## CHAPTER XX

# THE RULE OF THE UNDERWORLD

### TORRIO AS OVERLORD

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#### CHAPTER XX

# THE RULE OF THE UNDERWORLD TORRIO AS OVERLORD

Brewing and Beer Running, the Golden Future. John Torrio, the protege and successor of Colosimo was born in Italy, in 1877, and is now fifty-one years of age. The organization of large scale illegal business in vice, supported by political

influence, bribery, and violence, had been a matter of lifelong training for Torrio when, upon the death of Colosimo, the mantle fell upon his shoulders.

Torrio already was known both by politicians and gangsters as safe and level headed. At the funeral of Colosimo, conspicuous in the throng, which included judges, politicians, city officials, cabaret singers, gamblers, and waiters, were members of the Colosimo vice ring, and Torrio was an honorary pall-bearer. At this time Torrio was known as boss of the suburban town of Burnham, where he owned the Burnham Inn in a community of resorts and gambling dens. Ike Bloom owned the Arrowhead Inn, a suburban resort which he later sold to Colosimo before the latter's death. Jakie Adler and the Cusicks, and others of the Twenty-second Street Levee had moved to the southern and western suburbs as early as 1916.

The death of Colosimo occurred in the same year that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act came into effect; and Torrio turned his attention to the organization of the contraband business of manufacturing beer and of distributing it by convoy through the streets of the city. In connection with his organization of metropolitan beer running, he extended direct rulership over the other west suburban towns.

Torrio took possession of Cicero, a western suburb, in 1923.

of Cicero. In addition to the vice and gambling houses in Burnham he had established several resorts in Stickney. Then he originated the scheme of making the town of Cicero a base for the operations of beer distribution and gambling. In the fall of 1923 he installed a vice resort on Roosevelt Road in Cicero. But Torrio was not without competition in his occupation of Cicero. Eddie Tancl, a Bohemian who was born and bred in the old Pilsen district, had risen to popularity as a prize fighter and because of his many acts of charity among poor Bohemians was very popular in Cicero at this time, and was conducting a cafe there. Tancl was killed by James Doherty, a Torrio gangster.<sup>1</sup>

Torrio opened his resort without protection. The Cicero police raided it. Torrio moved the same resort to Ogden and Fifty-second Avenues, and the police wrecked it.

Through the influence of Torrio, Sheriff Hoffman ordered a raid on all slot machines in the suburb. Thus Torrio made it known that if he couldn't

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>One of McSwiggin's slain companions.

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import prostitutes others couldn't have slot machines. After a few days the slot machines started going again and Torrio, Capone, and their followers moved into Cicero. Somewhere an understanding had been reached. The "mob" came in strong. They opened gambling houses, peddled beer, but did not bring prostitutes into Cicero again. Stickney and Forest Park and other places in the county were utilized for vice operations which were developed on a large scale. In the suburbs Torrio, Capone, his first lieutenant, La Cava brothers, and Mondi assisted by Frankie Pope, Joey Miller (Italian), Jimmie Murphy, the Cusicks, and Charlie Carr managed a business which included vice, beer, and gambling.

Torrio and his lieutenants used intrigue and bribery and succeeded in controlling elections. The officials were actually under their thumbs—not only the village president, but every official, including the chief of police. Lauterbach's "The Ship" and "The Hawthorne Smoke Shop" operated apparently without opposition from Joseph Klenha, the village president, or his police chief, Theodore Svoboda, Sheriff Hoffman, or State's Attorney Crowe.

Federal officials, intent upon raiding the saloon concessions, always found the places "tipped off."

The Daily News, commenting on this situation, said:

"Under the graft system that flourished while Thompson was mayor of Chicago, Torrio's power increased. He had a finger in the gambling pie and his beer running business was organized in those pleasant times. He was the reputed owner of several breweries when Mayor Dever up-ended everything with his beer crusade."

In his city-wide operations in beer, Torrio is first heard of as the real beer boss of the south side. He took over the big West Hammond Brewery (known also as the Puro Products Company) and began running beer at regular rates of fifty dollars a barrel, including protection. He had a monopoly in Woodlawn and all precincts south to the Indiana State line, and enjoyed official favor in the Stockyards and the New City districts. In Englewood, where Captain Allman, Commander of the Police, did not touch graft, Torrio had an even chance. Allman could not be transferred because he was in high favor with the Englewood business men.

In Englewood, and to some extent the Stockyards and the New City districts, the O'Donnells were developing a small but growing beer running business. This is not the same family as the O'Donnells who figured in the McSwiggin killing in Cicero. For brevity we will designate this family of Steve, Walter, Thomas and Spike as the "South Side O'Donnells," and the others as the "West Side O'Donnells."

4. The O'Donnells Intrude. The South Side O'Donnells were not, however, in a position to challenge Torrio successfully. Thus matters stood when the city administration changed and the old Thompson machine went out in 1923. The transfer of authority caused a revolution in the underworld; the old system of protection was destroyed. None could be sure he was "in" anywhere; therefore competition was free and easy.

The South Side O'Donnells made use of their opportunity. They sold a better beer than did Torrio and began to "cut in" heavily in the Stockyards and the New City districts. Torrio, seeing his business wane, retaliated by cutting prices. He put out his beer at ten dollars less a barrel. The O'Donnells retaliated by terrorizing saloon-keepers who bought other beer than theirs.

Torrio's rise invited envy and competition but he knew how to deal with them. On September 7, 1923, Jerry O'Connor, tough young south side gangster, was shot dead. O'Connor was a "pal" and agent of the four O'Donnells. On the fatal night he was with Steve, Walter, and Tommy O'Donnell threatening and slugging saloon-keepers for buying beer from John Torrio. At the saloon of Joseph Kepka, 5358 South Lincoln Street, they encountered a Torrio gang. The lights went out; pistols roared; everyone scattered. When police arrived they could find no one who knew about the shooting. Two were arrested, but their lawyers started habeas corpus proceedings which were entirely unnecessary, because Chief Morgan Collins had no reason for holding them and freed them instantly. Many people knew the story, more especially the saloon-keepers and bartenders, but they would not tell.

On September 17, 1923, George Meegan, 5620 Laffin Street, and George Bucher, 5611 Marshfield Avenue, were killed. Both men were considered dangerous because they threatened to reveal the murderers of Jerry O'Connor. Crowe began a "relentless investigation of the beer war." Torrio was now reputed as the "brains" of the biggest beer running syndicate in the country. He surrendered, in company with his attorney, Michael Igoe, to the State's Attorney and was to be grilled concerning beer running in general.

5. "Hi-jacking" and Gang Warfare.

Morrie Keane and William Egan, invaders of Torrio territory, one night in December, 1923, started from Joliet at midnight to drive three truck-loads of beer to Chicago. At a lonesome stretch of the road, called "The Sag," they were stopped, it was later charged, by McErlane, Torrio gunman, and his "hi-jackers." After the beer had been turned over to some highway policemen, Keane and Egan were forced into McErlane's car. Their bodies, filled with bullets, were later found by the road side.

McErlane was arrested, held by the state's attorney in the Sherman Hotel, and then released.

Under pressure, State's Attorney Crowe laid the case before the grand jury. An indictment was voted. Long delays followed. Months afterward, an assistant state's attorney went into court and nolle prossed the case. McErlane left town a free man.

In this investigation it emerged that Walter Stevens, Daniel McFall, and Frank McErlane were leading Torrio's armed forces in the disputed territory. Walter Stevens, the dean of Chicago gunmen, at this moment was wanted for the killing of an Aurora policeman. He had served time in Joliet. It was known that he was a favorite of Governor Small for services rendered to him in his trial at Waukegan. McFall and McErlane were indicted in 1923 for the double killing of gangsters Meegan and Bucher, but

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the indictments were later nolle prossed. McFall and Red Golden were associates of Stevens and were also wanted for the murder. Torrio had developed powerful influence, as illustrated by his success in securing the pardon from Governor Small of Harry Cusick and his wife, Alma, convicted panderers. He was high in the esteem of the Thompson-Lundin machine. Frank McErlane is still in power in that district and recently, with Joe Saltis and Tim Murphy,¹ succeeded in nominating John "Dingbat" Oberta state senator and electing him ward committeeman.

- 6. Police Persecution of the Enemies of Torrio.

  Torrio's enemies, the O'Donnells, had all been jailed at one time or another during this beer investigation, and two of them were indicted. Torrio had been unmolested and the police professed to be unable to find Stevens. The O'Connor killing was laid to Dan McFall, a Torrio man. McFall was arrested, but released on bail and became a fugitive. Red Golden, named as McFall's accomplice, was released after questioning and disappeared.
- 7. Brewery Ownership.

  Torrio, owner of the West Hammond Brewery, later purchased the Manhattan Brewery, and was said to be worth millions. He boasted that he "owned" police captains and other officials.

Harry Cusick was serving as downtown "pay-off" man for Torrio and had an office in the "Loop," where he paid Torrio money to police officials who were protecting the vice ring.

The operations of the Torrio syndicate on the south side were disclosed in the investigation into the deaths of Jerry O'Connor, Meegan, and Bucher, which showed the dealings with the retailer and the war for territory.

On October 19, 1923, just a few weeks after these killings, the Puro Products Company (The West Hammond Brewery) was on trial in the Federal Court in proceedings to close it for one year under injunction. From this trial we learn more about Torrio's expanding ownership of breweries. Testimony revealed W. R. Strook, a former United States Deputy Marshal, as one-half owner of the concern, and Timothy J. Mullen, an attorney, as holder of one share of the stock. Mullen, according to the Federal agents, was attorney with an interest in the Bielfeldt Brewery at Thornton.

The Puro Products Company was bankrupt in 1915. Then came prohibition and a turn in its financial tide, when Joseph Stenson acquired it in October, 1920. In October, 1922, Torrio bought it, and seven days later turned the lease over to the Puro Products Company. The presence of Stenson, a brewer in the days before prohibition, and these transfers of ownership prior to the hearing on the injunction, should be noted as a feature in our examination of brewery ownership later. Torrio and Strook pleaded guilty and were fined \$2,000 and \$1,000, respectively; and the company \$2,000.

Torrio departed with his family on a European sightseeing jaunt that was to end in Italy, where he had purchased a villa for his mother. It was intimated that he took with him more than a million dollars' worth of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Later killed by gangsters.

negotiable securities and letters of credit. He was reported to have the beer concession to all syndicate resorts; to own West Hammond, Manhattan, and Best Breweries; to be a silent partner in several others. His pay roll during the fall of 1923, when beer running was at its then zenith, was said to be twenty-five thousand dollars a week. He carried a gun when he felt like it, but never, as far as is known in Chicago, did Torrio use that gun. When trouble came, those who took care of Torrio were in turn taken care of when their cases came to court.

8. Controlling of Elections.

Six months later Torrio came back to Chicago. He slipped unostentatiously into the city and summoned his veteran adherents to meet him in a south side rendezvous.

County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki, conducting an investigation of blood-shed and riots in the April, 1924, election in Cicero, was interested in Torrio's return. Up to the day of the election, 123 saloons in Cicero had been serving beer put out by Torrio's breweries. For six years the same faction had been in control of Cicero's politics and its saloons. The election brought no change in administration. Democrats charged that the breweries sent into Cicero scores of gunmen who cast ballots and manipulated revolvers. During one of the gun-play episodes, Frank Capone, one of Torrio's closest lieutenants, was shot to death by Sergeant William Cusick's squad from the detective bureau. The night before election there was a Torrio clan gathering. Frank Capone and his brother, Scarface Al, better known as Al Brown, owner of the notorious "Four Deuces" Saloon at 2222 South Wabash Avenue, were present. Judge Jarecki thought that Torrio had instructed the Capone brothers to act as his emissaries in directing the riots in Cicero.

After Frank Capone's killing, Torrio met Scarface Al in the Capone home. Probably others of the gang were present. The meeting or sessions following the shooting of a Torrio lieutenant usually have to do with matters of vengeance. Every saloon in Cicero was directed to pull down the blinds and to remain in a quasi-closed condition until after the excitement had passed. At the inquest over the body of his brother, Scarface Al testified. After a glance had passed between Capone and Charles Frischetti, a companion of Frank when he was killed, Capone announced that he had nothing to say.

9. Metropolitan
Beer King.

The Sieben Brewery raid, a month later, was the complete disclosure of Torrio's power as the metropolitan beer king, flanked on one side by the mobilized gangster chiefs of the entire city and on the other by business partners, who were pre-Volstead brewers, by public officials, and the police.

On the morning of May 19, 1924, after a carefully planned campaign, a police squad under the direct command of Chief Morgan Collins and Captain Matthew Zimmer (without a betrayal in advance of an intention of immediate action) swooped down upon the Sieben Brewery and found thirteen truckloads of beer ready to be convoyed through the streets of the city; the convoy, composed of gang leaders, was arriving in touring cars. As each car arrived the police placed the gangsters under arrest.

While all of the captured gave aliases, the leaders were recognized, of course. John Torrio, Dion O'Banion, and Louis Alterie were among them,

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and probably Hymie Weiss. Dion O'Banion was then prince of the north side gang, composed of safe-crackers and gunmen of note. Louie Alterie was the chief of the Valley Gang, which under the leadership of Paddy the Bear Ryan had thrived for a quarter of a century. Alterie had succeeded Terry Druggan and Frankie Lake, who were in turn the successors of Paddy the Bear Ryan.

Chief of Police Collins did not turn the prisoners over to Robert E. Crowe, Prosecutor. He announced that other raids would be made if this one failed to frighten the beer runners out of business. Asked why he turned these prisoners over to the Federal Government, he answered: "District Attorney Olson has promised us prompt cooperation. That is why the case was turned over to him for prosecution. It was a police raid, pure and simple, but the prosecution will be handled by the Government."

Torrio obtained freedom soon after his arrival at the Federal Building, by peeling \$7,500 off a roll he carried. The same roll brought freedom, at five thousand dollars, for James Casey. O'Banion did not have the "five grand" demanded of him as bail, nor could Alterie produce one thousand dollars; the others, at one thousand dollars also, each had to wait for bondsmen to appear. Curiously enough, Torrio did not bail them out, but William Skidmore and Ike Roderick, professional bondsmen, whose names have been associated both with gambling and vice, came to release them.

At this time Thomas Nash was attorney for the O'Banion gang. Later he was attorney for its enemies, the Genna gang, in the memorable Anselmi-Scalise case.

The chief of police, himself, tore the insignia from officers who were supposed to have been on duty at the brewery beat and were absent during the raid.

O'Banion, lieutenant of Torrio, had proved his power when he wriggled out of three tight legal holes that same year, prior to the Sieben Brewery raid,—the shooting of Dave Miller, chief of the Jewish gangsters; the "hijacking" of a truck-load of whiskey with Dapper Dan McCarthy; and the Carmen Avenue murders in which Two Gun Doherty was killed. All these cases had been nolle prossed by the State's Attorney, Mr. Crowe.

Torrio, O'Banion, Alterie, Nick Juffra who was among the earliest bootleggers to be prosecuted and already had a record as a bootlegger, and thirty-four others, including four policemen, were indicted. Torrio, himself, was a second offender, and would be subject to a sentence of five years on a conspiracy charge alone.

It was the general understanding of city and government officials that Torrio and O'Banion were the real operators of the Sieben plant, with a politician and a "fixer" back of them sharing in the profits and distributing the graft, but that in this case, as in the Puro Products case, a pre-Volstead brewer was involved in the ownership. It seems that pre-Volstead brewers, who remained in the business, had called

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Section 7.

these gangsters in to do their convoying and to "front" for them in case of a "fall."

Torrio brought O'Banion, the most daring and brilliant of the Combine's gunmen, from safe-blowing to liquor leadership. O'Banion soon earned a sizable "split" for himself. He had eyes "on better things" when he was killed, November 10, 1924.

Walter Stevens, Dan McFall, Dan McCarthy, Louis Alterie, Earl Weiss, Scarface Al Capone—all are, or were, subordinates in the crime syndicate, some of them important enough to be profit sharers, some mere hired men. They all danced when Torrio and his colleagues moved the strings—gangsters, gangleaders, and politicians.

Somehow, Torrio had found a way to keep the forces of the state's attorney's office away from his gunmen, and the raiding squads of Sheriff

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Take the brunt of the law if discovered.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charles Gregston analyzes this alliance between pre-Volstead brewers and their new gangster partners as follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;John Torrio and a Chicago brewer are the twin kings of commercialized crime in Cook County today. They are the men back of the O'Banions and Druggans, the guns and the gangs. They are the organizers, the directors, the 'fixers' and the profittakers. Torrio is absolute in the field of vice and gambling; the brewer is king of the 'beer-racket.' They work together and the others, with a few exceptions, work for them.

<sup>&</sup>quot;A strange pair: Torrio is a native of Italy, a Tammany graduate, a post-graduate pupil of the late 'Big Jim' Colosimo. His colleague is the youngest of four brothers who were rich brewers before prohibition. While Torrio was learning the tricks of ward politics in New York and the rewards of sin in the old Twenty-second Street district, and later in Burnham, his twin king of crime was living pleasantly on what is called the 'Gold Coast,' the son of a wealthy and established family. A common genius for organization brought them together soon after prohibition had ushered in the new era of crime through which Chicago is passing.

<sup>&</sup>quot;They have made organized crime pay tremendous dividends. The brewer's earnings, from the syndicated beer 'racket' he works under political protection, have been reckoned at \$12,000,000 a year since 1920. Nobody has ever risked a guess at the clearings of the many-sided Torrio.

ings of the many-sided Torrio.

"They are joint rulers of the underworld today. No one can run beer in Chicago without first seeing and paying the beer king. No one can cut in on the gambling racket' without Torrio's sanction. Immune from prosecution themselves, the two kings of crime can count on the law as well as their own gunmen when they want an intruder driven out. And they have the power to protect their henchmen from prosecution when murder becomes necessary, as it sometimes does. And the brewer is so completely above the law, so thoroughly protected from prosecution, that it is unsafe to mention his name, though the police and the prosecutors of crime know quite well who he is.

"Beer running offered Torrio a splendid opportunity. He had developed a machinery

<sup>&</sup>quot;Beer running offered Torrio a splendid opportunity. He had developed a machinery for 'fixing' the law and he had gangsters at his service; stepping up from vice and gambling to beer was easy and natural. Simultaneously the brewer was dabbling in violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. His brothers are said to have been frowning on his ventures, but their warnings weren't heeded.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Natural attraction brought the pair together and their dovetailing abilities put crime on its new basis. Gunmen were lured away from the risks of highway robbery and safe-blowing to get into the far more lucrative business of peddling beer and driving out competitors. Breweries were leased from their despairing owners and reopened. Cheating saloon-keepers, thousands of them, found it easy to sell beer profitably after paying the syndicate \$50 a barrel or more, and \$35 easily covered the cost of production and the expense of 'fixing' the public officials, policemen and prohibition agents.

the syndicate \$50 a barrel or more, and \$35 easily covered the cost of production and the expense of 'fixing' the public officials, policemen and prohibition agents.

"The brewer knew the methods of modern business and applied them to syndicated beer running. Torrio knew gangsters and recruited them. Thus Druggan and Lake were drawn away from the hoodlum activities of the Valley Gang into a 'racket' that made both of them rich beyond all their dreams. Working breweries for the combine, they soon were riding in expensive cars, dressing like millionaires and living in fashionable neighborhoods."—Daily News, November 17, 1924.

Hoffman out of his dives. Under public pressure sporadic raids were made, resulting in temporary and often momentary stoppage of operations.

A retrospect of the Sieben Brewery case three The Outcome of vears after the indictment shows that thirty-eight the Sieben Case. men were indicted, including pre-Volstead owners. brew-masters, and brewery workers, laborers and truck drivers, and policemen as well as gangsters. Four months after the raid, pleas of guilty were entered for eleven of the defendants, and the O'Banion case was dismissed on account of his death by murder. John Torrio was sentenced to nine months in the Du Page County Jail and five thousand dollar fine; Ed O'Donnell, eight months in the Kane County Jail and two thousand dollar fine; Nick Juffra, six months in the De Kalb County Jail and two thousand dollar fine; Joseph Warszynski, three months in the De Kalb County Jail; Joseph Lanenfeld, three months in the Kane County Jail; Richard Wilson, two hundred dollar fine; George J. Murphy, two hundred dollar fine; Arthur Barrett, two hundred dollar fine, and Jack Heinan, two hundred dollar fine. Warszynski and Lanenfeld were two of three negligent policemen assigned to the Sieben Brewery. District Attorney Edward A. Olson on the same day dismissed the cases of twenty-one other defendants. Among these were minor gangsters, two policemen, one politician, and the pre-Volstead owners.

On January 31, 1925, the judgment against Nick Juffra was vacated. Juffra was the most persistent offender of all the early beer runners. He had been arrested twenty-four times between the advent of prohibition and the Sieben Brewery case. The case of George Frank, the brew-master, was not heard until March 20, 1925. He then entered a plea of guilty and received a sentence of three months in the Lake County Jail and a three thousand dollar fine. The case of Louie Alterie still stands undismissed and unprosecuted, three years after.

Dion O'Banion enjoyed an amazing immunity from prosecution, although Police Chief Collins had accused him of responsibility for twenty-five murders. He was a Torrio man.

Terry Druggan and Frankie Lake were immune until they later became entangled in the toils of the Federal Government.

Frankie McErlane, the most brutual gunman who ever pulled a trigger in Chicago, went scot free when, in the interests of Torrio he and Dapper Dan McCarthy had exercised their talents for murder.

The story of a midnight "hi-jacking" not only illustrates the level headedness which made it possible for Torrio to command the allied gun chiefs of Chicago, but also throws some light on the elements of the continuous warfare which resulted when Torrio's prestige was destroyed through the unwillingness of Mayor Dever and Chief of Police Collins to deal with him. It is a contrast of the expediency of the seasoned leader against the childish irresponsibility of his young lieutenant.

Two policemen held up a Torrio beer squad on a west side street one night and demanded money. By telephone, over a wire which had been tapped by the police, the convoy gangsters reported this to Dion O'Banion.

O'Banion replied, "Three hundred dollars? To them bums? Why say, I can get 'em knocked off for half that much." Scenting trouble, police head-quarters sent rifle squads to prevent murder if O'Banion should send killers after the "hi-jacking" policemen, but in the meantime the beer runner went over O'Banion's head and put the problem up to Torrio, "The Big Boss." He was back on the wire in a little while with a new message for O'Banion: "Say Dionie, I just been talking to Johnny and he said to let them cops have the three hundred. He says he don't want no trouble."

Such was the difference in temper that made Torrio all-powerful and O'Banion just a superior sort of "plug-ugly." Torrio was shrewd enough to keep out of needless trouble. When murder must be done it was done deftly and thoroughly, as in the case of O'Banion himself, who was shot in his florist shop on November 10, 1924, supposedly by the Gennas, Torrio followers; and of Big Jim Colosimo, Meegan, and Bucher. O'Banion, on the other hand, learned his methods from such practitioners as Gene Geary, convicted slayer, who was sent to Chester as insane, and Louis Alterie and Nails Morton, his "pal."

O'Banion first became friendly with them when he was Gimpy O'Banion, a singing waiter in the old McGovern place at North Clark and West Erie Streets. O'Banion had been a choir boy at the Holy Name Cathedral. The singing of songs, especially Irish sentimental songs, always won over the brutal Geary.

O'Banion, Alterie, Yankee Schwartz, Earl (Hymie) Weiss, and others of the Torrio following, had techniques unlike Torrio's quieter, "brainier" methods which made him boss.

To bear out the statement that the armed forces of Torrio's Prestige.

To bear out the statement that the armed forces of Torrio were composed of the alliance of gun chiefs of Chicago, we list below some of the names:

Dion O'Banion
Terry Druggan
Frankie Lake
Frank McErlane
Dapper Dan McCarthy
Walter Stevens

Dan McFall
Louie Alterie
Hymie Weiss
Scarface Al Capone
The Genna brothers
The West Side O'Donnells

In the Sieben Brewery case the prestige of Torrio was injured, because it was conclusive evidence that Mayor Dever and Chief of Police Collins were not under his control. Likewise, there was a concurrent weakening of his power over his gangs when the Genna and O'Banion feud began with the murder of O'Banion. Then Torrio himself was wounded by gun-fire; when he recovered he actually welcomed the jail sentence, and safety. The Dever onslaughts upset the underworld regime and destroyed the equilibrium. The beer wars followed.

The career of John Torrio epitomizes an important stage in the development of organized crime in Chicago. Trained as a lieutenant of Colosimo, he was thoroughly versed in the technique of dealing with gangsters and politicians. As a manager of resorts under Colosimo he had survived all the crusades against vice and had

learned how to utilize to full advantage the control of suburban villages like Burnham as open and unmolested centers for outlawed enterprises.

The four years following Colosimo's death (1920-1924) witnessed the steady rise of Torrio to a position of dominant leadership in the underworld of organized crime, a leadership which came to a sudden end with his arrest and conviction in the Sieben Brewery case. In this short period, which coincided with the introduction of constitutional prohibition, Torrio applied all that he had learned in his years of apprenticeship, to the organization on a city and country-wide basis of the new business of bootlegging. The general plan of conducting criminal business enterprises as outlined by Torrio, and which with modifications made by Capone still persists, may be summarized as follows:

- 1. The operation of pre-prohibition breweries was engineered by Torrio with the connivance of officials and sometimes with the participation of brewery owners. With the improvement of prohibition enforcement the old-time brewery now plays a minor role in the illegal manufacture of alcohol.
- 2. Criminal business enterprises, like vice, gambling, and bootlegging, were carried on under adequate political protection. Torrio's power rested, in large part, on his ability to insure protection to his fellow gangsters. Immunity from punishment appears to be an almost indispensable element in maintaining the prestige and control of a gangster chief, as indicated by Torrio's retirement after serving his prison sentence.
- 3. Torrio was unusually successful in securing agreements among gangsters by the method of an orderly assignment of territory for bootlegging operations. Yet certain gangster groups, like the South Side O'Donnells, were not included in these arrangements, and some gangster chiefs, like O'Banion, chafed under Torrio's generalship. Torrio's victory over open enemies like the O'Donnells was in part due to ruthless warfare and in part to police activity against his rivals to which his own gangsters were largely immune.
- 4. The scheme of orderly cooperation between gangsters engaged in bootlegging which came into existence during the Torrio regime, was disrupted before his retirement by the incoming of the Dever administration which destroyed the previous arrangements for political protection.
- 5. Bootlegging, because of its enormous profits, naturally became the main illegal business enterprise promoted by Torrio and his fellow gangsters. But with political protection they continued to carry on and to extend the field of operation of vice and gambling enterprises.
- 6. Torrio was quick to perceive the importance of taking advantage of the fact that the metropolitan region of Chicago falls under many different municipal governments. He not only utilized the suburban villages which he already controlled in the metropolitan region of Chicago as centers for bootlegging, gambling, and vice, but he extended his control over other outlying communities. Cicero, as well as Burnham, River Forest, and Stickney, became notorious as completely controlled for the purposes of organized crime.

With the retirement of Torrio, Al Capone, his chief lieutenant, became the principal contender for the position of leadership of the forces of organ-

ized crime. While Capone has not as yet succeeded in securing the position of uncontended supremacy held by Torrio, he has profited by the experience of the latter. He has, for example, endeavored to detach himself from first-hand participation both in criminal activities and in gangster feuds. He has taken extraordinary precautions to protect himself by an armed force of body-guards against attacks by enemy gangsters. Capone has entered new fields of organized crime like business "racketeering" and has even attempted something like an inter-city federation of the activities of organized crime. And finally, he has adjusted the operations of his criminal enterprises more carefully than did Torrio to meet the exigencies of changes in the political situation.