effort of Shoemaker to keep famous gangsters recorded for future reference and use.

*Harry Madigan*, the saloonkeeper in the Capone territory, at or near whose saloon McSwiggin was killed, has a record only for election activities of gangsters—eight charges of assault to kill and kidnapping, stricken off two years later. Election activities may be the only criminality he engages in aside from his delivering illicit beer, or his place may be a political headquarters.

Of the west side *O'Donnells*, *Miles* has no record except one fine for toting a gun in 1926 about the time the McSwiggin grand juries were concerned with these O'Donnells.

*William O'Donnell*, the notorious Klondike, chief of the west side O'Donnell gang, has only one item recorded in the Identification Bureau for the entire period of his operations in bootlegging. That was a federal charge, the whiskey burglary of the Morand Brothers' Warehouse. The Identification Bureau records are not completed to the extent of showing that he actually served time and was later paroled for this offense. At that time a previous record indicated only one little incident and that was that he was found not guilty of larceny by Judge Zeman seven years previously.

*Sam Pellar* emerged into prominent newspaper publicity when he was arrested as one of a party with Hymie Weiss when the latter and Patrick Murray were killed by machine-gun fire in front of the Cathedral. This, along with other knowledge, fixes him clearly as an O'Banion gangster. He was arrested then because of the possibility that in the turmoil Sam Pellar shot the other two and that they were not killed by the machine-gun fire. The bureau probably expected to glean from

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him further information. He was indicted recently for assault to murder in the Loesch vote fraud investigation as one of the gangsters active in the twentieth ward in the primary election of April 10, 1928. It is definitely established that he is both an O'Banion gangster with political connections, and definitely in organized crime. Aside from this arrest after the killing of Weiss, his previous record is very meager. Under the name of James Burns he was arrested for vagrancy in Indianapolis on January 5, 1923. Under the name of John Eastwood he was arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, on suspicion. The record does not specify the nature of the suspicion. On June 10, 1928, he was wanted by Captain Shoemaker, and that is of record.

*Dan Stanton* is to this day important in the Sheldon-O'Donnell-Stanton faction, which is continuously engaged in warfare with the Saltis-McErlane faction in beer running on the south side. Only one charge is recorded against him—an indictment for a murder which was later nolle prossed in 1924. No previous or other record is shown.

*Patrick Sullivan*, of the Saltis gang, was brought into the Detective Bureau in 1926 and it was discovered through the Identification Bureau records that twenty years earlier he had been charged with burglary. Although Sullivan is a known gunman he has not suffered much harassment from "the law."

*James Vinci* was himself of the important Vinci brothers' gang of bootleggers on the southwest side. He has a short record which includes fourteen years in the penitentiary for murder, which was reversed and remanded by the Supreme Court in 1920. In 1922 he was arrested for carrying concealed weapons.

*Sam Vinci*, of the Vincis of the southwestern side, whose murders and reprisals became common knowledge through the press when one of the brothers killed Minatti during a session of the coroner's inquest into the death of another brother, was sentenced to one day in the county jail and was fined twenty-five dollars and costs for larceny, once in his life, according to the record. He was held for the murder of Minatti. The brothers were originally James, Sam, Philip and Michael. Michael and James have been killed in booze warfare and Philip was the invalid brother who committed the murder in the coroner's inquest. A glance at the record of Sam would suggest only that in his early twenties he ran afoul of the law on a minor offense. Bureau records give very little hint of the importance of a man in gangland. Of the four brothers, two have no records at all.

10. *Same: Bootlegger Criminals with No Police Record.* More remarkable than the meager records of lifelong important gangsters is the *absence of records* for gangsters, just as important, who have been indicted or convicted. Here are some of them:

*Louis Alterie*, of the Valley and O'Banion gangs, burglar and robber prior to prohibition, associated with O'Banion both in the liquor business and in gang warfare on the one hand, and with O'Banion and other gang members in robbery and burglaries on the other, at no time had a record at the bureau.

Of the six famous *Genna brothers*, whose newspaper histories are full of numerous crimes—burglary, murders, histories on the Mafia style—organizers of the household alcohol industry among the Italians

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after prohibition, aside from automobile thieving and the terrorization of women witnesses—of these only *Angelo* has a record. By comparing *Angelo's* record with the newspaper history, it is possible to characterize him as a gunman, murderer and "fence," but it would be impossible to gain even an inkling of his magnitude, his power, his wealth, and his influence, and even then the record would show no convictions. "Not guilty" and "stricken off" mark the few items. Captain Shoemaker was not backward in making an entry on the record that they actually caught *Angelo* with the goods stolen in the Sandag Jewelry store robbery. (It was a famous robbery). *Angelo* never served time. He was sentenced for a year and a day at Leavenworth when he intimidated a woman witness against him in a Mann Act charge, but somehow he never served. This information is not a matter of bureau record; the newspapers relate it.

*Martin Guilfoyle*, boss of the booze and gambling syndicate in the West North Avenue police district, has been frequently mentioned in the newspapers as the murderer of Peter Gentleman, famous gunman. Our data do not show how far his prosecution went in this case, but he has no record. The same can be said for the *Kolb brothers*, although both of these have been indicted. *Al Winge*, the police officer, who with the *Kolb brothers* is an associate of *Guilfoyle*, has no record.

The *McDermott brothers*, important politicians "back-of-the-yard," have been indicted under the Volstead Act, but the facts have never been recorded in the bureau.

*Daniel McFall* and *William (Gunner) McPadden*, of the Ragen Colts, widely reputed gunmen, wanted in several murders, active in beer after prohibition, have no records.

In the case of *George Mack*, the newspaper history records a Joliet sentence and parole. He was again wanted in the Sieben Brewery raid, but there is no Identification Bureau record.

*David X. Meyers*, a Druggan-Lake man who received a sentence to probation in 1921, has no record.

*Joe Montana*, chief of the Melrose Park bootlegging ring, recently indicted with a large number of his co-villagers, including the officials, has no record. *Montana* was formerly of the Genna gang.

*Bernard O'Donnell*, of the west side family, indicted in the Tancil killing, has no record.

*Walter Quinkan*, reputed as the killer of his chief, Paddy, The Bear, Ryan, of the Valley gang, killed in turn by Paddy, The Fox, son of Paddy, The Bear, known as pickpocket and thief for many years, has no record.

*Louis (Big Six) Smith*, "dope" peddler and professional killer, once associated with Capone as gunman, later sunk to a lower level as destructive "racketeer," has no record.

*Julius (Yankee) Schwartz*, indicted in 1926 for vote frauds, imported by Davy Miller from New York as gunman, who later was the cause of the shooting of O'Banion by Miller, has no record.

*Edward Vogel*, associate of Capone in gambling and indicted for violation of the Volstead Act, known as a syndicate operator, has no record.

*John (Dingbat) Oberta*, at present ward committeeman and candi-

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date for state senator of the thirteenth ward (September, 1928), was tried with Joe Saltis for the killing of Mrs. Foley, but has no record.

In the list of bootleggers having no record, there are some important politicians, syndicate chiefs, gunmen, associates of big brewers, and others whose newspaper histories indicate that a record is warranted. A considerable number of them have served prison sentences; others have served jail sentences; others have been indicted for murder; and others for violation of the Volstead Act. One or two have served probation. Many of them have been wanted for killings. All of them are known to the public and the press as criminals. A slight exception might be made for three or four of the important politicians, because their prominence in politics outweighs their criminal reputations.

An explanation should be given for the cases of those who have gone through indictments and even sentences of various kinds, who are known to be operating on a large scale, or who were associated with chiefs, who have no records. The bureau's own explanation is that these criminals have not been brought in for registration or that they have been snatched out of the hands of the bureau when brought in. The methods by which lawyers keep clients with money out of the hands of the Identification Bureau have already been mentioned several times. Political influence is probably a factor in this failure. Other means can be brought to bear upon the arresting policeman. By and large, the absence of earlier records upon a man's career prior to bootlegging is due to the fact that the cases have probably fallen by the wayside in the police court, the cases being dismissed or reduced and punished by small fines.

The following are prominent gangsters in bootlegging whose names have been in the limelight in gang wars, who have no records and upon whom no data indicating that they have ever been indicted or convicted have been attained by this study:

Of the *Aiellos* it may be said, that they have never been apprehended or prosecuted for either bootlegging or gang war crimes, but the *Aiellos* have, until recently, been in legitimate business. Still more recently they have been supplying sugar on a large scale to wholesalers, but finally fell out with their erstwhile partner, Tony Lombardo, over control in the bootlegging industry and control of political power, leading to the murders of several *Aiellos*, some of them cousins of this family, and finally to the murder of Lombardo.

*Ecola Bardella*, known as the "Eagle," may have been a terrorist among Italians prior to his assassination, but because of his connection with Italians it is evident that no evidence was gathered against him. The same may be said of *Dominic Cinderella* and *Frank Cremaldi*, both of whom are dead.

*Doherty* and *Duffy*, who were killed with McSwiggin, may have engaged in no other criminal activities but those connected with the traffic in beer and would therefore have no records. John Dougherty, alias John Duffy, was a hoodlum who became involved with O'Banion after the killing of a woman by the name of Exley. He had dabbled in booze, was a drunkard himself, but while his death caused a great deal of newspaper comment, he was probably a hoodlum of low standing and consequently of little or no importance.

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*Morris Dunn* was killed in the south side beer war, as was *Duffy*, but nothing more is known of either of them except that they were beer runners.

*Bummie Goldstein*, a west side gunman and alcohol distributor, was very young when he was killed. He had gone from helping his father on his junk wagon into the distribution of booze. The several difficulties he had with the law were probably in the vicinity of the Maxwell Street station where he wielded considerable influence.

*Patrick Harding*, a middle-aged saloonkeeper and a Capone man, who was formerly associated with *Torrio*, has probably remained a saloonkeeper and would, therefore, have no record.

It is not necessary to prolong the analyses of all the names on this list. The remaining individuals with reputations in bootlegging also have no records, but quite reasonably so. They are likewise bootleggers, conveyors of booze who carry guns, and post-Volstead saloonkeepers. Some of them have been killed, but we have no information to show that they have gone through the due process of law at any time to the extent that would make the absence of a record a question, or that a record is warranted by a crime other than bootlegging.

Harry C. Hassmiller  
Frank Herbert  
Frank Hitchcock  
John Hoban  
Edward Kauffman  
George (Big Bates) Karl

Morris (Chick) Keane  
Harry La Salle  
Richard La Salle  
William (Rags) McCue  
George Meeghan  
Phillip Piazza  
Edward Tancil

This analysis of the records in the Identification Bureau of gangsters prominent in organized crime, is meager partly because of their immunity from arrest, indictment, and conviction, but partly also because of the consideration shown to them on account of their prestige, political influence and their financial ability to command the services of shrewd and indefatigable lawyers. It is evident that only in a handful of cases have any except the minor *fonctionnaires* in the bootlegging industry been put to the inconvenience of arrest and examination in the Bureau of Identification, and that few of the booze and beer magnates of the prohibition era have experienced conviction and sentence for their participation in the violation of law.

#### II. *Lack of Police Records of Criminal Gangs.*

Included in the *Who's Who of Organized Crime* were the names of members of the various notorious criminal gangs in Chicago. With the coming of prohibition, these gangs turned to bootlegging and soon became involved in wars with each other, broken by short periods of comparative peace, over the profits of the control of the making and the distribution of whiskey and beer. The records in the Bureau of Identification make possible an analysis of these different criminal gangs in terms of their immunity from registration as well as from arrest, conviction and sentence; of the types of crime with which they have been charged and sometimes convicted; of the age of the members of the gangs; and of their geographical distribution.

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Analytical charts covering the above points were made for the following criminal gangs: the Al Capone gang, the Valley gang, the Sheldon gang, the Saltis-McErlane gang, the O'Banion gang, the Klondike O'Donnell gang, and the Forty-two gang. Brief summaries of these charts follow:

### *The Al Capone Gang*

Of the thirty-three men reported by the press to have been affiliated with Capone as partners, bodyguards, or lieutenants, only seventeen have records. Of these seventeen men, six have records for robbery. All of them have been charged more than once with felonies. Three have served in Joliet and Pontiac for robbery. Four have House of Correction sentences against them, and of these four, one has also a prison sentence. Three of them have been sentenced for receiving stolen property. The same three have been charged with burglary. There is only one man of the seventeen who has ever been charged with pandering. There is a mere suggestion in the analysis chart of arrests for kidnapping; otherwise the records are very meager. Four out of the seventeen have only meager records, their fingerprints having been taken for identification purposes, and that is all. Most Capone men have no records whatever.

The chart would indicate that the addresses given are scattered over wide areas of the south and west sides of the city. None of them has ever lived on the north side.

### *The Valley Gang*

Of fifty-three Valley gangsters, only fourteen have records. Of the fourteen, three belong to one family. Out of the fourteen there is only one Pontiac and no Joliet commitment record. There are three county jail records. Only four individuals have been sentenced to terms in the House of Correction; one man four times. In several cases fines have been imposed, indicating that lesser pleas for burglary and robbery are changed to petty larceny. What characterizes this chart especially is that burglary and robbery are the main crimes of members of the gang, which are often changed to petty larceny.

### *The Sheldon Gang*

Of twenty Sheldon gangsters, records for fourteen were found. Five have served in Pontiac and Joliet, two of whom have violated parole. The charges against Sheldon men have been characterized by robbery, murder, election kidnapping, some burglary and a little labor slugging. There is the same suggestion of the seeking of lesser pleas resulting in fines, and the same names appearing in the fines and the House of Correction columns again appear in the prison and reformatory columns. They have their share of *Stricken Off*, *Nolle Prossed*, and *No Bill*.

For the Saltis-McErlane, O'Banion, and Klondike O'Donnell gangs a single chart was made because there were too few records for each gang to accumulate enough data for conclusions individually for each gang.

### *The Saltis-McErlane, O'Banion, and Klondike O'Donnell Gangs*

These gangs may be discussed together. A comparison of the Saltis, McErlane, the O'Banion, and the Klondike O'Donnell gangs makes evident certain general similarities, although there are also wide differences. The crimes, for instance, of the O'Banion gang were out-

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standingly those of burglary, while the Saltis-McErlane gang was characterized by prosecution for murder. Both gangs are equally marked by robbery, fines for disorderly conduct (really, carrying concealed weapons), and contempt charges. The last two offenses are common to all four gangs. While there is a sprinkling of larceny in the youth of their members, and other crimes, there are few House of Correction sentences as compared with fines, and still fewer county jail sentences. There are four times as many prison sentences as there are reformatory commitments, and very few out-of-state prison sentences. The violation of paroles is about one-third of the number paroled, and the proportion of prison escapes equals that of the violation of paroles.

The average age of the gang members for the earliest crimes on record is twenty-four, and the average present age is thirty-three years.

The Saltis-McErlane, O'Banion, and Klondike O'Donnell gangs are almost exclusively Chicago born men. The O'Banion gang is recruited from the widest territorial distribution as well as national distribution. The west side O'Donnells were also recruited from the north, south and west sides. The members of the Saltis-McErlane gang stay well in the territory of their beer distribution—west of Halsted on the south side to the city limits.

#### *The Forty-two Gang*

The neighborhood criminal gang, the Forty-two's, is characterized by the youthfulness of its members. Their average age at the time of the first felony recorded in the Identification Bureau is eighteen and the average present age is twenty-three. Their addresses are close together, except as occasionally a boy stays away from home and gives the homeless man area on Madison Street as residence. All of their addresses, with the exception of two, could be included in a square mile.

Of thirty-two members, twenty-two had records in the Identification Bureau and most, if not all, of the other ten very likely have records in the Juvenile and Boys' courts.

The nativity, whenever it is given, is generally Chicago, with New York as a poor second.

The types of their crimes differ with their ages. For the older boys, robbery is the main crime; for the younger boys, larceny is the main crime. There is a considerable sprinkling of rape charges among them. That this is a play group is indicated by the many charges of disorderly conduct and of motor vehicle violations. There is nothing on the analytical chart to indicate that these boys have gone into bootlegging of late.

Fines for disorderly conduct are frequent and appear as lesser pleas for larceny and other offenses. Seventeen House of Correction sentences and two jail sentences are recorded for the twenty-two boys. Six have been sentenced to Pontiac and three are now in Joliet. One has served in an out of state prison. There is little granting of probation and only one violation of parole. The members of this gang are very active, and while the penalty columns of the chart give comparatively many fines and incarcerations, this is hardly a representation of all their criminal activity.

The Juvenile Court records would be more useful in the case of the Forty-two gang than in the case of any other gang. Compared with the other older gangs that lack the neighborhood setting, the members are much younger in age, they are much more restricted in territory of residence, and certain phases of their criminality suggest the play group.

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### *12. Same: Characteristics of Criminal Gangs.*

The following conclusions may be derived from a comparison of these summaries of analytical charts on the records of criminal

gangs:

1. Members of criminal gangs that enter the business of bootlegging do not give up other forms of crime.
2. On the contrary, the members of these gangs continue to engage in the same types of crime in which they have already specialized.
3. On account of the prestige and power of the gang, its members tend to secure immunity not only from punishment for bootlegging, but for these other crimes as well.
4. In all cases where it was practicable to secure a comparison of ages, it was evident that gang leaders and their lieutenants are seasoned criminals, ranging in age from the late twenties into the early forties.
5. The lack of immunity from punishment of the youthful gang of the Forty-two's is in marked contrast with immunity enjoyed by criminal gangsters engaged in bootlegging.
6. With the exception of the Valley gang and the Saltis-McErlane gang, the facts of this analysis confirm an earlier conclusion of the study, that the older criminal gang is no longer a neighborhood group but rather a retinue of mercenaries held together by need of protection and expectation of profits.
7. There is evidence, however, that criminal gangs control wide areas in which they enjoy a monopoly of the bootlegging privileges.

### *13. Criminal Occupations.*

In addition to the grouping by membership in criminal gangs, it was also feasible to classify other persons in the "Who's Who of Organized Crime in Chicago" in certain well defined criminal *occupations*. The bureau records, if studied methodically and cumulatively, even in their present form yield valuable information with regard to criminal occupations and the personalities engaged in them. Analytical charts were, therefore, made of (1) pickpockets and confidence men, (2) labor racketeers, (3) merchant racketeers, (4) auto thieves, (5) mail and pay roll bandits and safe-blowers.

### *14. Same: Pickpockets and "Con" Men.*

In this group are twenty confidence men and twelve pickpockets. Of the twenty confidence men, the average age at the time of the first crime is twenty-nine, and the average present age is forty. The pickpockets begin their careers very young and constitute the youngest occupational group in the bureau. They average twenty-two years in age at the time of the first crime recorded and seem to stay in the same occupation much longer, as the average present age of pickpockets is forty-three years. Few pickpockets are born in Chicago. They are immigrants from Russia and New York, and nearly all of them are Jews. Chicago pickpockets are overwhelmingly from the Ghetto. Confidence men are mainly Anglo-Saxon, with a sprinkling of Jews and others.

Only two non-Jewish pickpockets and one Jewish pickpocket have ever been charged with robbery. Both confidence men and pickpockets adhere very closely to their own occupations. The few that have digressed have engaged in robbery in their early careers.

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Both pickpockets and confidence men travel very widely, and of the sentences to prisons for thirty-two pickpockets and confidence men together, there are recorded twenty-nine sentences to foreign prisons widely spread over the United States. Their arrests and the other entries in the due process of law enforcement are just as widely distributed in many cities in the United States, for both groups.

Pickpockets are more often discharged from police court than any other occupational group. Confidence men's cases are much more likely to be bound over. Pickpockets and confidence men are just as likely to forfeit bond and be fugitives from justice for a long enough period to return and have their cases stricken off. Confidence men have more cases in the "stricken off" column because their cases are more frequently bound over. Pickpockets are more often petit larceny offenders; the confidence men are more likely to receive lesser pleas to petty larceny. The pickpocket is less likely to plead guilty on a charge than is the confidence man; is more often acquitted if brought to trial; but the confidence man is admitted to probation much more frequently.

Because of their propensity to travel, pickpockets are frequently given a certain number of hours to leave the city. This is also true because the amounts of their thefts are small and the penalty is light; it would cost more to keep them than to ship them.

While confidence men are seldom fined, pickpockets are often fined, both for the original crime and on disorderly conduct charges where the evidence is not sufficient.

Pickpockets seldom get probation, since they are seldom bound over; confidence men often secure it. While the confidence men get the probation, the pickpocket may get a suspended sentence.

Confidence men as well as pickpockets receive House of Correction sentences. Seldom do either go to the county jail.

Forgers, who combine their work with confidence men, may start their criminal careers early and some of the confidence men have served early terms as forgers in Pontiac. Naturally, confidence men have more Joliet sentences than pickpockets, and both are more likely to have served out-of-state prison sentences than any other group. They are fair parole risks, but are likely to be repeaters for the same crime after the parole period is over.

Confidence men and pickpockets use more aliases per man than other criminals, and that is because they can pass more easily under an alias as strangers in other cities. When they return to Chicago they go back under the original name because the police know them here. In the long records a man begins with a name which is always held to be his right name; he gyrates through a series of aliases, finally returning to the original name as he spends his later years in Chicago.

15. *Same: Labor* Of twenty-six "racketeers," the average age of  
*"Racketeers."* the first crime is twenty-four years; the average  
present age is thirty-four; the span is ten years. There  
is a mixture of Irish, Jewish, Italian and German. Their residences are  
scattered everywhere in the city, in every type of area, with a sprinkling of  
the first-class hotel. They give occupations, then, more frequently than other

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criminals; viz., that of business agent, and often that occupation for which they are business agents. Their nativity is scattered for nationality, as indicated by their names.

Robbery, murder, conspiracy, and malicious mischief, which is really bombing, characterize their criminal careers. Fines and House of Correction sentences are their leading penalties in the few cases in which arrest ends in trial or trial in conviction. There are few prison and only one reformatory terms. There is a sprinkling of out-of-state commitments. They have considerable parole violation for the number paroled. The fines are mainly for the same nature of crimes—for carrying concealed weapons, conspiracy, disorderly conduct (which probably represents slugging). Several of them have served House of Correction terms, but mainly in their youth, for larceny.

16. *Same: Merchant "Racketeers."* Business agents for trade associations, not subordinates but chiefs, are likely to have meager records unless they have established a record prior to becoming "racketeers." Each meager record contains a single item that would characterize the business—conspiracy, malicious mischief, gun-toting or assault to kill; and without exception, the record ends either with the admission to bail bond or when the case is later stricken off. If there are two items on a record, the other item is likely to be for a robbery, ending in a small fine or a short term in the House of Correction, or a burglary reduced to petty larceny. One or two cases have Joliet terms, which were served prior to going into the "racket."

Considering the continuous activities of "racketeers" in the fish business, in the food and fruit store business on the west side, or among the junk dealers or garage men, the record of punishment for the outstanding men for actual terrorism in "racketeering" is very meager.

17. *Same: "Racketeers" with No Records.* There are more "racketeers" by far who have no records than there are those who have even scanty records for "racketeering." Among those without records we recognize *Gust Stavrakas*, of the Bootblacks' Union, who has been given a jail sentence. Another is *John Miller*, sentenced for building trades bombing, but who has no record. *Mike Gavin*, big union boss among the teamsters and truck drivers, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, master of Lefty Lewis, has only a single charge of gun-toting. *Simon J. Gorman*, arch "racketeer" in the organization of the laundry industry, does not have a scratch against him on the records.

The conclusion is unmistakable that the business of "racketeering," involving terrorism either first-hand or hired, carries with it little risk of punishment. Where there are records for "racketeering" activities, they do not end in penalty. Some great "racketeers" have no records at all.

18. *Same: Auto Larceny.* Of the forty-five outstanding criminals in *Who's Who* specializing in automobile larceny, there is a great mixture of nationality. Although they are overwhelmingly Chicago born, those born out of the state or in foreign countries are from many states and from many nationalities. The average age at which the first crime is recorded in the bureau is twenty-two, and this would be much lower except for a few middle-aged men in the group. The indication

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of the low average age at first crime is that this is a boy's occupation. This age, too, would be lowered materially by the inclusion of Juvenile and Boys' Courts' records. The span between the first crime and the average present age (twenty-six years) is six years. The addresses are scattered in all parts of the city.

This group of forty-five names includes leading robbers and gunmen. Larceny naturally is the most frequent charge which involves auto thieving. Charges of burglary and carrying concealed weapons are comparatively light. Lesser pleas are frequently accepted. There is a great disparity in the amount of fines for the same offenses. The chief matter of interest is that the automobile thief is quite frequently also a robber.

In penalties for automobile larceny there are few cases in the "stricken off" column, a great many lesser pleas, very few on the original charge. The total number in the column for acquittal is next in size to the "stricken off" column, but fines for disorderly conduct, for larceny, for speeding and for petty larceny are many. House of Correction and county jail terms are many. There are few Pontiac and Joliet sentences and still fewer sentences in out-of-state prisons; few violations of parole or probation.

19. *Same: Mail, Pay Roll Bandits, and Safe-blowers.* From a limited number of histories of railroad robbers, a first characteristic may be noted—the railroad robber is in most cases a safe-blower. If the record is of any magnitude, it involves the blowing of locks and safes. Bank burglary is also a feature and is related to the other because it always includes safe-blowing.

Careful planning, inside affiliations, and a master brain figure in railroad robberies. The gang of bandits always includes one or two men of very high intelligence who do the planning, and frequently also a novice or two. They may call in as allies local gunmen with political influence.

The accounts of railroad robberies, though few in the Identification Bureau, are rich in material, because information has been exchanged with the federal government, where comparatively complete reports are made. Railroad robbers and bank burglars generally operate over wide geographic territories and stick very closely to the trade of burglary and robbery of trains, although there are local burglars and safe-blowers, like the old O'Banion gang, whose members almost without exception were born in Chicago, who never carried on activities anywhere else. Local bandits are better able to defend themselves successfully in the courts and to gain practical immunity from punishment; they are locally acquainted. Their records for heavy penalties are much shorter than the records of the nation-wide railroad robbers and safe-blowers, because the latter are prosecuted by the federal government.

The ages of railroad and bank bandits are comparatively advanced. They equal those of pickpockets and confidence men on an average.

20. *Same: Summary.* The above analysis of specialized criminal occupations included operations as different as pickpocketing, confidence games, merchant and labor "racketeering," auto larceny, and mail, bank and pay roll banditry. Certain of these activities are highly individualized—the criminal carries them on as a lone wolf—

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like pickpocketing and forgery; while others involve criminal gangs like the various forms of banditry. Yet they are all included in a listing of criminals in "Who's Who of Organized Crime in Chicago," because they all involve more or less of organization for protection, if not for the disposal of the stolen booty. Even the pickpockets, whose operations are the most highly individualized, are practically all members of one immigrant group, live in the same neighborhoods, and have a social world of their own.

Except for the youths engaged in automobile larceny, the facts point toward taking up a given criminal occupation and following it as a trade.

The risk of punishment in all these criminal professions seems far greater outside the community in other states than at home. This shows the importance of local acquaintance and political influence in securing protection and immunity from the penalties of the law.

21. *Conclusion.* For certain forms of organized crime in Chicago, only the underlings receive punishment, and almost without exception, petty punishment. The men higher up, the criminal overlords who reap enormous profits, go almost, if not scot free. These forms of crime exploited by criminal profiteers are (1) bootlegging, (2) gambling, (3) vice, and (4) labor and merchant "racketeering." At present the risk incurred of prosecution and conviction in conducting these illegal operations is very small.

The leading gang chiefs in the "Who's Who of Organized Crime in Chicago" are seasoned veterans in crime. The bootlegging chiefs turned from other forms of crime and vice upon the coming of prohibition, attracted by the ease with which enormous profits could be made. The analysis of their careers through the medium of the records in the Bureau of Identification shows that upon taking up bootlegging they have not abandoned the earlier criminal operations in which they were engaged, but continue in these as side lines. Immune from prosecution for their operations in the manufacture and distribution of beer and whiskey, they have been able to obtain protection from the consequences of other crimes, like murder, burglary, and robbery, because of their new political alliances and stronger financial position.

The work of the Bureau of Identification, valuable as it is in the identification and apprehension of criminals, can be made even more valuable. It should become the center of continuous research upon the different forms of crime, the various methods of criminal operation, the divergent criminal types, and upon factors underlying both the geographical distribution of criminal gangs and their members, and also the nature and technique of their criminal organization. Further research and continuous and complete records are necessary if any large sized urban community is to protect itself against the forces of organized crime and political corruption.