

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
	Miller, Max	Miller, Max
Patton, John	Patton, John	
Quinn, Arthur		
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* More remarkable than the meager records of
Criminals with lifelong important gangsters is the *absence of*
No Police Record. 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 Tanel

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.