

CHAPTER XVIII
THE EXPLOITATION OF PROSTITUTION

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE EXPLOITATION OF PROSTITUTION

*1. Organized Vice:
The 1910 Committee
of Fifteen.*

The killing of McSwiggin in 1926 focused attention upon Al Capone as the gang chieftain at war for the overlordship of gangs in Chicago. The grand jury investigations, futile as they were in determining the murderers of McSwiggin and why he was killed, disclosed the sinister power of criminal gangs. The constituted authority of organized government seemed thwarted or manipulated by the invisible hand of the gang, deciding the election of officials and even thwarting the functions of the police and courts. Later events served only the more completely to demonstrate the power of organized crime.

This condition gives rise to the following queries:

1. How has organized crime reached its present position of power?
2. How has organized crime persisted in spite of successive drives against it by all law enforcing agencies?
3. What is the basis of the influence of gangs that enables them to resist, defy, control or evade constituted authority?

These can only be answered by an historical survey of origins and growth of organized crime. For example, the power of Al Capone cannot be understood without the knowledge that he was a lieutenant of Colosimo in the Twenty-second Street levee district and later a lieutenant of Torrio, the beer baron.

Organized crime is not, as many think, a recent phenomenon in Chicago. A study of vice, crime and gambling during the last twenty-five years shows the existence of crime and vice gangs during that period and how they have become more and more highly organized and powerful.

A score of years ago Clifford Roe, a prosecuting attorney, revealed a system of procuring and transporting girls for the Van Bener and Colosimo syndicates of the south side levee, operating between New York, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Chicago. John Torrio, manager of "The Saratoga," and Sam Hare, manager of "The Victoria," both Colosimo dives, were arrested with Van Bener. The latter was later convicted under the White Slave Act, but the evidence was not strong enough to convict Torrio and Hare.

During Torrio's meteoric rise to overlordship of vice, booze and gambling, culminating in his retirement as a reputed millionaire, many myths about him have been current. It seems that he was brought from the Five-Point Gang of New York as bodyguard to Colosimo in 1918, when the levee king was threatened by "blackhanders." Al Capone, also known as Al Brown, like Torrio, is a Five-Pointer from New York, brought here as gunman bodyguard to Colosimo just prior to the latter's death. Legend makes him a hero of the Lost Battalion of the 77th Regiment in the World War, where, it is asserted, he earned the round scars on his left cheek. His history in the underworld, however, reveals him as a manager of Colosimo houses in

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the south side levee, where in a knife fight he gained the scars which gave him the sobriquet of "Scarface Al." Capone became senior lieutenant to Torrio upon the death of Colosimo, and with Torrio rose to the position of contender for the overlordship of the underworld of Chicago.

The resistance of vice to governmental control, the internal organization of gangs required in conducting large scale, illegitimate business, and the persistence of these leaders through years of gang war and prosecution, is most clearly revealed in the history of the south side rings, the school in which both Torrio and Capone were trained for their leadership for at least twenty years.

Through the agitation of the local Federated Council of Churches and other citizens' organizations, Chicago became conscious of the flagrancy of its vice during the first decade of this century. In 1909 these forces succeeded, by agreement with its sponsors, in suppressing the New Year's ball of the First Ward. This was the annual underworld orgy, given by Alderman Michael Kenna (Hinky Dink) and Alderman John Coughlin (Bathhouse John), bosses of the First Ward, for the purpose of retaining control of prostitutes and criminals of the First Ward Levee¹ for political purposes and for political funds.

In 1910 the agitation against the segregated vice district led Mayor Fred A. Busse (Republican) to appoint the first Committee of Fifteen to study vice conditions and to recommend a plan of action for dealing with the levee. This committee, the predecessor of the present Committee of Fifteen, composed of ministers, physicians, students of social conditions, lawyers, and business men, recommended the abolition of the segregated vice district. During the Busse administration the south side vice levee was subjected to many raids, which, according to the newspapers of that day, only proved the futility of raids; but on the west side, "Mike de Pike" Heitler,² levee king, built up an organization.

In 1911, Harrison (Democrat) was reelected for a fifth term, succeeding Mayor Busse. Very soon thereafter, John E. Wayman (Republican), state's attorney, began grand jury investigations into the south side vice trust. Mayor Harrison temporarily closed some of the trust houses of the Twenty-second Street levee. When the indictments against members of this trust were invalidated, because the grand jury had listened to evidence other than that submitted in the grand jury room, reformers openly doubted the sincerity of Wayman's prosecution. Wayman ordered a sudden abolition of the segregated area, sent detectives in to make wholesale raids, which threw the levee into confusion. They were accustomed to police raids, but raids from the prosecutor's office baffled them. As a counter attack, the levee bosses ordered a veritable horde of women, some in silks and plumes and others in kimonos and walking skirts, to go to the residence districts and ring every door bell and apply for lodgings. The parade attracted a mob of followers. They rang every bell and were turned down at every door. With the levee closed, they presented a distressing problem. Even Dean Sumner, of the

¹ A term commonly applied to river ward districts.

² One of the persons charged by a 1928 special grand jury with election day violence and bloodshed.

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Committee of Fifteen, had to admit that sudden abolition was a mistake. The vice trust had, for the moment, checked the anti-vice campaign.

An article by Miss Kate J. Adams on October 29, 1912, after a visit to the levee for the purpose of rechecking the dives of the syndicate, after years of experience with them, gives a list of the south side vice trust of that day. The same group had persisted for many years, and all the living members are in illegitimate business today:

James Colosimo, since deceased, was "king" as he had been for some time during the earlier Harrison administrations and during the Busse administration. He owned a dive at Armour Avenue and West Twenty-first Street, a combination saloon and house of prostitution.

Ike Bloom and *Solly Friedman* owned *Freiberg's*, as they had for nine years previously and for many years later, under the name of "The Vienna" and "The Midnight Frolics." Lately his name has been associated with "The Plantation," a black-and-tan cabaret.

Jakie Adler and *Harry Hopkins* were owning and managing the "Silver Dollar Saloon," a resort on South Dearborn Street between Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets. Adler is known today for his activities in syndicated vice and gambling and beer gang feuds and as an associate of Al Capone. As this is written he is managing "The Midnight Frolics."

"*Jew Kid*" *Grabiner* was an active owner and manager of vice and gambling resorts in the "trust" as he is today.

Harry Cusick and *Jack Cusick* were as active in the trust's vice resorts as they are today. Harry Cusick has been known lately as a keeper of roadhouse dives. He and his wife were later convicted of pandering and sentenced to the penitentiary, but were pardoned by Governor Small before they began to serve time. Lately, Harry and Jack Cusick have been partners of Al Capone in Cicero gambling and vice. Jack Cusick, during the recent absences of Al Capone, has been the reputed manager of his affairs.

"*Dago*" *Frank Lewis* ran one of the "trust joints" then and is known today as a member of the gambling and vice syndicate.

Other notables of the Colosimo vice syndicate were:

Andy Craig, divekeeper and bondsman, who had risen from a clumsy pickpocket to the head of the "Pickpockets' Trust," and was once important enough in politics to have his picture removed from the rogues' gallery, where, in addition to pickpocketing and dive-keeping, his record was not untainted with robbery.

John Torrio, then young and a manager of one of Colosimo's dives, has since risen to overlordship in the beer "racket" and retired wealthy, leaving Al Capone as his successor.

Sam Hare, lately a roadhouse and gambling "joint" owner; *Ed Weiss* and *Louie Weiss*; *Ed Little*; *Roy Jones*; *Bob Gray*; and *John Gordon*.

The ownership of two hundred better known houses of the district was reputed to this trust by Miss Adams, who made this comment:

"The trust collects from each of the houses and pays for arrangements with the police and for political contributions. It regulates competition. The famous Everleigh Club was closed because it was a rival of

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Freiberg's of the trust. After the closing, Freiberg's quadrupled its business. The houses are required to patronize certain grocery stores in the immediate vicinity, to take out all their insurance in a company represented by a powerful politician. Three doctors are especially endorsed by the trust. Cab drivers receive a percentage on money spent by customers they bring to a house."

Miss Adams' estimate was about two hundred cadets in South Dearborn Street and Armour Avenue between Eighteenth and Twenty-second Streets, shortly before the clean-up by Wayman. Among these cadets were gunmen, pickpockets and criminals. The keeper of the house got one-third of the girl's fees and the cadet often got the rest.

2. *The Morals Squad of 1913.* The Wayman "drive" produced some results. Inspector Edward McCann was convicted of bribe taking from resort keepers and was sentenced to Joliet. Inspector John Wheeler and Lieutenant John R. Bonfield were suspended after a trial, on vice graft charges, before the police trial board, and Chief of Police McWeeney was removed from office on November 3, 1913, by Mayor Harrison, because he had failed to close notorious dives. He was succeeded by James Gleason. A state vice commission, under Lieutenant-Governor Barrett O'Hara, was set to investigating the white slave traffic in Chicago, and it made further discoveries of police graft. The Business Men's Morals Committee was complaining bitterly about the invasion of residential neighborhoods by vice.

Mayor Harrison then created the office of Second Deputy Police Commissioner in 1912 and appointed Major Funkhouser, who assumed his duties in March, 1913, with the announced intention of divorcing the police from politics. Major Funkhouser was empowered to investigate vice conditions and prosecute as a civilian, independently of the chief of police. He appointed W. C. Dannenberg as morals inspector and chief of the morals squad. In November, 1913, in spite of Wayman's raids, in spite of the removal of Chief McWeeney and the appointment of Chief Gleason, the south side levee was opened and its vice houses were running full blast.

Second Deputy Dannenberg's warfare on vice caused the Twenty-second Street Levee to organize for aggressive defense. They developed a system of cadet informers that kept the disgruntled divekeepers advised of the movements of the morals squad men. Within a year they threatened Dannenberg's life. Through an ex-policeman they tried to bribe him. His exposure of the offer (\$2,200 per month) for the protection of the Twenty-second Street Levee alone, gave evidence of the profitableness to the police of the old segregated district.

Funkhouser's fight on protected vice reached an acute stage in April, 1914, when an investigator attached to his staff was beset by levee gangsters and knifed.¹

¹ A contemporary news account described the incident:

"The assault occurred immediately after Dannenberg had brought charges against certain policemen for protecting resorts in the south side levee. He was at the same time trying to get evidence in the murder of a man named Henagow in Roy Jones' saloon at 2037 South Wabash, one of the syndicate resorts. By the aid of the regular police, Jones had succeeded in hushing up the murder for several hours. Roy Jones' cafe, where

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At this time reformers and the press were expressing their satisfaction with the effectiveness of the morals squad against the Twenty-second Street Levee. Some saloons and houses had been closed, action was begun against big property owners in the vice district, and special attention was being given to the spread of vice into residential areas. It seemed that the trust was actually losing its fight.

On the evening of July 15, 1914, occurred a second murder, this time a sergeant of the morals squad. A gang of levee hoodlums centered around two morals squad policemen, shouting derision and threats and making menacing gestures. A volley of revolver shots followed. When the smoke had cleared away and other policemen ran up to investigate, they found Stanley Birns, one of the detective sergeants dead, shot through the heart; the other was taken to the hospital with a bullet wound in one leg. At the coroner's inquest the levee characters tried to explain away the killing on the theory of jealousy between Funkhouser's men and the regular police. Major Funkhouser testified at the inquest:

"The rulers of the district have threatened to 'get my men' time and time again, so last night they followed two of my men after a raid and threw bricks at them. The other two detectives ran up to see my men draw their guns and the fight was on."¹

the tragedy occurred, was one of the most notorious resorts in the levee district. Its license had been revoked and restored by Mayor Harrison. Edwin Sims, then United States District Attorney, and Shelby Singleton, Secretary of the Chicago Citizens' Association, demanded of Chief Gleason the reason why gunmen and other vicious characters were not driven from the city instead of being afforded police protection. The attack upon Dannenberg's man was a warning to Funkhouser and the officers of the Morals Division."

¹The *Tribune* of July 18, 1914, in explaining the motive for the shooting of Birns, gives a complete description of the combination between politics and the vice trust which paralyzed the police and which emboldened the levee bosses to resort to murder in their fight against the new Morals Division. The new Morals Division was actually effective and was exposing the paralysis of Captain Ryan's men:

"There are three reasons why the tragedy of the levee could not have been avoided. First, is Alderman 'Hinky Dink' Kenna . . . who is the boss and absolute overlord of the First Ward. The levee exists because it is by the denizens of the levee that he rolls up the voting power which causes such men as Carter Harrison and Roger Sullivan to consult with him as a political peer, and County Judge Owens to have him as a trimmer.

"Second, is 'Bath-house' John Coughlin, the junior partner of the 'Hink' in representing the First Ward in the City Council. The 'Bath' is powerful by the reflected glory of the 'Hink,' who can make or unmake him. But he is useful to the more delicate Mike Kenna in that he is willing to rub elbows with that powerful source of votes and revenue—the red-light district. It is the common suspicion of almost everyone who keeps in touch with civic affairs that the 'Bath' is the real man behind Freiberg's Dance Hall, although Ike Bloom is the ostensible proprietor and manager. It is Freiberg's that goes on undisturbed when raids are made all about the district.

"Third, is Captain Michael Ryan of the Twenty-second Street Police Station. He is the Chief of Police of the First Ward. The 'Hink' put him there. The 'Hink' and the 'Bath' keep him there. He has been denounced as either notoriously corrupt or incompetent. But Funkhouser, Dannenberg, Gleason, and Hoyne, himself, cannot budge Ryan from that station. They have all tried and failed.

"When State's Attorney Wayman closed the levee, there was one set of dividing lines he could not touch. They were the lines marking out the police district. They are there now and the district is as much segregated as it ever was. Within this district Captain Ryan's instructions to his subordinates are their only instructions—they are the instructions carried out. Chief Gleason and First Deputy Schuettler may send the Funkhouser squads and the Dannenberg squads down into the district to make raids, but they cannot force Ryan to make raids. And no matter how many raids they make and

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Macley Hoyne, a Democrat, as was also Mayor Harrison, came into office December 1, 1912, announcing a policy of non-interference with conditions which he considered strictly the duty of the police to suppress or regulate. After the knifing of a morals detective and the shooting of Detective Birns two years later, he reversed his policy and began a grand jury investigation, exposing the relations between the vice ring and the political working crew of the First Ward.

Hoyne revealed an astonishing array of precinct committeemen and captains of the First Ward holding jobs as bailiffs, jail guards, and as minute clerks, as well as in other capacities in the courts, the sheriff's office, the county treasurer's office, the county jail and the Bridewell—especially in positions where they can be of help to the "boys" when they get into trouble. Some of the political lieutenants maintained only "suitcase residence" in the ward and lived in good residence sections. Some of them were located in public offices where they were in a position to inform the divekeepers of projected action. Minna Everleigh, one of the notorious Everleigh sisters, whose place had been closed in order to favor Freiberg's, testified that she had paid over one hundred thousand dollars to the vice lords in her day, and that she had contributed three thousand dollars to the Kenna-Coughlin fund, used to defeat the bill in the legislature forbidding the sale of liquor in disorderly houses. She also told of a hushed up murder in Weiss's saloon.

Hoyne found that "three rings are ruling in the south side levee, which have been collecting money from the little fellows and splitting it with the police and politicians." The first and largest of these rings was the Colosimo-Torrio outfit. At the head were "Big Jim" Colosimo, the "brains," and his friend and clerk, John Torrio. Colosimo ostensibly ran a restaurant and never needed to leave it because Torrio did all the outside work. Working with this gang was Maurice Van Bener (convicted by the federal authorities in 1909 under the White Slave Act). Since 1909 Torrio had advanced from the position of the minor divekeeper to first lieutenant of Colosimo. Julius and Charlie Maibaum headed one of the other rings, and the Marshall Brothers bossed the third. Ed Weiss had gone in with Maibaums. Jakie Adler and Harry Hopkins were operating still other places in the Maibaum syndicate. Jakie Wolfsohn was with the Maibaums also, in charge of "Buxbaum's." Harry Cusick and Grabiner, with Judy Williams, John Gordon and the Rothschilds, chose to be independent of the three syndicates. Each of these syndicates operated a string of saloons in the proximity of,

how they show Ryan up, he is still on the job, in complete control of his precinct lines. . . . In other cities the one 'ring' has been found to be a clique of gambling kings who ruled the situation; in Chicago the 'ring' is extended to the formation of a complete wheel.

"Ryan is the hub. His plain clothes policemen, his confidential men, are the spokes, and sections of the rim are the 'Big Four' or the 'Big Five' as conditions happen to be at the time, the dive owners and keepers controlling strings of saloons and resorts that travel along without interruption.

"But more important than any or all of these parts—the one thing without which the wheel could not revolve—is the axle, and this axle is the 'little fellow' to every denizen of the district, or 'Hinky Dink.' Men in uniform in Ryan's district are told to keep their eyes straight ahead, ignoring what is going on behind doors and windows, and watching only for disturbances on the street. They are told to do police duty as if the social evil did not exist around them."

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or connected by passages with, clandestine flats and houses of prostitution. The names of their saloons and addresses would show that, with slight changes of ownership among the old owners, the same places are running at this time after much the same fashion they have always been run.

Jakie Adler and Maurice Van Bener, on July 23, 1914, were taken into custody by the state's attorney's men, in preparation for indictments against them as participants in the levee plot to rid the district of Dannenberg's raiders. Adler was said to know all the facts about the gunmen and the shooting.

For the first time in his entire career "Big Jim" Colosimo was locked behind the bars in a police station for half a day. With him was his brother-in-law, Joseph Moresco. State's Attorney Hoyne had believed them to be the ringleaders in the gunmen's plot to assassinate Dannenberg, the morals inspector, which ended in the killing of Sergeant Birns of the police force, and had them arrested.

While gang murders were fewer at that time than today, the prosecution of these cases against the leaders of organized crime followed the same patterns and produced the same results. No one was convicted or punished. The prosecution for the murder of Detective Birns failed because Colosimo, Moresco, Adler, Van Bener, and Roxie Vanilli who was supposed to have fired the shot, would not testify. No indictments were returned. The prosecution of Franche, alias "Duffy, the Goat," for the murder of Henagow in the ring-controlled saloon of Roy Jones, ended like the Joe Saltis case and the "Lefty" Lewis case of recent months. Franche was first tried and sentenced to hang. "Little slips in the defense and technical omissions," the court held in granting a new trial, "operated to the disadvantage of the defense." It was a blow to the prosecution, because witnesses had to be brought from "all ends of the continent." Upon the second trial, the defendant was acquitted on the ground of self-defense, even though witnesses testified that his victim had his arms straight down at his side when Franche shot him through the heart.

Three temporary victories were scored for the reform:

(a) The *Examiner* announced that Coughlin and Kenna had been read out of the Democratic party; *this was not for long*.

(b) On complaint of Harriet Vittum and other club women, Ike Bloom's license for Freiberg's was revoked; *it was reissued in a short time*.

(c) Captain Michael Ryan, whose power to protect the levee transcended any interference by police chiefs, was transferred out of the district and Captain Max Nootbaar succeeded him.

Immediately upon the arrival of Captain Nootbaar at his new post, Ike Bloom came in to make a deal. The captain refused his overtures and, enraged, removed Ike Bloom's picture which had been hanging in the squad room of the Twenty-second Street police station for many years.

3. *The Thompson Administration, 1915.* William Hale Thompson (Republican) was inaugurated as mayor on May 15, 1915, while Maclay Hoyne (Democrat) continued as state's attorney. Charles C. Healey was appointed chief of police on April 26, 1915, succeeding Gleason. Within the first year, Corporation Counsel

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Ettelson handed down a liberal opinion with regard to the one o'clock closing law. Guests could remain as long as they liked, but resorts were not permitted to sell drinks to them after one o'clock. Under this interpretation the owners considered the "lid off" the one o'clock closing law. Ike Bloom's license for Freiberg's was reissued to him via the Hop Ling Company, a dummy. Weiss's Bristol Cafe in Englewood was closed on December 30, and opened on January 13, 1916—the license was revoked and restored within two weeks. The license of the Blue Ribbon Cafe was revoked. Jones' place was running. To the outside observer, the standard upon which these revocations and restorations were based would seem dubious.¹

At the same time that vice was masquerading behind cabarets, dancing clubs and "Loop" hotels, it was spreading farther south than the old Twenty-second Street Levee. Complainants of Chief Healey and Captain W. P. O'Brien of the Cottage Grove Avenue station brought the information that Thirty-first and Thirty-fifth Streets were nearly as lively as Twenty-second Street ever dared to be. Saloons were confined to Cottage Grove, Indiana Avenue, Thirty-first and Thirty-fifth Streets, while buffet flats flourished in many blocks between State Street and the lake and Twenty-second and Fifty-first Streets. A colored official in court said, "Theoretically, there is no segregated vice district in Chicago. There is a segregated district in the 'black belt' which is a menace to all respectable Negroes in the locality. The scum of Chicago's white population infests the district to consort with negro women, who are dominated by white libertines."

Citizens and policemen of the Stanton Avenue district agreed to cooperate to stop the transplanting of the First Ward red-light district to the Second Ward. Captain Ryan told this joint group of police and citizens that Grand Boulevard between Thirty-fifth and Thirty-ninth Streets was more troublesome than any other section; that a sergeant in a vice squad and a morals inspector were threatened with death, and Captain Ryan himself had received warnings. It became known that an overlord of the First Ward Levee was "fixer" in the new tenderloin and was settling with the people down town.

Henry M. Hyde in the *Tribune* of January 14, 1916, disclosed the scattering of the inmates of the old red-light district and the superficial change of the dives to all of the new forms. He stated that the scattering appeared greater because as the women moved into residential areas they were often

¹In February, 1916, the *Herald and Examiner's* investigators made the following observations:

"They say the levee is dead. Perhaps it is, but the ghost of the levee is stalking about the streets and alleys of the south side, manifesting unmistakable desires for resurrection. In the early morning hours, along Thirty-first Street near Indiana Avenue, Freiberg's, Buxbaum's, and the Bristol, three of the most notorious of rendezvous in Chicago's history, have been restored either to their original owners or figureheads clearly identified with them. . . .

"Thus we see the cabaret evil in sections of the city is the illegitimate heir to the old vice rule. People who prospered when practically licensed prostitution was permitted in Chicago, now find remuneration and familiar employment in some of the cabarets. Old foes reappear with new faces. Instead of the old segregated levee district, here is vice in all of the 'Loop' hotels and in many of the cabarets and dance halls. The girls and boys who were taught corruption in so-called restaurants are ruined just as thoroughly as were their predecessors in undisguised houses of prostitution."

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made to move frequently, giving the impression of a much larger movement. Mr. Hyde disclosed *the earliest venture into suburban areas of members of the old Twenty-second Street Levee ring. These were the precursors, later to be followed by the Torrio-Capone vice, beer and gambling ring in Burnham, Cicero, Stickney, etc.*¹

Samuel P. Thrasher, superintendent of the Committee of Fifteen, when asked in regard to the problem, stated: "All the old vice promoters who can get into the cabaret business are in it today and their cabarets are used as recruiting stations for the promotion of vice."

Mayor Thompson was making efforts to reduce the position of Second Deputy of Police, which Major Funkhouser held, to a point where it would be of little consequence. The *Daily News* and other newspapers contended for the maintenance of the office. A protest became city-wide among club women, civic leaders, and ministers.

In March, 1916, Francis D. Hanna, morals inspector, was discharged. Next came the withdrawal of patrolmen assigned to Major Funkhouser's

¹"With the abolition of the red-light districts and the masquerading of vice in cabarets, hotels and dancing clubs, what has become of the former vice lords who ruled the levee? Kate Adams, in October, 1916, said that the 'vice trust' still lives and that its members today are in control of Chicago's vicious cabarets.

"Ike Bloom is still manager of Freiberg's dance hall and cabaret.

"The Colosimo restaurant and cabaret is conducted by Jim Colosimo, who owned and managed several resorts on the south side line. His chop suey restaurant and bar, with rooms above, was a second headquarters for the vice interests, Freiberg's being the first. His resort, over which Mrs. Colosimo resided, was 2106 Armour Avenue. He also owned and managed the 'Brighton' at 2000 Armour Avenue.

"Johnny Torrio, now with 'Jew Kid' Grabiner at the Speedway Inn, was interested with Joe Adduci in the resort at 113 West Nineteenth Street. Torrio and Adduci were known to the underworld as Colosimo's lieutenants. The Friars' Inn Cabaret is owned and managed by George Silver, whose license at the northeast corner of Randolph and Dearborn Streets was revoked because the place harbored immoral women. In the old levee days, he was interested in the 'Olympia' at Seventh Street and Wabash Avenue.

"The Fountain Inn Cabaret at Sixty-third Street and Halsted is conducted by Ed Weiss, and his nephew Louis. These men formerly operated the 'Capitol,' a saloon and resort at 132 West Twenty-second Street, and the old 'Buxbaum's' at Twenty-second and State, later known as the West Catering Co. It is persistently rumored, though vigorously denied by the Weisses, that they are the owners and silent managers of 'Canary Cottage' on Cottage Grove Avenue.

"The McGovern Brothers' Cabaret and resort at 666 North Clark Street has just been closed by an injunction obtained by the Committee of Fifteen. Formerly the McGoverns conducted a notorious place on North Clark Street, opposite the old American Theater. The Columbia Cafe and Cabaret, Ogden Avenue and Van Buren Street, is conducted by 'Dago' Frank Lewis, who was a leading light in the old vice ring. He managed a resort known as the Ivy Hotel, at 2000 South State Street. He also managed the 'Mint' at Twentieth and Armour. Jaky Adler, another member of the old vice trust, is in the cabaret business at Burnham. He has the 'State Line Bar and Cabaret' at 4 Goslin Street, and another place at 14 Goslin Street. In the old levee days he and Harry Hopkins conducted the 'Silver Dollar' at 2020 Dearborn Street.

"The Speedway Inn, 8 Goslin Street, Burnham, is managed by 'Jew Kid' Grabiner, who used to have a resort at 2106 Dearborn Street.

"Charlie West's cabaret at 539 South State Street is conducted in connection with the saloon at that number. In the past, evidence of commercialized vice has been found in this saloon.

"Dineen's cabaret, 518 South State Street, is managed by the same Dineen who conducted a notorious place at the corner of Harrison and State Streets some time ago. The Garden Cafe is managed by Jack Jordan, known in vice circles as the husband of Georgia Spencer. Georgia Spencer's resort was at 54 West Nineteenth Street, and Jordan had a saloon and resort at 2006 Wabash Avenue.

"The Cottage Buffet and Cabaret, 12 Goslin Street, Burnham, is managed by Joe De Frier, who, with Bob Gray, conducted a resort at 2106 Dearborn Street."

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office. The expenses of investigators were cut by the comptroller, who said, "We are trying to make friends. We have to have friends if we are going to build up a machine." On March 22, 1916, Mr. Hanna handed the following report to Mayor Thompson:

1. There is not a uniform enforcement of the laws and ordinances relating to moral violations.
2. High grade houses of prostitution operate without police interference.
3. Prostitutes who get high prices are not arrested.
4. Most of the cases brought into the morals court are the cheap cases—the majority of them are poor negro women.
5. Experienced prostitutes ask for jury trials, thus getting away from the Morals Court, and when their cases are called in the Jury Court, waive a jury and take a bench trial. They are tried *ex parte*, do not appear in court, are represented by capable counsel, are never seen by a judge, are not vigorously prosecuted by the police, often are represented as first offenders, and escape with very low fines. A reasonable inference is that there is collusion between the police, bondsmen, lawyers and defendants.
6. Keepers of resorts, assignation hotels and rooming houses are vigorously prosecuted in some police precincts and in other precincts are never arrested.
7. There has never been a real clean-up of men who live from the proceeds earned for them by prostitutes.

Pressure was being brought to bear upon Chief Healey by the morals inspector, Mr. Funkhouser, and by Mrs. Merriam, and other reform leaders to investigate police graft. Chief Healey began an inquiry into graft charges and in a short time the state's attorney's office took charge of the inquiry. Disgruntled dive-keepers first exposed two petty politicians as collectors of graft money, who in turn exposed Paul Schoop. The latter turned state's evidence, and in a very short time Mr. Hoyne announced that he would ask indictments against certain political leaders and officers as the higher-ups in an almost city-wide vice graft ring. The mayor revoked the saloon license of Paul Schoop.

Hoyne's graft charges included vice, principally on the near north side. It occurred to investigators, therefore, to have a glance at the old south side levee which, it seemed, was prospering since Funkhouser's power had been shorn by withholding an adequate appropriation for his morals division. They found Colosimo at his old stand; "Dago" Frank Lewis on Twentieth Street; Ed and Louis Weiss on Twenty-second Street and Dearborn Street; the Marshall Brothers and Zellen on Twenty-second and State Streets; Ike Bloom was running Freiberg's under the name of "Old Vienna"; and so on down the line.

In the course of his investigation into collection rings, Hoyne looked into the Sportsmen's Club. He charged that dive-keepers, gamblers and saloon-keepers joined the club under promise of immunity from raids and prosecution for violating the law. Although the club had collected one hundred thousand dollars for life memberships, it had thirty judgments against it in the Municipal Court. "If the club could not pay its debts," Hoyne asked, "is it only a political gesture?"

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Mayor Thompson started a graft investigation of his own through the Police Civil Service Commission, headed by Captain Coffin, which turned the glare of publicity away from Hoyne's activities.

Captain W. P. O'Brien of the south side "black belt" was suspended and turned state's witness in Hoyne's graft inquiry. The captain had written Chief Healey about a list of dives, which he now submitted to Hoyne, which were infested with prostitutes who carried on with riotous gayety at all hours of the night in the "black belt." He described the unspeakable conditions of immorality. Chief Healey had not replied. O'Brien had actually received orders from Chief Healey not to disturb certain dives because of their political influence. He further testified that Chief Healey had objected because certain captains were running to reform organizations. He said he wanted this stopped; that he did not care anything for reformers; that he was boss of the police department and proposed to be boss until the end of Thompson's term.

The outstanding feature of the entire affair seemed to be the unequal enforcement of the law—playing favorites with the rich cafe owners and those supported by powerful politicians. The small saloon-keeper could not get his license back if he did not pay \$250 graft. Chief Healey was placed under arrest and released on \$20,000 bonds signed by three powerful politicians.

In January, 1917, a notebook containing the names of shady hotels and the rates of weekly graft was found in the pocket of Lieutenant White of the Lake Street station by Hoyne investigators. The rates were \$150, \$75, \$50 and \$40 per week. Then there were pages devoted to a list of houses of ill fame, transient houses, gambling "joints," and Greek places. These items were indicated as "the chief's places." This graft went to the chief without a split. Other places were marked "three ways," which was said to mean that Costello, Skidmore and "Mike de Pike" Heitler were beneficiaries. There was another page devoted to saloons, showing that these bars could violate the one o'clock and Sunday closing laws if a certain sum of money was paid each week. On top of this list was another which was headed by this notation, "Can't be raided." This list included gambling houses, crap "joints," dives and shady hotels. There was another list headed, "Can be raided"; and this was taken to mean the places which had not "cashed in."

Other indictments voted were against Costello and "Mike de Pike" Heitler, his confederate as collector; Sergeants Walsh and Barry of Lake Street station; and Alderman Oscar de Priest of the "black belt." Senator John Broderick and William Skidmore (lately of the Berch, Moran, Zuta syndicate and the pickpockets' bondsmen) were mentioned in the testimony.

Prosecutor Hoyne, on October 18, 1917, made public a list of seventy-seven places on the south and west sides that were running at the time and most of which could be recognized as old dives.

Herman F. Schuettler was appointed chief on January 11, 1917, succeeding Healey, who was on trial. First Deputy of Police Westbrook submitted a list of one o'clock violators and dives to the chief of police, who passed it on to the mayor with a recommendation that licenses be revoked. Mayor Thompson promised to act and the cabaret owners started court pro-

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ceedings to enjoin him from acting. The police, with the cooperation of reputable cabarets, promised a clean-up of the dive resorts.

The office of the second deputy had been made ineffective earlier in the Thompson administration by withholding the appropriation, by the removal of Hanna, and by the withdrawal of patrolmen assigned to duty in the morals division of the police department. In June, 1918, the Thompson administration determined to eliminate Major Funkhouser. Acting Chief of Police Alcock led the attack by calling in women of the old red-light district as witnesses. While Funkhouser and his assistant were on trial before the police trial board, the council finance committee stopped the appropriation entirely of Funkhouser's office and he was thus completely eliminated and the office abolished.

Hoyne's investigation of the police in October, 1919, was not the only one in progress. The Police Civil Service Commission, under Captain Coffin, brought charges against Captain Cronin and some of his subordinates for conditions in the Warren Avenue district. Coffin showed that many dives were open. Cronin, in his own defense, quoted a large list of raids he had made and the number of women arrested.

A new reorganization plan of the police was proposed with three deputy commissioners, north, south and west. Hoyne opposed this because it would sink the police department further into politics and because it legalized the wide practice of issuing police stars to private citizens. The Bill passed without the deputy commissioner and police star features, but the vital thing remained—the chief of police was given supreme power. Therefore, Chief Garrity, who had succeeded Schuettler on November 25, 1918, called his captains before him and told them that each one of them would be held responsible for crime and vice in his district.

4. *The Murder of Colosimo, 1920.* The *Daily News* of May 12, 1920, carried the following:

"The murder of James Colosimo, vice lord on the south side since 1912, on May 11, 1920, marks the ending of one epoch and the beginning of another in the history of vice in Chicago. Ever since the ousting of Major Funkhouser as second deputy in 1918, and the perfecting of the Thompson-Lundin machine, things gradually began to pick up in the old Twenty-second Street district on the south side. The old levee never was dead; it was simply slumbering. With its awakening came the war for power—power to collect money from disorderly houses, to give jobs to henchmen, to gain immunity. For years First Ward politics had been ruled by a bipartisan agreement. Alderman Kenna, the boss of the ward, made Frank Brady the Republican leader of the district. Then Brady became one of the leaders of the City Hall organization and according to reports, decided some months ago to succeed Kenna as the real 'boss' of the ward. Labor complications, political complications, vice complications began to put 'pep' into Twenty-second Street. Eddie Coleman, right hand man of Brady, determined to control the handbooks of the Twenty-second Street district. Old-time followers of Kenna were put out of business and Coleman's men set up in business. Three weeks ago Eddie Coleman was murdered. This murder was seen as a political gesture.

"Italians form a large part of the First Ward voting population, and Colosimo and his lieutenants had controlled this vote for Alderman

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Kenna for years. Brady and his aids saw the need of a rival organization among the Italians, it was said, and prepared to build up a new set of leaders. Several months ago new faces were seen along Twenty-second Street. Frank Chiaravalotti took over a cigar store and poolroom which had long been the principal hang-out of gunmen and other underworld characters. He was a relative by marriage of Colosimo and friendly with him, although they were political enemies. He became an intimate of "Big Tim" Murphy, Mike Carrozzo and others who aspired to political leadership under Brady. The murder of "Moss" Enright came along to complicate things politically. The men charged with this murder were Murphy, Carrozzo and Cosmana Chiaravalotti, and a defense fund of \$35,000 was raised. Colosimo, recognizing race ties, became the custodian of the \$35,000, which was to be used to save the men who were fighting him for political leadership among the Italians. It was rumored there were some difficulties about the defense fund of \$35,000 and that Colosimo made several efforts to sidestep."

Another theory about the shooting of Colosimo was that it was his wife's revenge for casting her aside.

No one was prosecuted for the murder. Important witnesses were frightened away; such Italians as would furnish information asked that their names be suppressed.

"The fortune of Jim Colosimo was difficult to locate; estimated at about one-half million dollars, only \$40,000 in diamonds was found, and the dwindling of the fortune was ascribed to his paying tribute to the 'Black Hand.'"¹

5. *The Daily News* As the fall elections in 1920 approached, the *Daily News* wanted to learn which of the two candidates, Michael J. Igoe, the Democrat, or Robert E. Crowe, the Republican, the vice districts supported. A reporter made a tour of inspection of the city's chief vice thoroughfares, beginning at the "Loop" and going south, west and north. He found Crowe's posters in the windows of all the notorious resorts in all parts of the city.

In his annual report of May 7, 1920, Mr. Thrasher, superintendent of the Committee of Fifteen, said:

"If corrupt politics would leave its hands off the police department and Chief Garrity were given a fair chance, I believe the department would function effectively."

An exposé by the *Daily News* of conditions in the "black belt" vice district in May, 1921, resulted in some raids by the police.

In his report of May, 1921, Mr. Thrasher said that vice was on the decrease in the city and commended State's Attorney Crowe and Chief of Police Fitzmorris. The report finds the injunction law effective:

"The injunction law is the most effective weapon that can be used against vice promotion. Owners do not want their property tied up for a year against its use for any purpose, nor do they want a record of an injunction against it, even though the injunction may be vacated by a bond conditioned that the owner will keep it free from immorality."

¹ *Daily News*, May 18, 1920.

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In October, 1921, the *News* devoted many columns to an exposé of the vice conditions in the Eighteenth Ward on the west side. It pointed out that, fostered and protected by City Hall politicians, crooked policemen and police officials, Chicago's old west side levee district has been running wide open for many months. It estimated the amount collected in graft by the politicians at one million dollars and stated that a certain City Hall politician was so grasping that when a gambling house or resort became prosperous he demanded a half interest.

James K. Fleming, Lundin-Thompson ward committeeman, and Senator George Van Lent were the political powers in the Eighteenth Ward affairs. The former was head of the William Hale Thompson Eighteenth Ward Club. In this ward there were two separate graft rings, one in the Warren Avenue police district and one in the Des Plaines Street police district. The latter ring was headed by Izzy Rothchild, formerly of the Twenty-second Street Levee.

The familiarity of some of the names in this west side graft ring obviates any necessity for long explanation:

Jack Zuta is still an overlord in the far west side, and in 1928 was of the faction of Berch, Moran and Zuta, with the Aiello brothers as armed forces fighting Lombardo and Capone for what seemed to be a city-wide vice and gambling syndicate;

Max Wagman, who had done a "hitch" in Joliet as a fence for stolen goods, in 1921, is now back in the Zuta district running the Monroe Hotel and several other resorts on West Monroe Street near Kedzie;

"Dago" *Frank Lewis* will be recognized readily as of the old levee district in Twenty-second Street.

The *Daily News* published an interview between an investigator who represented himself as an aspirant to the privilege of keeping a resort on the west side and Carasso, "Dago" Frank's partner, explained to him just how much he would have to pay the "coppers" and how much of that would go to the two leading politicians of the district and what the dues were to join the Political Club, which was really a protection ring. A list of large gambling houses, resorts and liquor selling cabarets of the Eighteenth Ward was included in this exposé. The list contains twenty-nine such places, all on the west side. The names of Zuta, Frankie Pope, Wagman, "Dago" Frank Lewis, Jack Lynch, one of the Marshalls, and others who were to figure in the gambling-bombing war of 1927, appear among resort keepers and gambling house keepers. Police raids followed this exposé and added new locations not listed; perhaps unprotected. The Cook County Grand Jury returned indictments against three shady hotel keepers on the west side, two Greeks and one Jew, whose names had never appeared before nor later in an underworld exposé.

In August, 1922, ten months after the *News* exposé, *Tribune* investigators found vice flourishing on the west side with hardly a door man to give them any difficulty. The *Tribune's* south side investigation found among many other hotels and resorts the "Four Deuces" on Wabash Avenue running on a large scale and wide open.

In December the *Daily News* resumed its exposé. The efforts were now devoted to the "black belt":

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"The lawless days of the famous 'red-light' district when the demi-monde and the professional gambler, under the appraising eye of the police, were once more restored in the south side negro belt, where Lundin-Thompson political followers were in absolute control."

The police could find the intruders very easily, but not the "joints" protected by Jackson. William Bass, Negro gambling king, operated several gambling houses in the neighborhood. Captain Enright was now in command in this police district and the *News* called it: "Without a doubt this district is the foulest spot in Chicago. Black and tan cabarets, buffet flats, soft drink saloons, and every form of vice are flourishing."

6. *The Crowe Grand Jury Investigations, 1922.* In August, 1922, Dr. Bundesen began to quarantine with placards houses of prostitution where venereal disease had been found.

The practice of sending diseased prostitutes for treatment to a hospital was considered a great improvement in the control of vice over the old method of arresting, releasing on bond, and fining, only to turn the infectious prostitutes out onto the streets to ply their trade.

In 1922 State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe broke with Mayor Thompson, offering as explanation the "moral issue":

"On a moral issue as to whether I could protect the decent men, women and children of this county I was prepared not only to quit Mayor Thompson, but, by God, I was prepared to quit my wife on that issue. Any man that is interested in protected gambling and protected vice and protected prostitution I refuse to travel along with, politically or otherwise."

Immediately thereafter he started and continued until the 1923 April elections a series of grand jury investigations into politically protected vice.

Chief Justice Michael McKinley received a series of letters describing the workings of a west side graft ring, giving the rates of the graft and the amounts the girls had to pay the police. Ten women inmates of the Lawndale Hospital testified in January, 1916. The efficiency with which syndicate "joints" are operated was described by a nineteen-year-old girl, including a system of schooling and perversion conducted by a Negress for young girls entering houses of prostitution. The women testified that some of the investigators for the Committee of Fifteen were accepting graft. The facts emerged that the syndicates had special attorneys who appeared for all their girls in the Morals Court.

In February, 1923, it was learned and made public by the vice investigators that profits of vice in Chicago amounted to \$13,500,000 a year, part of which went to the police. The system by which "fixed" police "tipped off" resort keepers, and the police discriminations against unprotected resorts, which were very frequently raided, was exposed. Dr. Philip Yarrow explained that for five hundred brothels there had been about a thousand raids in one year, at the rate of only two raids a year. Other private citizens testified that their complaints to the police were of no avail against dives in the proximity of their homes or shops, because of police protection.

Chief Justice McKinley of the Criminal Court threatened to take direct judiciary action, disregarding the prosecutor or the police in cases about

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which he had received letters of complaint. As soon as the state's attorney heard of the judge's intention he took immediate action under the Kate Adams' Law against seventy-five keepers of disorderly resorts. It was noticed, however, that certain of the most notorious resorts were missing from the list even though evidence was received against them.

At the same moment Chief of Police Fitzmorris issued his memorable "Vice Picket" order, whereby police were stationed at the known resorts where vice was open and rampant. Two resort keepers immediately filed suits for injunctions against Chief of Police Fitzmorris in the Superior Court, asking for orders preventing the stationing of police at the entrance to suspected disorderly houses. Judge Denis E. Sullivan issued an injunction restraining the police from interfering with the conduct of the Normandy Hotel, 500 North Clark Street, on the ground that "a man's home is his castle" and there ought to be due process of law instead of picketing by the police—"a court cannot become a party to unlawful confiscation of property, which is a fact in stationing police on the premises."

For the moment Fitzmorris' blockade by the police picket method was actually effective, according to a report filed with Chief Justice McKinley by Miss Jessie Binford, director of the Juvenile Protective Association. The proprietors of the closed houses followed a policy of watchful waiting, confident that the lid was only a temporary policy to satisfy the demands of reformers, as experience had proved to them so often in the past. At least they believed that it would be removed after the April election.

The dive-keepers, however, were disappointed in expecting the lid to be lifted after the election. The Thompson forces were defeated and William E. Dever was the people's choice for mayor.

7. The Dever Administration, 1923.

Mayor Dever had promised to keep the lid on during his administration, and it was largely due to this promise and the people's newly aroused sentiment to clean up the city, that former Mayor Thompson was defeated. Captain Collins was appointed Chief of Police. The first raid was on the "Four Deuces," 2222 Indiana Avenue, which had remained open in order to test the strength of the new chief. In May one hundred arrests had been made in a further series of raids by Chief Collins. These were all on the west side and the raids on disorderly and gambling houses were continued throughout the summer of 1923.

Miss Jessie Binford submitted a report of a survey made in May:

"There is no doubt that a sincere, energetic effort has been made to minimize commercialized vice in Chicago. Nightly raids inaugurated by Chief Collins have played havoc with the vice ring and broken a majority of the more notorious resorts and driven others to cover. The Collins' drive was at first thought to be a temporary purity move for political purposes. In the underworld the appointment of Collins was lauded, but as time passed and his apparent desire to clean the town and keep it clean had reached the underworld, their ranks have been badly shattered. Indecent dancing in the black and tan cafes and a noticeable increase of street soliciting still exist, but they are normal reflexes of the drive against the resorts and can undoubtedly be fought later. The action of Judge McKinley and that of the administration

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forces has stopped the vice ring for the time being, but to keep the town clean it is necessary for us to have a special vice department in the police force, not only to handle raids but for investigations and the constant checking that is necessary to keep conditions as clean as they are. The minute there is a let-up in the police activity, the vice ring will take advantage of it and things will be back where they were four months ago."

In 1924 the policy of the previous year was continued. The "lid" was kept on by Mayor Dever and Chief Collins and there were no important developments concerning vice during that year.

By April, 1925, there had been some relaxation of the picket system, but there had been a wholesale migration of old-time levee bosses to the suburbs. "Mike de Pike" Heitler was running the Burr Oak Hotel on the edge of Blue Island. (He had twice been sentenced to Leavenworth for white slave trafficking and prohibition law violations). Harry and Alma Cusick, of the Twenty-second Street Levee, were running a resort at One Hundred Nineteenth Street and South Paulina. Other resorts conducted by the old levee bosses were: Moonlight Cafe at Chicago Heights; The Speedway, in Burnham, which was booming; The Coney Island Cafe next door, which was running wide open.

Chief of Police Collins turned his attention again to the Twenty-second Street Levee district and ordered raids on Thirty-first Street, on South State Street and on Federal Street. The chief's clean-up order resulting in these raids came when he learned that Al Capone had reopened his vice and gambling interests in the Twenty-second Street district. And again in October, 1925, raiders from headquarters cleaned out the Twenty-second Street district. In 1926 the same vigilance continued and this year was entirely free from exposés by newspapers or by grand jury investigations.

In March, 1927, a series of raids into the "black belt" before the mayoralty election caused Alderman R. R. Jackson bitterly to assail the city administration and the police department. He said the city administration was using the police department to terrorize voters in the territory. "Isn't it peculiar that the police waited four years and until three weeks from the mayoralty election to make the sensational raids?" he asked.

8. *The Second Thompson Administration, 1927.*

Thompson was elected to a second term, succeeding Dever in May, 1927, on a wide open town platform, and by the summer of 1927 his campaign promises seemed in a fair way of being fulfilled.

According to a report submitted to the Board of Directors of the Juvenile Protective Association by Miss Jessie Binford, on July 23, 1927, vice conditions in Chicago were again flourishing and were becoming steadily worse, and promised to surpass vice conditions which existed in Chicago preceding the 1921-22 grand jury investigations. The report stated that the most open vice district was along North Clark Street from the river to Chicago Avenue, and along the old levee district of Federal Street from Seventeenth to Twenty-second Streets. The towns outside the city were also scored as spots for vice and gambling. Disorderly houses around Twenty-second and State Streets were doing a good business. In one block it was reported that one hundred girls were employed in the business, most of them being under

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twenty years of age. West Madison Street around the Haymarket Theater was reputed to have a great deal of organized vice, as well as Federal Street between Seventeenth and Twenty-second Streets. Some of the largest resorts were in Stickney and other suburbs. However, with the Thompson regime some of the old levee characters slipped back into the city and a true picture of the conditions of organized vice was given in the *Daily News* of July 25, 1927, while the war of bombs and terrorism was raging between the Moran, Berch, Zuta and Aiello syndicate and that of Al Capone. The same article further revealed the existence of wide open conditions of vice.¹

In August, 1927, conditions in the First Ward were never worse, according to residents who had stuck it out through administrations, good and bad. Vice, booze, and gambling were said to be rampant in the south end of the district while vice had crept into the "Loop."²

¹"While close political associates of Mayor Thompson are busily denying the 'big boss' knows what's going on, a gambling, booze, and vice combine headed by powerful politicians and reaping a golden harvest exceeds, in the opinion of the old-timers, the returns during the 'open town' days of the two former Thompson administrations. Disorderly houses sprang up like mushrooms under the protecting wing of the ward politicians and members of the General Assembly shortly after the mayoralty election in April, and operated for two months without interference, on the strength of political pull rather than an outlay of cold cash. Then came an order to close up. Gradually the city began to open up again until at the present time no particular section is immune from the money hungry racketeers. Open vice appeared in the 'Loop' and demands by vigilant organizations for police action brought little change. As an example of the power of the syndicate it is charged that 'street walkers' have been shooed off Michigan Avenue as far south as Twelfth Street with the idea of enhancing the dive conducted by the notorious Harry Cusick and 'Scarface' Al Capone at 516 South Wabash Avenue."

²The *Chicago Daily News* of August 2, 1927, contained the following resumé of conditions:

"Harry Cusick, convicted panderer, who was snatched from a 'stretch' in the penitentiary by a gubernatorial pardon, is operating a disorderly hotel at 516 South Wabash Avenue. This hotel, despite the repeated and vigorous protests of business men in the neighborhood to Chief of Police Hughes, continues to run without serious interference. Male 'ropers' on the street ballyhoo the place like a barker at a street carnival. Dennis Cooney is the undisputed overlord of the ward, the right-hand man of Kenna. No matter which political party has been in power, at no time during the past seventeen or eighteen years have Cooney's political connections interfered with his control of vice, booze and gambling. His influence reaches into the South Clark Street and Cottage Grove Avenue police stations as well as the detective bureau. His pay roll includes professional reformers, prohibition agents, and politicians of high and low standing. The underworld salutes him as 'Duke.'

"Cooney's immunity is definite, investigations of the records in the Morals Court reveal. After a busy session chopping up disorderly houses and putting vice to rout in the West Madison Street district, where there is no overlord with Cooney's political affiliations and business system, the City Hall vice squad has frequently moved back into the First Ward to spend the early morning hours celebrating at Cooney's expense. While in other wards the Capone-Cusick mob, by the exercise of a reign of terror, has been able to 'muscle in,' the Kenna-Cooney combine, with its strong political and police connections, has presented too sturdy an opposition.

"Cooney's headquarters are at 2138 South State Street, better known as the 'Rex,' one of the worst dives of its kind in Chicago. On the first floor is a saloon at which intoxicating liquors are dispensed openly. One flight up is a cabaret in which entertainers mix congenially with the patrons. Gunmen, dope peddlers and hunted criminals frequent the place, yet it is here that the city police, plain clothes and uniform, do their celebrating. Arrests are never made at Cooney's. In connection with the cabaret is a disorderly house that never closes. On the busiest of three eight-hour shifts, upwards of forty girls are to be found in the place. Outside in the street are two police sergeants, Coleman and Benniecki, who have been assigned to the corner of Twenty-second and State Streets for many years. It is their assignment to humor and protect any City Hall politician

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9. *Summary.* This survey of organized vice provides an all too brief and inadequate survey of events that are notorious in the memory of most of the citizens of Chicago. These same events taken separately are generally more or less unintelligible, but when arrayed in an historical sequence their meaning becomes clearer. While a more detailed and exhaustive study would doubtless be required to answer all the questions that might be raised about commercialized vice in Chicago, the data as presented seem sufficient to establish the following points:

(1) Organized vice as a form of law-breaking is more deeply rooted in the social and political order in Chicago than is generally recognized.

(2) The crusades against vice, even when they succeeded in achieving the objectives at which they aimed, as in the abolition of the segregated vice district, do not seem to have extirpated the social evil; they have, however, driven it deeper into the community life, where it tends to find concealed forms of expression.

(3) Indeed, the effects of reforms designed to bring about change may place new opportunities for political corruption in the hands of vice and other law-breaking elements.

(4) Politicians often capitalize public sentiment against an evil and divert it to the purposes of factional politics. Reform becomes a means of winning elections rather than an agency for correcting abuses. Under present conditions, vice lords, gamblers and law-breakers play as active a part in elections as any other element in the community. As they become a part of the political organization that can be relied upon, they invariably exercise an undue influence on the people who represent them in politics. Law enforcement under these circumstances tends to become a sham. Resorts protected by political influence are allowed to run, while other places are repeatedly raided.

(5) Under these conditions the police, whose natural impulse it is to enforce the law, become cynical and corrupt.

(6) Every new administration, whether liberal or reform, is likely to disturb the previously existing arrangements between officials and law-breakers. Changes of administration, therefore, tend to inure to the advantage of the abler and more experienced law-breakers. In Chicago, evidence has been presented showing remarkable continuity and persistency of both major and minor personalities in organized vice over a period of twenty-five years. Indeed, there has been something like a royal succession from Colosimo to Torrio, and to Capone.

(7) Finally, with the coming of prohibition, the personnel of organized vice took the lead in the systematic organization of this new and profitable field of exploitation. All the experience gained by years of struggle against reformers and concealed agreements with politicians was brought into service in organizing the production and distribution of beer and whiskey.

who might get unruly in the place, but to bounce a black-jack on the derby of any stranger who might complain about the service.

"Ralph Brown is Cooney's lieutenant who is in charge of the 'Four Deuces' at 2222 Wabash Avenue. This place was kept tight during the Dever regime. 'Ike' Roderick, professional bondsman, Joe Grabiner, known as the 'Jew Kid,' 'Dago' Frank Lewis, Harold Levy, Henry Finkelstein, companion of 'Schemer' Drucci, when he was killed by the police, 'Bozo' Fogarty and Bill Lewis are among Cooney's henchmen."