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# **The Forty-Two Gang: The Unpublished Landesco Manuscripts**

by  
Robert M Lombardo

## ***Abstract***

*This paper examines Chicago's Forty-Two Gang. The Forty-Two Gang is one of the most famous groups in gang history, yet we know very little about the gang. Combining data from published and archival sources, this paper provides a history of the gang and explores its impact on the emergence of the Outfit, the traditional organized crime group in Chicago. The archival sources used in this analysis come from the unpublished John Landesco manuscript collection. The manuscripts not only provide a rich source of information on the Forty-Two Gang, but also a fresh look at the diffusion of delinquency subcultures and female participation in gang life during the early years of the twentieth century.*

The Forty-Two Gang was a group of teen-age boys and young men who committed an endless series of crimes in Chicago's Near West Side during the years between 1925 and 1934. While concentrating on auto theft, the Forty-Two Gang engaged in nearly every other form of crime from coin-box looting and window smashing to armed robbery and murder. During Prohibition, the gang also furnished cars for their elders in the alcohol and bootleg rackets. They even robbed Mrs. William H. Thompson, the wife of the Chicago mayor and the St. Columbanus Catholic Church taking \$1,500 at gunpoint from the priests and rectory staff (*Chicago Daily Tribune [CDT]* 10 Oct 1930). Promising members of the Forty-Two Gang graduated into the various adult gangs in Chicago including those led by Bugs Moran, Red Bolton, and Al Capone.

The story of the Forty-Two Gang is an important one. Other than Frederic Thrasher's 1927 classic, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*, and Herbert Asbury's 1940 volume, *The Gem of The Prairie*, researchers have written little about the early history of gangs in Chicago. One of the reasons for this lack of information about gangs is the fact that they existed before the advent of social science. We have had gangs throughout the history of Chicago, but they did not become the focus of academic investigation until the 1920's and the establishment of the Chicago School of Sociology.

One of the fundamental problems in researching gangs is that the word gang has a number of different meanings. The outlaws of the Old West, the bank robbers of the Depression, and the bootleggers of Prohibition have all been referred to as gangs. Until the work of Frederic Thrasher, gangs were typically viewed as criminal groups. Gangs in Chicago such as the Quincy Street Gang, the Henry Street Gang, and the Gloriana Gang engaged in robbery, burglary, and all manner of other crimes (*CDT* 6 Jun 1891; 26 Oct 1894; 3 Nov 1919). However, it was Thrasher's work, and its sociological focus, that changed this definition forever linking the word gangs to successive generations of troubled, immigrant youth. Noted gang researcher Martin Jankowski (1991:3) argues that Thrasher focused primarily on adolescent youth in order to understand both the conditions and the stages of gang development. He was also concerned with the effects of the city on the immigrant community and the process by which young gang members were socialized into adult crime.

Thrasher (1927:145) argued that adult gangs were formed in two ways. Some criminal gangs were the direct continuation of teen-age groups, which had drifted into crime. Other adult gangs represented a coalescence of various elements in the gang community. Thrasher described these elements as criminal "residue," sorted and sifted from the gangs of adolescent youth. Studying the Forty-Two Gang provides a unique opportunity to not only view the stages of development of a 1920's Chicago gang, but also to examine the process by which young men were recruited into adult crime. Boys as young as thirteen joined the Forty-Two Gang and remained in the gang into their early twenties, committing various criminal acts.

The data for this analysis comes from a number of different sources, the most important of which are the unpublished Landesco papers found in the manuscript archives at the University of Chicago, and newspaper accounts of the day. Although newspaper accounts may be interpreted through the eyes of the writer, they often provide the only information available about historic occurrences. The use of newspaper archives has become increasingly important since the development of on-line databases. Newspapers like the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Chicago Daily Tribune* are now computerized allowing researchers to search vast amounts of data that were previously unavailable because of practical obscurity, i.e. the inaccessibility of paper-based public records.

John Landesco is best known for his study of organized crime in Chicago. In 1924, as a graduate student at the University of Chicago, he received a grant from the University's Local Community Research Committee to study organized crime. The results of Landesco's study were published as Part III of the Illinois Crime Survey in 1929 and appropriately titled "Organized Crime in Chicago." Although the report was not widely circulated, it received considerable attention when it was reprinted as a stand-alone volume in 1968. In fact, Landesco's book is widely acclaimed to be the most important book ever written on the subject.

Landesco also developed an interest in boys' gangs and, after completing his research into organized crime, he began a study of the Near West Side Forty-Two Gang. He intended to publish the results of his study in book form. Although begun by Landesco, this book was never completed. His investigation of the Forty-Two Gang was interrupted by his appointment to the Illinois Parole Board. The preliminary, typewritten draft of the manuscript, titled "The Forty-Two Gang: A Study of a Neighborhood Criminal Group," consists of twelve chapters of various lengths and is part of the John Landesco collection at the University of Chicago library.

Although he never completed the book, Landesco published chapter eleven, "The Failure of Institutions of Reform and Control," in an article titled "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas" in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* in 1932. Landesco also published chapter three, "The Origin and Formation of the Gang," and chapter four, "Its Criminal Activities," in an article titled "The Life History of a Member of the Forty-Two Gang," which appeared in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* in 1933. Of the remaining chapters, three are worthy of note. Chapter 6, "Formation, Consolidation, and Dissolution," describes the formation of the gang, the recruitment of new members, and the final breakup of the gang. Chapter 7, "The Diffusion of a Criminal Culture," concerns the delinquent exploits of young boys in the area of the Forty-Two Gang and explores the relationship between childhood delinquency and gang participation. Chapter 9, "The Gun Girl," concerns the delinquent and criminal activities of the young women who were associated with the Forty-Two Gang. All were completed with the aid of Landesco's research assistant Corrado De Sylvester, an Italian and resident of Chicago's Near West Side.

Some may describe the methodology used in this analysis as social history, i.e. explaining why and how things happen. Others might say that history is so critical to sociological study that history and sociology are one in the same. We simply cannot explain society as it is without studying the historical decisions that have shaped our social world. Whatever your viewpoint, organizing the available information on the Forty-Two Gang provides an important view of an early twentieth-century Chicago gang.

This analysis will begin with a history of the Forty-Two Gang based upon Landesco's published works and newspaper accounts of the day. It will then be followed by a review of the unpublished manuscripts contained in the Landesco papers. These manuscripts not only provide a history of the gang, but also a fresh look at female crime and gang participation, and the processes by which young people are socialized into gang life. Landesco's work traces the history of the Forty-Two Gang from a neighborhood playgroup to an adult criminal gang. He also traces the influence of the original members of the gang on future generations of delinquent youth. Most of the original members of the Forty-Two Gang were killed or imprisoned by the time of Landesco's study, but the tradition of the gang lived on. "[T]he legend and mythology" of the Forty-Two Gang affected future cohorts of young delinquents.

### The Gang

The Forty-Two Gang was a group of largely Italian youth from Chicago's Near West Side. Most resided in the Maxwell Street police district. Maxwell Street was referred to as "Bloody Maxwell" because it was believed that more murderers,

robbers, and thieves resided there than in any other district in the United States (*CDT* 11 Feb 1906). Bloody Maxwell contained a number of different communities. The most prominent of which were the Jewish ghetto, the largely Irish Valley, and the Italian Taylor Street neighborhood. Although early newspaper accounts attributed the Forty-Two Gang to the Valley District, most were from the neighboring Taylor Street community (*CDT* 23 Sep 1933).

A 1915 investigation by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy reported that 10, 125 people lived within the Taylor Street district, and that seventy-two percent of the families that lived within the area were Italian (Walker 1915). The community extended from Harrison Street on the north to Taylor Street on the south and from Morgan Street on the west to Des Plaines Street on the east. In spite of the number of residents, a large portion of the district was dedicated to manufacturing, leaving only sixteen square blocks for residential housing. As a result, the area was densely overcrowded with an average of 265 residents per acre! Most of the houses in the area were comparatively old, two-story frame cottages containing two to four small apartments. Fearing further expansion of the manufacturing area, property owners were often unwilling to expend even a small sum for the repair of a house that might soon be replaced by a factory. Deteriorating housing, horses and other livestock, poor sanitation, and unpaved alleys all led to unsanitary living conditions, which researchers believed led to low educational standards, high mortality and morbidity, industrial inefficiency, and crime.

The genesis of the gang involved two groups. The first group included Rocco Marcantonio, Pete "Mibs" Gallichio, and Louis Pargoni (Landesco 1933:970). They had been together since 1924 when, as seventh graders at the Rees elementary school, they began "bumming" (skipping) class. The boys began their criminal careers by stealing silk shirts from backyard clotheslines and selling them to friends in their neighborhood. They remained in the shirt stealing business for the next two years and then began "robbing pennies" from peanut machines up and down Roosevelt Road. After robbing pennies, they graduated to stealing bicycles in the Chicago suburb of Oak Park, which they sold from the basement of a neighborhood delicatessen that they had turned into a clubhouse.<sup>1</sup> They then graduated to stealing tires from automobiles.

The boys eventually began to associate with an older group--Joseph "Babe Ruth" Calaro, "Sharkey" Icola, Sam Gagiano (Giancana), and a teen known only as Salvi--who introduced them to hijacking "butter and egg" trucks (Landesco 1933:973; Landesco No date a:1-2). Before long, twenty more boys were brought into their group.<sup>2</sup> They were recruited by the "older fellows" who offered them apprenticeships in crime and protection from the police. Many of the new recruits were young boys, who formed small "mobs" of three and four followers around each of the older boys. The mobs would vary depending on the criminal activity being pursued. The boys did not yet have a central hangout, but were mutually acquainted from school, neighborhood play, the local police station, jail, and reform school.

In 1925, the boys established their first headquarters at Bonfiglio's poolroom at Elburn and Loomis streets (Landesco No date a:3). Two months later, they moved to Mary's restaurant located at the corner of Taylor and Bishop. Soon thirty more boys joined the group.<sup>3</sup> By Landesco's account, this brought the number of members to fifty-eight. Although no one knows how many boys and young men joined the Forty-Two Gang, the Chicago Police Department reported in 1932 that the Gang had 500 members (*CDT* 10 Dec 1932). I have identified 192 of the members from newspaper

accounts, published, and non-published sources. They included 160 Italians, seven Jews, two Greeks, five Irishmen, and one Pole.

There are a number of different explanations for the Forty-Two Gang name. Landesco (No date e:10) reports that the name is derived from the legend of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. The gang originally had forty plus two members, hence the name Forty-Two Gang. Patsy Pargoni reportedly came up with the name after the boys began to frequent Mary's restaurant. Chief of Detectives William Shoemaker told the *Chicago Tribune* that the name Forty-Two Gang was a derivation of the original name of the gang, the Forty Thieves, which by corruption of language became the Forty "Teefs" and later the Forty-Twos (*CDT* 17 Jan 1932).

The difference between the various accounts of the numbers of members of the gang can easily be attributed to the time at which each census was taken. When the name Forty-Two Gang was decided, they most likely had forty-two members. Although the police department's count is probably high, it is certainly possible that the gang had as many as 190 members. Landesco's descriptions of the gang suggest that it was a fluid group, almost an umbrella organization for Near West Side delinquents. Young criminals came and went during the nine-year existence of the gang. Some were killed, some were sent to reform school, some matriculated into adult crime, and some just matured out of crime.

Bonfiglio's poolroom and Mary's restaurant were central to the growth of the gang. So were the older, more experienced criminals who frequented there. Once the gang had a hangout, a central location, it began to attract other delinquents from around the neighborhood. Delinquents who were attracted by the cars, clothes, guns, and girlfriends of the older gang members (Landesco No date c:1). Groups of young boys, whose crimes consisted of stealing roller skates and coaster wagons, were now exposed to older, more experienced boys who taught them how to steal tires and automobiles. The grammar-school youth who stole toys from department stores for excitement, was now taught how to steal resalable items for profit. In spite of the importance of Bonfiglio's poolroom and Mary's restaurant for the growth of the gang, they soon became known to the police and subject to police surveillance and exploitation (shakedowns). As a result, the gang began to move about the neighborhood alternately frequenting the corner of Taylor and Laflin, a local barbershop, a florist, and a car wash (Landesco No date a:6).

The leaders of the gang were referred to as "smart heads"--smart because they knew the way of the streets. Although the Forty-Twos never had an official leader, the smart heads assumed a leadership role because of their experience and longevity in the gang, often taking advantage of the newer boys. For example, Joseph "Babe Ruth" Calaro was known to have recruited younger boys to steal cars (Landesco No date c:5). Calaro would drive around with the aspiring gang member until he saw a car that he wanted to steal. He would then direct the new boy to steal the car. Calaro would tell the new recruit that anyone could steal a car, but the real skill was to follow along in another car and "cutoff" the police or victim if the theft was discovered. In reality, the youthful offender was at risk of being shot by the police or the intended victim, while Calaro was safely following behind. In fact, Calaro lost two of his protégés to police gunfire during an Oak Park robbery (Landesco No date c:12). Calaro was not alone in his exploitation of aspiring members. Other smart heads played the same game of exploitation, shamefully referring to the aspiring members as "suckers."

Hopeful gang members continued to work with the smart heads in spite of their exploitation because the smart heads had established relationships with the police and neighborhood receivers of stolen property—the “fence” (Landesco c:4). Once the new recruits became familiar with the police and were able to deal directly with the fence themselves, they broke away from their gang mentors. There was, however, a downside to this progression in their criminal careers. Once the gang members became known to the police, they became subject to regular shakedowns. They were regularly stopped by the police, who wanted to share in their illegal profits.

### **The Crimes of the Forty-Two Gang**

The crimes of the Forty-Two Gang included murder, robbery, burglary, auto theft, kidnapping, and various other misdemeanor and felony crimes. Those arrested varied in age from thirteen to thirty-three, although the median age of those identified here was twenty-one. By 1927, almost every car stolen in the Near West Side of Chicago was recovered, stripped of its necessary parts, in old barns and garages in the neighborhood of the Forty-Two Gang (*CDT* 12 Apr 1932; 25 Nov 1932; 26 Nov 1932). Few, however, were stolen in their own neighborhood. As their proficiency grew, the Forty-Twos began to steal autos for bootleggers to be used in the transportation of illegal liquor (Landesco 1933:980). The gang used children as young as six years old to break into automobiles and thirteen, fifteen, and sixteen year olds to drive them away, believing that the police would not shoot at children (*CDT* 13 Aug 1929).

An important challenge faced by the Chicago police when dealing with the Forty-Two Gang was their driving. Police were reluctant to chase gang members for fear of harming innocent bystanders (*CDT* 6 Jul 1933). Chases often ended up in fiery crashes and gun battles with the pursuing officers. So determined were the members of the Forty-Two Gang to evade the police that they would hold practice driving sessions on Sunday mornings (*CDT* 10 Dec 1932). One of their drills was to “sweep” an auto from the street into a narrow alley at fifty miles an hour. Whipping corners was especially dangerous to neighborhood bystanders. Many of the young drivers were so small that they could not see above the seat of the car (Landesco No date c:14).

Although auto theft appears to have been the main crime committed by the members of the Forty-Two Gang, armed robberies were common. By 1930, they were suspected in more than a dozen robberies (*CDT* 14 Jun 1930). They robbed the Everett Coal Company and the Goldenrod Ice Company (Landesco No date c:13). They robbed hat shops, bank messengers, department stores, dance halls, mail carriers, liquor stills, and handbook operations killing at least one innocent bystander.<sup>4</sup> Robbing liquor still or a handbook was a dangerous business because it directly challenged adult organized crime. Forty-Two Gang member Michael De Stefano even robbed a fellow prisoner while being held in the lockup of the Warren Avenue police station (*CDT* 11 Apr 1932). Probably the most daring raid carried out by the Forty-Two Gang was the robbery of the C. & O. Cabaret in the North Clark Street rialto. The C. & O. was owned by John Connors, the brother of William “Botchie” Connors, the political boss of the Near North Side of Chicago. Robbing the C. & O. demonstrated an utter disregard for the established political structure. The resulting gun battle left five people wounded.

Even the police were not safe. Two of the five people shot in the C. & O. battle were police officers. There was no love between the police and the members of the

gang. Many officers were despised because they could be paid off (Landesco 1933:977). Others were hated by the gang because of the rough treatment the members received in police custody (*CDT* 3 Jan 1931). Landesco argued that this hatred of the police contributed to the violent nature of the gang (Landesco No date c:8). The gangster who had paid the police, bought himself out of jail, and had beaten cases in court developed an abusive attitude toward the law, one that often resulted in bitterness in court and violence out on the street. To the gang member, there was no justice only the power of the "pull"--the ability to fix a case in court (Landesco No date c:20). As a result, they were filled with confidence and daring. Confidence that they would not be held accountable for their crimes.

Their hatred of the police was so great that during their nine-year reign of terror, members of the Forty-Two Gang killed at least four police officers. In 1929, Forty-Two gangster Willie Doody killed Berwyn police chief Charles Levy, who had attempted to apprehend Doody driving a stolen auto (*CDT* 26 May 1929). Unknown to Chief Levy, Doody was wanted by the authorities for the murder of postal inspector Evan Jackson, whom he had shot in a gun battle with federal authorities a few weeks earlier. Eighteen months after the Levy murder, members of the Forty-Two gang killed officer John Vondruska, of the Fillmore Street station, when he tried to prevent the robbery of a Yellow Cab Company garage in the Far West Side (*CDT* 2 Jan 1931). Finally in 1933, Forty-Two Gang member Tony Rocco killed policeman Maurice Marcusson when he tried to prevent the robbery of a dress shop in a downtown Chicago building.

The gang also turned to kidnapping and rape. On one occasion, two members of the gang kidnapped a seventeen-year-old girl and drove her to a nearby garage where seven men attacked her (*CDT* 25 Nov 1927). On another occasion, three members of the Forty-Two Gang kidnapped a twenty-year-old woman in the Near West Side, but she managed to escape before she was harmed (*CDT* 19 Sep 1928). In yet another case, three members of the Forty-Two Gang attempted to abduct two women sitting on the front steps of their home, but were driven off by the finance' of one of the girls (*CDT* 19 May 1927). So many gang rapes were attributed to the Forty-Two Gang that Thomas Courtney, the Cook County State's Attorney, sought to amend the Illinois criminal code to make gang rape punishable by the death penalty (*CDT* 28 Nov 1928).

Landesco attributed these rapes to the breakdown of old world traditions. According to Landesco, eight Italian girls were raped in 1930, all within six blocks of the headquarters of the Forty-Two Gang (Landesco No date b:42). Only ten years earlier, a young man who harmed an Italian girl would have been killed by her father. American jurisprudence, however, outlawed the vendetta and prevented Italian fathers from taking justice into their own hands. Local women told Landesco that Americanization had contributed to the raping of Italian girls, who were now going out on dates, attending drinking parties, and coming home late at night.

The Forty-Two Gang was also involved in bootlegging. Working for the Red Bolton Gang, they branched out as peddlers on Bolton's less important routes. When not looking for new customers, they also hijacked liquor stills. In fact, one of the Forty-Two's most active thieves, seventeen-year-old Frank Petitto, was found murdered on Joliet Road, south of Lyons, Illinois. Police reported that Petitto "had been taken for a ride" (*CDT* 1 Jul 1930). They suspected that Petitto had been preying on still owners and alky runners and had been blamed for "hoisting" stills and robbing whoever was present, taking hundreds of gallons of bootleg booze (*CDT* 2



Jul 1930). Two months after the death of Petitto, Peter Nicastro, one of the early members of the Forty-Two Gang, was also "taken for a ride" (*CDT* 9 Sep 1930). Police believed that Nicastro was also killed for hijacking liquor stills. Further investigation revealed that Petitto and Nicastro had been murdered by fellow Forty-Two Gang members for hijacking liquor stills belonging to the Bolton Gang (*CDT* 12 Sep 1930). Hijacking Bolton stills constituted a betrayal of the gang because of the working relationship that the Forty-Twos had with the Bolton bootleggers.

No crime seemed to be out of the question for the Forty-Two Gang. Working with Forty-Two Gang members Joseph Muscato and Albert Woodrick, Dominick De Palma told his cousin, Attilio Scaldetti, that two men had been hired to kill him (*CDT* 22 Feb 1931). De Palma then told Scaldetti that he knew the men and could dissuade them if Scaldetti paid \$2,500. Scaldetti told De Palma to negotiate the deal, and then called the police. When Muscato and Woodrick arrived to pick up the extortion money, police attempted to make the arrest, but Muscato fled and was subsequently shot by the police. He died a short time later at the county jail hospital. Newspapers incorrectly reported the incident as Black Hand extortion. The Black Hand was not a criminal organization, but a method of extortion, common in the Italian community, involving the use of a blackmailing letter. No letter was involved in the Scaldetti extortion, nor was the Forty-Two Gang a Black Hand gang.

The Forty-Two Gang also tried its hand at bank robbery. Louis "The Louse" Clementi and nine other members of the Forty-Two Gang robbed Chicago's Main State Bank escaping with \$16,300 (*CDT* 9 Jun 1933). They also robbed the South Holland Trust and Savings Bank on two separate occasions. During the first holdup, Peter De Young, a replacement bank guard, was killed by the robbers (*CDT* 26 May 1934). One year later, Forty-Two Gang members tried to rob the bank a second time (*CDT* 27 May 1934). This time their efforts were averted by the alert action of the local police. Noticing a suspicious car parked near the bank, the local police chief notified bank security personnel. When three Forty-Two Gang members entered the bank brandishing shotguns, the on-duty bank guard, Jacob De Young (father of the previously slain bank guard) opened fire killing two of the robbers and wounding the third.

One of the most famous crimes committed by the members of the Forty-Two Gang was the home invasion robbery of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Mitchell in Lake Forest, Illinois. The robbery occurred on the night of November 21, 1931 while the Mitchell's and seven guests were playing backgammon (*CDT* 17 Jan 1932). Five masked youths entered the Mitchell home waving pistols and robbed the Mitchell party escaping with money and jewelry valued at \$150,000 (*CDT* 6 Dec 1931). William Matheson, the Mitchell chauffeur, however, reached a telephone in the confusion and called the police. The robbers then fled, but not before exchanging gunfire with Lake Forest officers. The following day, an overcoat, with the stolen jewelry in the pockets, was found on the Mitchell estate. Frank Tufano, a member of the Forty-Two Gang, was implicated in the robbery after an automobile with license plates issued to his mother was found near the Mitchell property. Servants in the Mitchell home then identified a picture of Tufano as one of the robbers (*CDT* 25 Nov 1931). Tufano was arrested with three other Forty-Two Gang members and all were identified as the men who committed the Mitchell holdup. The four defendants, Frank Tufano, Joseph Perello, Paul Ross, and Nick Maentanis were all convicted of the robbery and sentenced from one year to life in the Illinois state penitentiary (*CDT* 23 Jan 1932).

### The Criminal Justice Response

In response to the growing number of crimes committed by the Forty-Two Gang, Judge Francis Borrelli, of the Des Plaines Street court, launched a two-pronged attack on the activities of the gang (*CDT* 4 Dec 1931). The first stage of the attack was the personal expedition of Borrelli into the Near West Side of Chicago, the stronghold of the gang. For one month, the judge, dressed in shabby clothes, mingled with the young hoodlums, frequented their haunts, and satisfied himself through personal observation of the need to smash the gang. The second prong of the attack was carried out by the Chicago Police Department. Ten squads of heavily armed detectives were sent into the territory of the Forty-Two Gang with orders to arrest gang members on sight.

Within days, 134 suspect gang members had been charged with disorderly conduct and brought before Judge Borrelli's court (*CDT* 12 Dec 1931). Most were boys between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. Addressing the defendants, Borrelli told them that they were a disgrace to the Italian name. Unfortunately, most of those arrested were not gang members. In spite of intense police questioning and standing in multiple police lineups, 115 of those arrested were discharged. Twelve were fined from \$100 to \$200. A second wave of arrests was carried out one year later (*CDT* 17 Jan 1933). Acting on information supplied by Judge Borrelli, police arrested thirty-six suspect Forty-Two Gang members. This time the police got lucky. They seized eight shotguns, two pistols, three bulletproof vests, and a bushel basket filled with ammunition. Three robberies were also solved.

Even when the police were successful at bringing charges against Forty-Two Gang members, it seemed that the criminal justice system functioned in their favor. If they could not bribe the officer, they often found a friendly judge to writ them out of police custody in order to avoid standing in a police lineup at the detective bureau (Landesco No date c:16). Lineups were dangerous. Even if they were not identified by their current victim, gang members might be identified by a victim from a prior crime. When they were charged with an offense, friendly judges were often available to lower their bond; and if they went to trial, witnesses could be intimidated or bought. In one alleged case, Forty-Two Gang members actually kidnapped a prosecuting witness from the criminal court building to prevent him from testifying. Finally, if all else failed and they went to prison, there was always the chance of obtaining an early parole.

Another reason that authorities were having problems controlling the Forty-Two Gang was their inability to send the younger members to prison. Boys under seventeen years of age could only be punished by sending them to the St. Charles School for Boys. St. Charles was created to handle boys who committed minor delinquent offenses, and not the dangerous hoodlums of the Forty-Two Gang. In addition, St. Charles had gone through a reform period in which corporal punishment and military decorum had been replaced by psychological counseling, which led some to believe that the school was no longer capable of handling the more troubled youth such as those of the Forty-Two gang (*CDT* 29 Jul 1928). A sentence to St. Charles provided so little deterrence to the Forty-Two Gang that on at least two occasions, gang members simply drove up to the school and rescued their fellow gang members from custody (*CDT* 23 May 1932; 7 Jan 1937). Even those members sent to adult prisons were a problem for authorities. In fact, the Pontiac Reformatory refused to accept Rocco Capra, a Forty-Two Gang member, because they did not want a "Chicago gunman" in their prison (*CDT* 18 Aug 1932).

Even if a Forty-Two Gang member was sent to prison, there was no guarantee that he would remain there. Many were paroled before serving the full length of their sentence. Take the example of Ralph Greco. In 1922, he was sentenced to serve twenty years at the Pontiac Reformatory for burglary (*CDT* 24 Sep 1935). He was paroled three years later in 1925. After a few months on the street, he violated his parole and was returned to Pontiac. In 1928, he was again paroled and remained at liberty until 1929, when he was arrested with other members of the Forty-Two Gang and sent back to prison. Another parole was granted in 1932. Shortly thereafter, he was arrested again and returned to prison. Another Forty-Two Gang member, Solly Goldsmith, had been sentenced for burglary and subsequently paroled twice before receiving a life sentence as a habitual criminal (*CDT* 8 Mar 1928). In still another case, Nick Maentanis, one of the Mitchell home invaders, was paroled after serving only four years of a one year to life sentence (*CDT* 20 Oct 1935). The remaining Mitchell bandits were paroled into the U. S. Army in 1943, after serving only eleven years of their sentence (*CDT* 10 Aug 1943).

There is substantial evidence to support allegations of corruption in the Illinois parole system. A 1928 report on parole abuses in Illinois, written by such notables as Andrew Bruce of Northwestern University, Dean Albert Harno of the University of Illinois, and Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago, attributed abuses in the parole system to politics (*CDT* 25 Jan 1928). The report found that state representatives and senators often represented prisoners at parole hearings. Although they were attorneys, inmates did not retain the members of the state legislature because of their legal acumen, but because of their political influence.

In an effort to control the Forty-Two Gang, as well as the continuing violence associated with Prohibition, the State of Illinois amended its vagrancy law in 1933 to include persons "reputed to be a criminal" (*CDT* 30 Aug 1933). Originally, a vagrant was an ordinary hobo, a person living on the street. Under the new law, a person could be arrested because he had a reputation for engaging in criminal practices against the good of society. The new vagrancy law, commonly referred to as the "public enemy" law, provided that persons reputed to be habitual law violators or who were reputed to carry concealed weapons would be treated as vagrants. Within a year, however, the Illinois Supreme Court overturned the law declaring that no legislative body had the power to criminalize anything other than overt acts (*People v. Nicastro* 1934).

### **The Gun Girl**

There were also girls and young women involved with the Forty-Two Gang. Since W. I. Thomas wrote about the "unadjusted girl" in 1923, the problem of the young delinquent woman has often been viewed as one of morality. Thomas argued that sex was their capital. Delinquent girls used the allure of sex to fulfill their need for amusement, adventure, and freedom in the larger world. Thrasher (1927:78-85) carried on this theme. He reported in 1927 that few youth gangs included girls, and that those that did had an immoral rather than a conflict orientation. Their chief activities included necking, petting, and illicit sex. In fact, Thrasher argued that boys' gangs were generally hostile to female participation, because girls impaired the gang's ability to function as a conflict group.

Writing in 1949, William Bernard expanded on the sexual orientation of early gang research by arguing that girls also fulfilled other important functions for the male-dominated, youth gang. They not only served as sex objects, but were also used as auxiliary members who could carry weapons without being subject to police

search, who could be used to provide alibis for male gang members, and who acted as spies and lures against other gangs. Although there have been modern attempts to explain female gang participation independent of the girl's association with the male gang, Bernard's findings have come to represent the dominant view of female gang participation.

How accurate is this view? In their 1999 review of the female gang literature, Chesney-Lind and Hagedorn (1999:6) argue that early studies of female gang participation were atheoretical, racist, and sexist. The authors openly wondered what female gang activity would have looked like if viewed through the eyes of a girl or a young woman of the time, and not the gendered habits of male researchers. Surprisingly, this may be possible. This section brings to light a study of female gang activity conducted by Landesco over eighty years ago titled "the Gun Girl" (Landesco No date d). The story of the Gun Girl is the story of Agnes R. It is the story of her criminal career as told in her own words. Agnes was twenty years of age at the time of her interview. She was an Italian girl, who had grown up in the neighborhood of the Forty-Two Gang.

Agnes began her criminal career when she was nine years old, stealing money from a woman who owned a local bakery (Landesco No date d:5). She finished grammar school, but quit high school after her second year and secured a job in a department store, and then a phonograph company. When she turned eighteen, her parents divorced. Not wanting to live with either parent after the divorce, she went out on her own. Agnes then started frequenting a nightclub called the Dreamland Café where she met a girl named Jeanette, whom she described as a "con woman"-one who would use the allure of sex to take money from men. Jeanette was the first to introduce Agnes to members of the Forty-Two Gang. It was not long before Agnes was accompanying Forty-Two Gang members when they committed robberies, burglaries, and auto thefts. Agnes' job was simply to sit in the car, because "police never stop a car with girls in it" (Landesco No date d:4).

Feeling slighted by the small amounts of money that she earned working with the gang, she began passing bad checks on her own (Landesco No date d:12). She eventually returned to the gang and began delivering bootleg liquor throughout the state. Her job was to sit with a gang member in a car that was covered with household furniture, such as a baby carriage. Inside the trunk were twenty to thirty cases of illegal alcohol, which they would deliver downstate to cities such as Springfield, Rockford, and Aurora. She eventually got "cold feet" and quit delivering liquor with the Forty-Twos. Agnes then began associating with a different group and began committing armed robberies with a man named George. Word eventually got back to the Forty-Two Gang that Agnes had "pulled" a number of successful robberies. As a result, the gang beckoned her to return and participate in their crimes.

In spite of her criminal activity, Agnes' self-proclaimed trade was "gold-digging" – asking men for money (Landesco No date d:19). Agnes, and her girlfriends, would also steal from men at parties after getting them drunk. They would take their money, watches, rings, and other things of value. Much of this "conning" was done under the false promise of sex. Contrary to modern views of female gang participation, Agnes claimed to have never had sex with any of the members of the Forty-Two Gang or any of her theft victims. The same held true for most of her four female companions. Of the five girls associated with the Forty-Two Gang studied by Landesco, two were sexually promiscuous, one confined her relations to her boyfriend, and three were adverse to premarital sex (Landesco No

date d:14).

How does Landesco's description of the Gun Girl compare with modern views of female gang participation? Initially, there is a great deal of similarity. Aside from some minor theft as a child, Agnes began her criminal career providing cover for robberies, auto thefts, and liquor deliveries, much like girls do today when transporting drugs and guns for gangs members. As such, it would be appropriate to describe her as an "auxiliary" member of the Forty-Two Gang. In fact, Landesco states that it was apparent that Agnes and the other girls were not accepted fully as members of the gang and that the chief role of the gang girl remained in the "play life rather than the occupational activity of the gangster" (Landesco No date d:14). Yet, this does not explain her participation with George in other robberies. Could her participation in these armed robberies and her "conning" activities be viewed as representative of the girl criminals of her time, or was Agnes just an unusual case?

Even more interesting is Agnes' view of sex and the gang. Contrary to the reports of Thomas, Thrasher, and Bernard, Agnes did not exchange sex for free drinks, meals, and nights on the town. She had her own moral standards. Her goal was to use the allure of sex to "outwit somebody out of something" (Landesco No date d:14). She sought to exploit men based on her sex appeal, but to give nothing in return. There were other girls who more readily participated in sexual activities with the gang. Agnes, in fact, talked about girls who were less "experienced" and were taken advantage of by gang members; but in the end, Landesco provides a somewhat different view of female gang participation than is commonly believed. There is no way of knowing the generalizability of his findings, but they do challenge historical beliefs about female gang participation.

Landesco's research directly challenges Thrasher's belief that the role of the adolescent gang girl was restricted to participation in amoral sex. In fact, Landesco stated that the most "interesting" conclusion to be derived from his research was that three of the six girls that he studied were adverse to irregular sexual behavior. Landesco's work also challenges the belief that gang girls rarely act independently of their affiliation with the male gang. Landesco found that the gang girl could be an independent, functioning female delinquent who acted on her own behalf. She was not an auxiliary member of the male gang. Crime was her means of survival. The gang girl committed crimes with male gang members when the need arose, but her activities were not tied to her participation in the gang.

### **Gangs as the Failure of Institutions in Immigrant Areas**

Landesco (1932:238) blamed the formation of the Forty-Two Gang on social conditions in the Near West Side of Chicago. He described the district as one where there was no tradition of "American citizenship" and that the area was so undesirable that there was a constant exit of its more ambitious and prosperous inhabitants (Landesco 1933:964). As a university professor, Landesco was a member of the emerging Chicago School of Sociology, which sought to understand the relationship between crime and the organization of the urban environment. Like Shaw and McKay (1929), Landesco challenged the notion that crime was the result of the organic make-up of the offender or his ethnic background. He identified the conditions in the Near West Side of Chicago that contributed to the formation of the Forty-Two Gang as the failure of political, educational, and religious institutions; unemployment; and the lack of what he called recreational and character-forming institutions.

In contrast to the social disorganization of slum life, Landesco reported that the gang provided an attainable life plan and a way out of the opportunity-deprived inner city. The gang not only furnished partners for truancy; it provided playtime friends, sources of spending money, and economic independence (Landesco 1932b:247). The gang also provided examples of manly courage. The gang boy watched his friends endure beatings by the police and was carried from the gunfire of his enemies by his friends, and has rescued his pals in turn. The Forty-Twos had a steadfast rule that members must carry their wounded partners to safety (Landesco No date c:14). The gang additionally provided access to the adult gangster and liquor boss, the one element in the community respected by Chicago politicians who had sought to repress the Italian community (Landesco 1933:230).

Landesco's description of the Near West Side is one that is familiar to all gang researchers. Studies by Vigil (1988), Wilson (1990), and Venkatesh (2000) have all documented the effects of social disorganization on gang formation. What is not familiar is the rampant corruption of government that existed in Landesco's time. Once successful Italians left Taylor Street, the only examples of success that young people had left were the gangsters and the politicians. Today, inner-city youth have successful drug dealers as role models, but wholesale alliances between gangs and politicians are rare. During the time of the Forty-Two Gang, there were numerous alliances between politicians and gangsters. Take the example of Illinois State Representative John Bolton, former Forty-Two Gang member, and brother of bootleg boss Joseph "Red" Bolton. He was killed in July 1936 because of his involvement in the illegal handbook racket (*CDT* 9 Jul 1936; Landesco No date a:9). There was also Joseph "Diamond Joe" Esposito, Nineteenth Ward (Taylor Street) Republican Committeeman, restaurateur, and local bootlegging boss (*CDT* 22 Mar 1928).

Even more important than Bolton and Esposito was Nineteen Ward Alderman John Powers. Powers had controlled the Taylor Street area for forty years. He came into power when the neighborhood was largely Irish. Powers was known as the "Prince of Boodlers" because of his ability to push corrupt measures through the Chicago city council (Barker 1969:62-65). Powers was so corrupt that he was caught attempting to fix a Black Hand kidnapping case involving a six-year-old boy (*CDT* 4 May 1914). Together these gangsters and politicians ruled the civic life of the community and provided the only examples of success for young boys to emulate. Corrupt politicians also taught aspiring Forty-Two gang members that justice could be bought and that they had nothing to fear from the police, even the honest ones, because they were under political control.

### **The Diffusion of Criminal Culture**

By 1927, many of the original members of the Forty-Two Gang were dead, in prison, or had given up a life of crime. Joseph "Babe Ruth" Calaro, one of the original smart heads, was killed by the police fleeing from a "stripped" auto (*CDT* 25 Nov 1927). Louie Pargoni had also been killed by the police, but in a separate incident (Landesco No date a:8). Salvi was killed in an automobile crash. Sam Gagiano was in prison for rape; and Rocco Marcantonio had left a life of crime, after serving time at the St. Charles reformatory. Sharkey Icola also left a life of crime and went to work for the city of Chicago. Peter "Mibs" Gallichio outgrew the gang and became a "big shot" gangster. Although the original members had fallen away, their exploits had a direct impact on the next generation of children in the Taylor Street community.

While the original gang was in dissolution because of decimation by death and imprisonment, the younger boys were still eager to emulate their actual or imagined exploits (Landesco No date b:1). The traditions of the Forty-Two Gang had become the delinquent culture of the neighborhood and it was through this delinquency culture that delinquent boys graduated to become adult criminals.

Landesco described this new generation of delinquents as little ruffians, hardened by the exciting life they witnessed in the Taylor Street area (Landesco No date b:44). Gunfire between the police and the Forty-Twos was a daily affair; fast cars were constantly being chased by the police; and the flashing of rolls of money, guns, and whiskey all led the boys to a life of crime. In his unpublished manuscript, "The Diffusion of a Criminal Culture," Landesco provides a rich description of the lives of these young people. His observations include case studies of aspiring Forty-Two Gang members, daily accounts of the lives of neighborhood boys, and his general observations of the play-life of children in the neighborhood of the Forty-Two Gang. Landesco believed that the data should speak for itself. As such, he provides a "thick description" of the lives of these boys in their own words. One that takes the reader into the setting being described so that they can understand the phenomenon studied and draw their own interpretations.<sup>5</sup> Three of these accounts are summarized in the following paragraph. They concern the lives of a clique of three boys Mike, Tom, and Jo whose behavior was typical of other boys in the neighborhood.

Thirteen-year-old Mike was considered the "brains" of the group. Mike's stated ambition in life was to become a gangster like Al Capone (Landesco No date b:5). Mike started his criminal career "robbing" (shoplifting) at the Wieboldt's department store. His thefts included socks and cap guns. He then progressed to stealing milk, pencils, and books at school. Although he didn't like school, he liked to read gangster books. When not at school, Mike spent his free time hanging around with the older members of the Forty-Two Gang. Tom the "muscle man" was fourteen years of age. His delinquent career began by stealing baseballs and bats from the children at a local "Greek" school (Landesco No date b:8). He also stole paper, books, and pencils from the school and burglarized a local candy store. Tom also hung around Mary's Restaurant and helped out at "stripping" cars. Tom, like Mike, read books about gangsters and favored newspaper accounts of robberies and murders. His ambition was to grow up to be a bootlegger. Jo, the last of the three boys, was known as the "ambassador" (Landesco No date b:10). Jo began his delinquent career at twelve when he "robbed" a bicycle. He also stole toy guns from the Wieboldt's department store and stole bananas and watermelons from local peddlers. He then progressed to stealing auto parts from parked cars. At school, he stole cakes, candy, and milk. Jo said that he didn't like school, and that his teachers never bothered him because they knew he was a member of the Forty-Two Gang. Like the other boys, Jo read gangster books and newspaper accounts of murder and "robbing" stores.

These boys all took pride in living near the Forty-Two Gang and were delighted when the members of the gang spoke to them or praised their driving skills (Landesco No date b:20). They spoke with pride of Babe Ruth, a deceased smart head, and wanted nothing more than to become a "real" Forty-Two. The influence of the gang was so great that young children, boys and girls, would "whip" corners with their bicycles and coaster wagons emulating the reckless driving of the Forty-Two Gang. (Landesco No date b:21).

The new generation of Forty-Twos formed little "mobs" on almost every block in the Taylor Street area (Landesco No date b:17). Most were led by the older gang members and were in constant communication with one another. All considered themselves Forty-Twos and "followed a single tradition, a mutual confidence, and a single code." They were also considered Forty-Twos by the police who did not differentiate between the various groups. This diffusion of the Forty-Two Gang to various locations in the Near West Side is similar to the groupings within today's gangs. In Chicago, for example, the Vice Lords have "sets" throughout the West Side of the city. Most do not even know each other, but they all "ride" under the same name, reputation, and code of conduct set by the original members.

### **The End of the Forty-Two Gang**

In spite of their ability to attract new members, the Forty-Two Gang abruptly ended in 1934. The end of the Forty-Two Gang brought an end to the large, criminal gang in Chicago. Gangs became groups of adolescent, street-corner youth who occasionally engaged in delinquent activity. Sure, there were small bands of robbers and burglars, but they never approached the size and dedication to crime that the Forty-Two Gang, and its predecessors, had. One may ask about the "super" gangs of today. Groups in Chicago like the Latin Kings, Vice Lords, and Gangster Disciples are large criminal organizations, but they are large drug organizations. They do not principally engage in robbery, burglary, and auto theft like the Forty-Two Gang once did. The reason for this change in the nature of gangs in Chicago may have been the ascendancy of the Chicago Outfit, the traditional organized crime group in Chicago.

Prohibition had led to intense competition between Chicago's various bootlegging gangs resulting in the "beer wars" of the late 1920's. The gangs mainly aligned themselves according to ethnic ties. The Irish, Polish, and Jewish gangsters, such as the West Side O'Donnell brothers and the Saltis-McErlane gang, joined with the O'Bannion gang. The Sicilians, notably the Genna Brothers, aligned with the Capone gang. So did Terry Druggan and Frankie Lake, whose Valley Gang was headquartered in the Near West Side Maxwell Street district adjacent to the Taylor Street Italian stronghold. By 1930, the Capone mob had violently eliminated all competition and had become the dominant underworld force in Chicago, controlling more 6,000 speakeasies (Pasley 1930).

When the Capone syndicate expanded its bootlegging activities into the area of the Forty-Two Gang, many gang members were recruited as "militia men" and even given the opportunity to run liquor stills (Landesco 1932a:125). This was called "being put on the payroll or given a spot or a job," much like the gang members of today who are given a "spot" to sell drugs. It is noteworthy that this word continues to have the same significance nearly eighty years later. What is even more noteworthy is Landesco's claim that the Capone syndicate, with the cooperation of the local police, helped to clean up the Near West Side bringing unattached hoodlums, like the members of the Forty-Two Gang, under syndicate control. This position is supported by the work of Gerald Suttles (1972:200), who studied the Taylor Street area some forty years later. Suttles argued that the presence of the Outfit in the Taylor Street community provided an additional dimension of social control that few were willing to challenge.

The gangs continued to commit other crimes, but they became more selective and once they were involved with the Capone mob, they also benefited from the huge amounts of graft paid by the bootleggers to the police and politicians (Landesco



1932a:125). So many senior members of the Forty-Two Gang were recruited into the Capone syndicate that they became the foundation of the Taylor Street Crew, one of the five "street crews" (branches) of the Chicago Outfit (Murray 1975). So powerful was the influence of Forty-Two Gang members that the Taylor Street Crew eventually came to dominate the Outfit moving the seat of power from Capone's Near South Side to the Near West Side of Chicago.

There were forces other than organized crime that contributed to the end of the criminal gang in Chicago. Hagedorn (2008) argues that many Irish gangs were rationalized into the established political structure. Street-corner youth, who may have turned to crime, gained access to city jobs through neighborhood political clubs sponsored by local politicians. All they had to do in return was turn out the vote. In Chicago's vast Italian neighborhoods, the Chicago Area Project was begun, in the 1930's, by sociologist Clifford Shaw to address juvenile delinquency and prevent crime. This program was well received by the Italian community and literally thousands of teenage boys, and girls, participated in its programs preventing their participation in crime.

Another reason that contributed to the end of the Forty-Two Gang was the police response. In spite of widespread political corruption, the police were effective. The *Chicago Tribune* estimated that 150 Forty-Two Gang members had been sent to prison by city and suburban police for crimes ranging from petty larceny to murder. In addition, the Taylor Street neighborhood that was known to the Forty-Two Gang began to disappear because of urban renewal. The encroachment of industry and the eventual building of the Dan Ryan expressway claimed most of the neighborhood. Today, Taylor Street begins at Morgan Street. In the days of the Forty-Two Gang, the neighborhood ended there. The ecological conditions that had contributed to the development of the gang were gone.

### **The Importance of the Forty-Two Gang for Today's Gang Researcher**

Almost everything we know about early twentieth-century gangs comes from two sources, Thrasher and Shaw and McKay. Examining the Forty-Two Gang provides another look at gangs during this important time in the development of sociological thought. In particular, the unpublished Landesco manuscripts provide insight into three important theoretical areas. The first concerns the gang itself. Although the Forty-Two Gang was largely made up of teenage offenders, it was a criminal gang. It was not a youth gang in the Shaw and McKay sense of the word. Landesco's work provides valuable insight into the formation of a criminal gang, an area that has often been overlooked in the gang literature.

Landesco's second important insight involved the "diffusion" of gang culture. Once the reputation of the Forty-Two Gang became established in the Near West Side, it became the magnet that drew young delinquents to gang participation independent of the involvement of the original gang leaders. Landesco's findings support the work of Shaw and McKay, who argued that "delinquency subcultures" developed in socially disorganized communities; and that these delinquency subcultures became the dominant pattern of criminal life in the area. Additionally, Landesco's findings support Thrasher's argument that some criminal gangs were the direct continuation of adolescent groups, which had continued into adult crime.

Landesco's work also provides a fresh insight into female delinquency. The literature has generally led us to believe that girls were auxiliary gang members, who seldom acted independently of their subordinate status. Landesco's chapter on the

“Gun Girl” provides somewhat of a different view. Although Agnes moved in and out of her auxiliary gang status, she also participated in crime independently of the Forty-Two Gang.

In conclusion, this essay has sought to provide a scholarly account of the activities of the

Forty-Two Gang. A gang that has been made famous by popular accounts of organized crime in Chicago. This essay has also sought to share Landesco’s unpublished work with the academic community. The Landesco manuscripts are a valuable source of information on the early development of Chicago gangs; one that, hopefully, will be discovered by the academic community.

### End Notes:

1. Sam and Charles Giancana identify the restaurant as Goldstein’s Delicatessen. See Giancana, Sam and Charles Giancana. 1992. *Double Cross: The Explosive Inside Story of the Mobster Who Controlled America*. New York NY: Warner Brothers.
2. Landesco identifies them as: Patsy Pargoni, Hank, Jitty Pargoni, “Fat” Riccio, Vito Pelletieri, Ned Rooney, Red O’Brien, Joe Roberti, John Bolton, Catrina, Monk Pupillo, Nick Muscato, Louie “Cadoodles” De Christofono, Frank Gallichio, “Fat” Carpanelli, Frank “Chudaback” DeLuca, the two DeMillio brothers, and the two Schiulo brothers. See John Landesco. “Formation, Consolidation, and Dissolution.” The John Landesco Papers. Chicago IL: The University of Chicago Library.
3. Landesco identifies them as: Louie Pargoni, Monte Gagiano, Tumpa Russo, Joe “Little Man” Muscato, Angi Russo, Joe Leopold, Sambo Lasassa, Joe Pape, Patsy Steffanelli, Chucky Lombardo, James Belmonte, Archie Capozzi, “Two Gun” Pete, Tony “Tony John” Torrisello, Frank “Duke” Battaglia, Red Richmond, Max Richmond, Ralph Orlando, “Johnson” Orlando, “Bab” Orlando, Dominick “Dunk” Russo, Tony “Whitey” Benida, “Giant” Tony, “Dago” Ralph, Vito Mascini, Feet, Vito Fosco, Willy Doody, Peter Nicastro, and “Pushky.” See John Landesco. “Formation, Consolidation, and Dissolution.” The John Landesco Papers. Chicago IL: The University of Chicago Library.
4. See the *Chicago Daily Tribune*: “Try Two ‘42’ Gangsters for \$3,000 Robbery.” 31 December 1930; “Two Indicted for Threatening Robbery Victim.” 28 October 1932; “Second Bandit is Killed in Store Holdup.” 26 November 1931; “‘Bouncer’ in Dance Hall Shot by Gang He Ejected.” 30 December 1929; “Gangster Admits Holdup; Given Term in Prison.” 6 August 1931; “Police Arrest 3 Suspects in Mail Robbery.” 17 January 1934; “Ride slaying Laid to War of Alky Dealers.” 23 October 1932; “Youth, Freed in Robbery, Talks Self into Jail.” 17 November 1933.
5. For a discussion of “thick description” in qualitative research see Michael Patton, 2002, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*.

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