

# THE FIRST FAMILY BY MIKE DASH.

*DISCURSIVE NOTES*

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

- ASP                      Archivio di Stato, Palermo. These documents are arranged by section (b.), then category (c.) and finally by bundle (f.)
- Barrel file              New York District Attorney's papers concerning the 'Barrel murder' case of April 1903. File #42841, District Attorney's Closed Case Files 1895-1966, NYMA.
- Comito confession      'Antonio Comito's statement in re the Morello-Lupo case', August 1910, in 'Black Hand confessions 1910', Box 1, Lawrence Richey Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa. Two versions of the confession, the first 48 pages long and only partial, and the second 109 pages long and complete, are contained in this file; in the notes that follow they are numbered I and II.
- Dailies                   Daily reports of Secret Service agents, summarising activities, intelligence and the movements of suspects. These reports have been microfilmed and make up the several hundred rolls of National Archives Microfilm Publication T915 in Record Group 87 of NARA at College Park, Maryland. The series referred to are:
- Flynn                    Reports of William J. Flynn, chief of the New York office 1901-1910 (31 vols)
- Hazen                    Reports of William P. Hazen, chief of the New York office 1898-1901 (11 vols)

- New York Reports of successive chiefs of the New York office  
1911-1918 (30 vols)
- Taylor Reports of Richard H. Taylor, chief of the New York  
office 1910-11 (5 vols)
- Federal transcripts Trial transcripts of the United States Circuit Court for the District of  
New York, 1790–1912, held in NARA-NE, New York. These include  
stenographic records of counterfeiting cases brought in US Federal  
Courts. The trials referred to are:
- Giallombardo Transcripts of the trial of Giuseppe Giallombardo,  
  
Giuseppe DiPrimo and others, March 1903, in *USA  
vs. Salvatore Romano, Isidore Crose, Joseph DEPRIMA  
AND GIUSEPPE GIALLOMBARDO. CASE FILE C-2832.*
- Morello Transcripts of the trial of Giuseppe Morello,  
  
Ignazio Lupo and others, Jan–Feb 1910, in *USA vs.  
Giuseppe Calicchio, Giuseppe Morello, Nicholas  
Sylvester, Ignatzio Lupo, Salvatore Cecala, and  
Giuseppe Palermo. Case file C2-347.*
- Flynn William J. Flynn, *The Barrel Mystery*. New York, The James A. McCann  
Company, 1919.
- Gentile interviews Translations of interviews with Nicola Gentile conducted by Felice  
Chilanti, 1963, in the Gentile file formerly maintained by the Federal  
Bureau of Investigation.

MS                      Miscellany Section, part of the *Washington Post*.

NARA                    National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,  
Maryland.

NARA-NE              National Archives and Records Administration, North-East, New  
York City.

NARA-SE              National Archives and Records Administration, South-East,  
Morrow, Georgia.

NYMA                  New York Municipal Archives, New York.

NYSA                    New York State Archives, Albany.

Sealy transcripts      Trial Transcripts of the County of New York 1883-1927, in the  
Lloyd Sealy Library, John Jay College of Criminal Jurisprudence, New  
York. The trials referred to are:

Impoluzzo              *People v Antonio Impuluzzo*, 4 January 1916,  
trial #3240, reel 400

Giordano                *People v Antonio Giordano*, 31 March 1919,  
trial #2597, reel 323

Antonio Morello      *People v Antonio Morello*, 19 January 1893,  
trial #33, reel 9

SM                        Sunday Magazine, a supplement of most weekend newspapers of the  
day.



## A NOTE ON CITATION

In order to keep the length of these notes within reasonable bounds, I have reduced discussion to a minimum. Where lists of several associated newspaper articles appear, I have cited the year only once, at the end of the list, and I have referred to books consulted only in the short form. Sets of discursive notes to *First Family*, running to some 40,000 words, have been deposited with the British Library, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress. These notes can also be downloaded, free of charge, from [www.mikedash.com](http://www.mikedash.com).

# 1. THE BARREL MYSTERY

MADONIA MURDER Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.108, reel 109, 17 April 1903 (physical description); passenger list for SS *Neustria*, 9 January 1901, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/168, RG85, NARA (immigration date); *Journal* 14 April pp.1, 2 + 15 April, p.3 + 16 April p.3 + 24 April p.3; *World* 15 April, p.1 + *New York Times* 15 April, p.2 (last meal, murder, weapons, locations, autopsy); *Journal* 18 April, p.3 (position of body in barrel); *Herald* 17 April pp.3-4 + *Journal* 21 April pp.1-2 (reconstruction of murder); *Herald* 22 April 1903 p.4 (soft hands); Flynn p.6 (reconstruction of murder), 25 (restaurant interior); Carey, *Memoirs of a Murder Man* pp.116-17 (Morello's restaurant); Riis, *How The Other Half Lives*, pp.41-57 (life in Little Italy).

ESCORT Dailies Flynn, vol.9 fols.143-4, reel 109, 21 April 1903.

TOMASSO PETTO Petto's real name was Luciano Perino, and he came from Carini in western Sicily; *Sun* 8 May 1903 p.5 + *Wilkes-Barre Record* 23 October 1905 p.5; see also dailies Flynn, vol.9 fol.144, reel 109, 21 April 1903.

FANARO *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 23 February 1908 p.1.

MORELLO'S DESCRIPTION & DEFORMITY 'Description and Information of Criminals', vol.37 of 40 fol.366, RG87, NARA + autopsy report, 16 August 1930, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, file DA4801 fol.3, NYMA + Bonanno, *A Man of Honor*, p.100 (physical description); Comito confession II, 55 + *Herald* 17 April 1903 p.4 (intimidating presence); *Herald Tribune* 16 August 1930 p.1 (nickname).

CRUDELY-MADE BARREL *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.4.

COVERED WAGON *World* 16 April p.1 + *Journal* 23 April p.2 + *New York Times* 2 May p.16 + 9 May 1903 p.6.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA AROUND MALLET & HANDLE'S YARD Flynn pp.1-6.

FRANCES CONNORS AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE BARREL *Journal*, 14 April p.2 (Connors interview); *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 14 April p.1 (ooze of blood); *Mail and Express* 14 April p.1 + *Herald* 15 April p.5 + *New York Times*, same date, p.2 + *Commercial Advertiser* 1 May 1903 p.2 (circumstances of discovery).

WOUNDS *Journal* 14 April p.1 + 21 April p.2; *Tribune* 15 April p.1; *Herald* 17 April pp.3-4, *Sun* 17 April 1903 p.2.

POLICE PROCEDURE Lardner & Reppetto, *NYPD: A City and Its Police* pp.81-6, 221.

INITIAL INVESTIGATIONS New York papers for 14 and 15 May as previously cited; Carey, op.cit. pp.113-15; George LeBrun, *It's Time to Tell* pp.132-3..

A BRIEF NOTE WRITTEN IN ITALIAN *World* 15 Apr p.14 + *Sun* 15 Apr p.2 + *Journal* 21 April 1903 p.3.

COMPETING THEORIES *Commercial Advertiser* 15 April 1903 p.1; LeBrun, op.cit. p.135.

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION Jackson, *The Encyclopedia of New York City* pp.584-5.

IRISH DOMINATION OF THE POLICE Levine, *Police, Parties and Policy: the Bureaucratization, Unionisation and Professionalization of the New York City Police 1870-1917* p.43.

CHESTY GEORGE *New York Times* 7 November 1908 p.1 + Lardner & Reppetto op.cit. p.87 (career, nickname); *Chicago Tribune* 24 August 1913, section I pp.3, 12 (police deficiencies).

PETROSINO *Herald* 14 March 1909 p.1 + *Sun*, same date, p.2 + *Washington Post* 28 June 1914 MS6 + Train, *Courts, Criminals and the Camorra* pp.103-04, 106 + Lardner & Reppetto, op.cit. pp.128-9 (description and career).

W&T G.233 AND THE CAFÉ PASTICERREA *World* 15 April p.14 + 17 April p.3; *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.4; Carey, op.cit. pp.114–15.

AT THE CITY MORGUE *Commercial Advertiser* 18 April 1903 p.1; Flynn, p.8; LeBrun, op.cit. pp.132–3.

MADONIA'S CORPSE PHOTOGRAPHED *Journal* 14 April 1903, p.4.

'REPORTERS COULD NOT REMEMBER...' *New York Times* 15 April 1903 p.2; *Journal*, same date p.3.

US SECRET SERVICE Melanson, *The Secret Service: The Hidden History of an Enigmatic Agency* pp.3–28.

WILLIAM FLYNN *Washington Post* 19 April 1914 SM I (recollections of barrel case); *New York Times* 8 December 1912 p.13 (profile); *Flynn's Weekly* 4 October pp.388–400 + 11 October 1924 pp.618–36 (life and career); Manhattan marriage certificate #13668, 11 September 1895, NYMA (family); dailies Flynn, vol.3 fol.555, reel 106, 11 May 1901 (heads New York office).

COUNTERFEITING IN THE JEWISH AND ITALIAN COMMUNITIES Annual report of the Chief of the Secret Service Division, 18 Oct 1912, letter #50485, Secret Service letters sent 1899-1918, Box 48 (19 May-28 Oct 1911), RG 87, NARA.

FLYNN AND MADONIA Dailies Flynn, vol.9 fols.80–3, reel 109, 13 April 1903; *Washington Post* 19 April 1914 SM1; Flynn p.8.

'EVER SINCE THE SPRING OF 1899' Dailies Hazen, vol.5 fols.773–4, reel 173, 19 March 1899.

YONKERS ARRESTS Federal transcripts Giallombardo, trial transcript fols.2–13, 27.

VITO LADUCA *Pittsburgh Gazette* 17 April 1903 p.1 (arrested); *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.3 (disappearance); dailies Flynn, vol.9 fol.175, 25 April 1903 (date of arrival).

FLYNN'S RECORD *Flynn's Weekly* 4 October 1924 pp.392, 401-2.

"LA CAVA IS A GOOD MAN" Dailies Flynn vol.8 fol.880, reel 108, 30 March 1903.

MORELLO RECORD XXX ('most dangerous').

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GANG Dailies Flynn vol.9 fols. 1-92, reel 109, 1-14 April 1903.

FLYNN SEES MADONIA Ibid fols.93-6, 99, reel 109, 15 April 1903; *New York Times* 15 April 1903 p.1 (weather); *Washington Post* 19 April 1914 p.SM1 (scene at Laduca's).

THE EVENING PAPERS *Evening World + Mail and Express + Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, all 14 April 1903 p.1; *Evening Journal*, same date pp.1, 4.

VISITS TO THE MORGUE Dailies Flynn vol.9 fols.93-6, reel 109 15 April 1903 (orders agents to morgue); *Washington Post* 19 April 1914 SM1 (sees photograph, cigar, suit colour, experiment).

AT THE CAFÉ PASTICERREA *Washington Post*, 2 August 1914, MS6 (Petrosino's notes); *Sun* 16 April p.1 + *Mail & Express*, same date, p.1 (café described); *Herald* 17 April 1903 p.X (Inzerillo's age); Carey, op.cit. p.117 (barrels sold).

GATHERING IN FLYNN'S OFFICE Dailies Flynn vol.9 fols.99-104, reel 109 16 April 1903 (meeting, attendees); *Chicago Tribune* 24 August 1913 p.I3 (police tactics).

ARRESTS Dailies Flynn vol.9 fols.100-03, reel 109, 16 April 1903 (events); Federal Transcripts Morello fol.200 (Agneta Henry); . *Herald* 16 April, pp.1, 4 + *Tribune*, same date, p.1 (police operation); *Herald* 17 April p.4 (under guard); *Sun* 16 April p.2 (Petto punched, McClusky jubilant, Flynn bored).

SEARCHES AND INTERROGATION Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.106, reel 109, 17 April 1903; *Sun* 16 April p.2 (correspondence, interrogation); *Tribune*, same date, p.1 (collar); *Washington Post* 19 April 1914 SM1 (at the morgue; "redoubled their efforts"); Carey, op.cit. p.117 (sawdust sample).

ANONYMOUS TIP OFF Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.142-3, reel 109, 21 April 1903.

'NO ONE IN LITTLE ITALY' *Commercial Advertiser* 18 April 1903 p.1.

GIUSEPPE DI PRIEMO XXX, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/199, RG85, NARA (immigration date); Inmate admission register for Federal prisoners, Sing Sing correctional facility, 1896-1908, vol.1 fol.172, 17 March 1903, B0148-80, NYSA (description, sentence).

SING SING Gilfoyle, *A Pickpocket's Tale* pp. 42-58, 74; Mike Dash, *Satan's Circus* pp.284-9.

DI PRIEMO AND PETROSINO *Commercial Advertiser* 20 April 1903 p.1 (arrival time); *World* 21 April p.4 (McClusky sends Petrosino); *Sun* 21 April p.1 + *New York Times*, same date, p.1 + *Journal* 20 April p.X + 21 April p.Y + *Herald* 21 April 1903 pp.1-2, Flynn pp.13-14 (details of interview).

PHOTO OF MADONIA *World* 16 April 1903 p.1.

PETROSINO IN BUFFALO Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.142-3, reel 109, 21 April (red ink); *Journal* 20 April pp.1-2 + 21 April 1903 pp.2-3 (at Madonia's house); Carey op.cit. p.116 (interview with Mrs Madonia).

THOUSAND DOLLARS *Journal* 21 April 1903, p.2.

"A GREAT SOCIETY" *Herald* 21 April 1903 p.2.

## 2. MEN OF RESPECT

HISTORY OF SICILY Fentress, *Rebels and Mafiosi* p.18–19 (kings' visits, pile of grain); Servadio, *Mafioso* pp. 3, 9–17 (absentee landlords, conditions); Nelli, *The Business of Crime* pp.5–6. (landlords, population, natural disasters); Hess, *Mafia and Mafiosi* pp.27–9 (alien police).

EAST AND WEST Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* p.27; Nelli, op.cit. p.9.

THE MALA VITA Fentress, op.cit. p.p.153, 174; Hess, op.cit. p.25 (murder rates for 1893 by Italian province); Dickie, op.cit. pp.50–3 (monopoly on violence).

EMERGENCE OF THE MAFIA Servadio, *Mafioso* pp.9,17 (prerequisites); Cutrera, *La Mafia e i Mafiosi* p.57 (before 1850?); Fentress, op.cit. pp.2, 22–5, 41–3, 136, 149, 169, 213 (oath swearing and secret societies, networks of power, priests, rebels); Schneider, 'On Mafiology' pp.145–9 and Cantazaro *Men of Respect* p.3 (central leadership?); Ianni, *A Family Business* pp.34–6 (facts in dispute); Hess, op.cit. p.29 (banditry, castration).

30 FAMILIES Prefect of Sicily's report to the Minister of the Interior, 1874, in Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia* p.82.

HIGH AND LOW MAFIA Servadio, op.cit. p.18; Cantazaro *Men of Respect* p.24; Fentress, op.cit. pp.163, 174; Dickie, op.cit. p.122.

SICILIAN SLANG Ianni, op.cit. pp.34–5; Cantazaro, op.cit. p.5.

'SO CALLED MAFFIA' Dickie, op.cit. pp.2 (*cosche*), 60–1 (Prefect's report), 122 (*cagnolazzi*); Fentress op.cit. pp.1, 147 ('Maffia'), 148 (organisation), 175–6 (territories).

INITIATION CEREMONIES Fentress op.cit. pp.215–17 (police report); Dickie op.cit. pp.36–7 (Masons, teeth).

COLLABORATION Fentress, op.cit. pp.187; Dickie, op.cit. pp.34, 70–1; Servadio, op.cit. p.18; Cantazaro, op.cit. pp.12–13; Nelli, *The Business of Crime* p.12.

‘MEN OF RESPECT’ Servadio, op.cit. p.xiii; Ianni, op.cit. pp.31 (men of respect); Cantazaro, op.cit. p.26; Bonnano, *A Man of Honor* p.19 (men of honour).

SANGIORGI REPORT Min dell’Interno, dir gen PS, aa.gg.e.rr atti speciali (1898–1940) b.1, f.1, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome; Dickie, op.cit. pp.100–27

TOWNS AND MAFIA OF THE COAST AND THE INTERIOR Fentress, op.cit. pp.16–18, 175 (agrotowns); Cantazaro, op.cit. p.4 (rustling and robbery); Sabetti, op.cit. p.xix (Mafia of the coast and highlands); Dickie op.cit. pp.26–33 (citrus groves), 128–52 (Nortabartolo and Fontana).

STOPPAGLIERI Fentress, op.cit. pp.193–211; Ianni, op.cit. p.30; Scheider, op.cit. p.14.

FAVERA Fentress, op.cit. pp.214–15; Dickie, op.cit. pp.79–86.

CORLEONE Donna Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street* pp.xvii, 11–30 (housing); Ianni, *Family Business* pp.35–7; Dickie op.cit. pp, 155–6, 167 (poverty, diet, armed clergy).

CORLEONE MAFIA ASP 1885, b.85 c.50 f.133 and Hess, op.cit. pp.52–5, 61, 116–19 (Valenza); letter to the Sub–Prefect of Termini, 26 May 1884, ASP 1885, b.85 c.20 f.107 (Patti); verdict in the Bernardino Verro murder case (1917), copy in the Archivio di Gramsci, Palermo (Cutrera); Flynn pp.248–50 (Streva).

FRATELLANZA, STOPPAGLIERI Fentress, op,cit. p.214.

MORELLO FAMILY TREE Details of births, marriages and deaths are all drawn from the records of the Ufficio Anagrafe, Commune of Corleone.

CORLEONESI WOULD BE HIS MOST TRUSTED ALLIES *Washington Post* 14 April 1914 SM1.

TERRANOVA AS LABOURER Passenger list for SS *Alsatia*, 8 March 1893, 'Passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1820–1897', M237/603, RG85, NARA.

BERNARDINO VERRO AND THE MAFIA Dickie, op.cit. pp.156–64 + Anselmo, *La Terra Promessa* pp.215–16 (background); verdict in the Bernardino Verro murder case (1917), copy in the Archivio di Gramsci, Palermo (member of the Mafia).

MORELLO LITERATE, INTELLIGENT *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.1 + *New York Times*, same date, p.1 + *Washington Post*, 5 February 1922 p.64.

CATTLE RUSTLING IN CORLEONE Cantazaro, op.cit. p,21; Hess, op.cit. pp. 55, 98.

VELLA AND THE FIELD GUARDS Report dated 15 January in ASP 1884, b.77, c.20, f.20 (Mayor of Borgetto); Cutrera, *La Mafia e i Mafiosi* p.95 ('Frequently a Field Guard...'); Hess, op.cit. pp.22–5 (mixed reputation); *Washington Post* 5 Feb 1922 p.64 (Vella and field guards); Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village* p.65 + Hess, op.cit. p.60 + Cantazaro, op.cit. p.20 (reputation).

MURDER IN CORLEONE James Ortelero to Superintendent, Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, 7 February and 15 February 1911, inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, Records of the Bureau of Prisons, RG 129, NARA-SE ("brave fearless man," "nearing a solution"); Flynn pp.244–260 (rival candidate, scene at Ortoleva's, Vella murder).

FRANCISCO ORTOLEVA Dino Paternostro, personal communication, 25 October 2007, author's files.

VELLA'S WOUND AND DEATH Mattox et al, *Trauma* p.XX (effects of gunshot wound to lung)

DI PUMA MURDER AND MORELLO'S ARREST *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 M5; Flynn pp.244–8, 256.

MICHELE ZANGARA Flynn p.245; Zangara death certificate, 10 January 1904, Ufficio Anagrafe, Corleone.

ORTOLEVA'S TRIAL Flynn pp.255-9.

MORELLO AND COUNTERFEITING New York Police Department criminal record, nd (1910), inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers (conviction); Fentress, *Rebels and Mafiosi* pp.170-1, 177-8 (Siina, Giammona, Palermo ring); Dickie, *op.cit.* p.164 (Verro's café).

### 3. LITTLE ITALY

TERRANOVA FAMILY ARRIVES Passenger list for SS *Alsatia*, 8 March 1893, 'Passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1820–1897', M237/603, RG85, NARA (family members, baggage, occupation, literacy); *New York Times* 7 March 1893 p.8 (weather); Ferber, *A New American* pp.1–2 (sea voyage; arrival at Ellis Island in March), Bonnano, *A Man of Honor* p.19 (Sicilian perceptions of New York upon arrival); Ianni, *A Family Business* p.66 (immigrant wealth).

ELLIS ISLAND Pitkin, *Keepers of the Gate* pp.XX–YY; Edwin Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham* pp.1111–12 (size, description); Amfitheatrof, *Children of Columbus* p.160 (tests); Burns and Sanders, *New York: An Illustrated History* p.271 (12,000).

MORELLO'S EMIGRATION Federal transcripts Morello fol.456; prisoner's record, 23 February 1910, inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (immigration date).

'ENTERED THE COUNTRY WITH \$6' *Herald* 26 April 1903, fifth section, p.5; Amfitheatrof, op.cit. p.160.

NEW YORK Jackson, op.cit. pp.582, 1157; Dash, *Satan's Circus* pp.24–9.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS Iorizzo, *Italian Immigrants and the Padrone System* pp.57 (\$30m), 58 (problems in Italy); Bevilacqua et al, *Storia Dell'emmigrazione Italiano* pp.55–88 (numbers, conditions); Amfitheatrof, op.cit. p.137–8 ('At the head of everything'; a third of the population); Nelli, 'The Italian padrone system' p157, 160–2 (conditions outside NY); Jackson, op.cit. pp.584–5 (immigrant numbers).

HOSTILITY XXX (knives and guns); YYY (known murderers); *Herald* 26 April 1903 fifth section p.5 ('scum of Southern Europe', SS *Belgravia*).

SENT BACK TO ITALY La Gumina, *Wop!* pp.89–90 (three-year deportation limit).

MULBERRY BEND Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* pp.30, 46–58; Page, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900–1940* pp.74–84.

LITTLE ITALY AND THE PADRONE SYSTEM Iorezzo, op.cit. pp.59–60 (wages in Italy and NY); Nelli, 'Italian padrone system' pp.156–67 (workings of padrone system); Burrows & Wallace, op.cit. pp.1122–5 (tenements); Norton, 'Chicago housing conditions' p.519, 528–9 (damp walls); Ianni, *A Family Business* p.68 ('More than anything I remember...'); Riis, op.cit. pp.41–6 (rag picking); Maas, *Valachi Papers* pp.40–1 (coal under beds; cement-bag sheets); Amfiteatrof op.cit. p.161 (rag picking); Orsi, *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street* p.28 (women's work).

SWEATSHOPS Burns & Sanders, op.cit pp.276–7; Sante, *Low Life* pp.307–08.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN ITALY AND NEW YORK Iorizzo, *Padrone System* pp.57, 59–60 (wages, savings, Italian banks).

THE CRASH OF 1893 Rezneck, 'Unemployment, unrest and relief,' pp. XX; Steeples and Whitman, *Democracy in Desperation* pp.XX.

THE MORELLO–TERRANOVA FAMILY IN LOUISIANA Federal transcripts Morello fol.456 (locations); *Washington Post* 12 July 1914 MS 6 (Morello in Louisiana); Scarpaci, *Italian Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes: Recruitment, Labor Conditions and Community Relations, 1880–1910* pp.ii, 16–20, 32, 35, 97, 99–100, 107, 124–6, 139–31, 146 (conditions); Iorezzo, op.cit. p.59 (\$3). The approximate date of the family's arrival in Louisiana can be fixed by the marriage records of Plaquemines Parish, which show that Lucia Terranova married Antonio Saltaformaggio there on 3 February 1894; private information from the Saltaformaggio family.

THE MORELLO–TERRANOVA FAMILY IN TEXAS Federal transcripts Morello fols.456–7 (location); Valentine Belfiglio, *The Italian Experience in Texas* pp.81–8 (conditions in Brazos County, Corleone colony).

RETURN TO NEW YORK Federal transcripts Morello fols.456–7 (timing, malaria, business ventures). Passenger list for SS *Alsatia*, 8 March 1893, 'Passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1820–1897', M237/603, RG85, NARA + death certificate of Calogero Morello, 17 April 1912, Manhattan #12458, NYMA (two Calogeros).

EXPANSION OF LITTLE ITALY Jackson, op.cit. pp.584–5, 605 (numbers); Iorezzo op.cit. p.57 (remittances).

CRIME IN LITTLE ITALY *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 30 May 1899 p.4 (kidnapping craze); Pitkin, *The Black Hand* pp. 31 (Giovanni Branchi), 67 (extemporised gangs), 87 (Petrosino's estimate); Jackson, op.cit. pp.604–05 (total immigrants); *New York Times* 3 March 1907 SM10 (1:300); Nelli, *The Business of Crime* pp. 85, 90 (1:250, 1:5).

EXTORTION RINGS Gambetta, *Sicilian Mafia* pp.28–33 (Sicily); Pitkin, op.cit. p.46 (New Orleans); Landesco, *Organized Crime in Chicago* p.108 (Chicago).

THE BLACK HAND Lombardo, 'The Black Hand' p.395 (representatives, negotiations); *New York Times* 7 February 1907 p.1 (JP murdered), 9 March p.1 and 26 March 1910 p.4 (Caruso), 3 March 1907 p.X (300 killings); Sacco, 'Black Hand outrage' pp.59–63 (methodology); Landesco, op.cit. p. 108 (Black Hand letters); Pitkin op.cit. p.89 (no national gang); *San Francisco Call* 18 October 1905 p.4 (12 cities).

## 4. 'THE MOST SECRET AND TERRIBLE ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD'

REFUGE IN TUNIS Pitkin, *The Black Hand* p.134; Flynn pp.83-4.

NOT SENT Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* pp.19-28; Ianni, *Family Business* pp.XX-YY; Fentress, *Rebels and Mafiosi* pp.196-8.

MAFIA SPREADS *St Lawrence Herald* 1 May 1903 p.X (Boston); Morello, *Before Bruno* pp.4 (Luzerne County 1880s), 6, 8, 13 (Sciaccatani, DiGiovannis, counterfeiting); Fox, *Blood and Power* p.64 (Men of Montedoro); Cutrera, *La Mafia e i Mafiosi* pp.25-30 (Sciaccatani); *Sun* 20 September 1903 p.X (Hazelton, PA); *New York Times* 17 August 1921 p.1 (Detroit); *Philadelphia Inquirer* 3 December 1903 p.1 (early report of a Mafia in Philadelphia); *New York Times* 5 May 1891 p.1, *Chicago Tribune* 22 February p.X +23 February 1901 p.X, Nelli, op.cit. pp.125, 134-6 (Chicago); Gentile, *Vita di Capomafia* p.33 (Pittsburgh); XXX (San Francisco).

ROCCO RACCO XXX; Louis Warren, *The Hunter's Game* pp.21-45.

THE NEW ORLEANS WATERFRONT AND THE MATRANGA-PROVENZANO WAR Smith, *The Crescent City Lynchings* pp.39-41 (rates of pay, ambush), 47 (Red Light club), 49 (murders of Sicilians), 53-65 (Provenzano trial; 'soak the levee'); Hunt and Macheca, *Deep Water* pp.XX (vendetta murders); Gambino, *Vendetta* p.153 (ambush arrests); Nelli, *The Business of Crime* pp.24-46 (Provenzano-Matranga feud and Mafia claims).

ITALIAN AUTHORITIES AND THE NEW ORLEANS MAFIA 'Relazioni di Rosario La Mantia', Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia dir gen.le aa pp, misc 1879.b.55, f.620, Archivo Centrale dello Stato, Rome; Fentress, op.cit. pp.193-211.

MAFIA ALLEGATIONS *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 16 May 1891 (mutual accusations); Smith, op.cit. pp.57–8 (threatening letters) 59 ('Stopiglieri'), 102 (Provenzano), 104–05 ("They're people that work for the Matrangas..."), 247 ("a great deal...", Vandervoort).

HENNESSY MURDER Gambino, *Vendetta* pp.1–5 (murder); Smith, op.cit. pp.xxii–xxv (day leading to the murder, the shooting), 34–35 (character and history); Baiamonte, "Who killa de Chief' revisited' p.122 ('Dagoes did it').

AFTERMATH OF THE HENNESSY MURDER Smith, op.cit. pp.80–115; Gambino, op.cit. p.XX ("We find them..."), YY ("Scour the whole neighbourhood"); XXX (Dimaiio).

THE LYNCHING Smith, op.cit. pp.213–232 (events); Gambino op.cit. pp.78–95 ("snapping fire," "hang the dagoes," execution squad).

A NEW ORLEANS MAFIA *New York Times* 20 October 1890 p.1 (Matranga as Mafia boss, "They've got the Mafia Society everywhere..."); Smith, op.cit. pp.39, 103–04 (Caruso and the domino); 47–8 (Vandervoort), 237–8 (repeats Provenzano's allegations); 247–8 (no evidence at trial); Hunt and Machecca, op.cit. pp.XX, YY (Matranga as leader).

MACHECCA Hunt & Sheldon, op.cit. pp.7, 10, 85–87.

FURTHER LYNCHINGS OF ITALIANS Scarpaci, *Italian Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes* pp.246-9.

MATRANGA IN THE AFTERMATH Nelli op.cit. p.64; Smith, op.cit. p.289.

MORE RUMOURS OF THE MAFIA IN NEW ORLEANS *Winona Republican Herald* 18 October 1890 p.1 (murder officials); Scarpaci op.cit. p.247 (spate of murders).

MAFIA SCARES ELSEWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES *Morning Oregonian* 2 August 1890 (Boston); *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 7 December 1892 (Denver); *Milwaukee Sentinel* 18 July 1897

(Milwaukee); *Ogden Standard Examiner* 7 December 1898 (San Francisco); *Chicago Tribune* 29 October 1888 p.3 (Drummond, Rosso) + 6 October 1892 p.6 (Wheeler, Lewis and Duranto).

A MAFIA IN NEW YORK *New York Times* 22 September p.5 + 30 September 1857 p.1 + 28 March 1891 p.2 (Anderson); 16 May 1893 p.9; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 4 October 1889 p.6 (barber).

SECRET SERVICE INTELLIGENCE *Sun*, 19 April 1903 p.X.

RAYMOND AND CARMELO FARACH *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 18 February 1877 p.4 (Raymond Farach and a murderous counterfeiter), 7 April p.4 (suicide, appearance, Flacomio under police surveillance, barber's statement) + 8 April p.2 (several wounds), p.4 (partners) + 11 April 1884 p.4 (no positive identification) + 25 July p.16 (stabbed in back, left handed, visit to Raymond Farach, "If he does...") + 21 October 1886 p.6 (Carmelo involved in counterfeiting); *Richmond County Standard* 12 April 1884 p.4 (circumstances of body's discovery); private information from the Farach family (date of immigration).

FLACCOMIO MURDER *New York Times*, 22 October p.8 (bread knife, premeditated, Byrnes statement, informant, vow, Quarteraro surrenders) + 23 October 1888 p.8 (witnesses talk), 27 March 1889 p.3 ('Mafia murder,' trial, Carlo escapes, evidence); 29 March p.2 (lack of proof), 30 March p.8 (since 1881), 3 April p.8 (blame prosecution witnesses); Pitkin, *The Black Hand* pp.26-7 (failed to convict); Lardner & Reppetto, *NYPD* pp.79-89 (Byrnes background).

QUARTERARO AFTERMATH *New York Tribune* 15 March 1891 p.1; Pitkin op.cit. p.27, ("Kill each other").

## 5. THE CLUTCH HAND

RESIDENCES Federal census 1900 (Terranova); dailies Hazen vol.5 fols.773-4, roll 173, 19 March 1899 (Morello).

MORELLO'S SMALL BUSINESSES Federal transcripts Morello fol.457.

EXTENSIVE CORRESPONDENCE Dailies Hazen vol.9 fols.127-8, roll 174, 17 June + fols.136-7, 18 June 1900 + fol.198, 27 June 1900.

FIRST FAINT WHIFF OF TROUBLE Dailies Hazen vol.5 fols.773-4, roll 173, 19 March 1899 (Mastropole); fol.789, 20 March (Brown's search).

JOHN WILKIE *New York Times* 29 January 1911 SM3; Melanson, *Secret Service* pp.26-7.

MORELLO'S COUNTERFEITING OPERATION Dailies Hazen vol.9 fol.5, roll 174, 1 June (where notes passed) + fols.74-83, 9 June (Gleason) + fol.92, 11 June (East 106<sup>th</sup> Street) + vol.8 fols.879-82, 24 May; vol.9 fols. 1-8, 1 June; fols.13-14, 2 June; fols.38-9, 7 June; fols.71-84; 9 June, fols.122-5; 15 June, fols.139-40; 20 June 1900 (members of gang).

MOLLIE CALLAHAN Dailies Hazen vol.9 fol.74, roll 174, 10 June 1900 (sees plates, murdered); *Tribune*, 12 June 1900 p.14 (disappeared December 1899, police report).

MECHANICS OF THE COUNTERFEITING OPERATION Dailies Hazen vol.8, roll 174 fols.872-6, 23 May (Kelly arrested buying drawers) + vol.9, roll 174 fol.3, 2 June (in threes or fours, North Beach, Brown talks); *Tribune* 12 June 1900 p.14 (total printed, side shows).

SECRET SERVICE INVESTIGATION Dailies Hazen vol.9, roll 174 fols.2-7, 2 June (arrests, transferred, Tyrrell) + fols.13-14, 3 June (trail Thompson, drunks) + fols.50-1, 8 June (Kelly interviewed), fols.76-80, 10 June 1900 (arrests, Morello booked).

TRIAL AND CONVICTIONS 'Description and information of criminals,' fols. 348-9, 371, vol.37 of 40, RG87, NARA (sentences, Morello goes free).

CORLEONESI *Washington Post*, 19 May 1914 SM1 (approval required); Flynn pp.15-16 (from home town), 211 ("All of Corleone"); Critchley, *Origins of Organized Crime* p.X & Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* p.205 (Carini, Villabate, Lercara Friddi).

30 STRONG *Sun* 16 April 1903 p.2.

CIRO WORKS AS A WAITER Federal transcripts Morello fols.459-60.

VITO LADUCA *Pittsburgh Gazette* 17 April 1903 p.1 (arrested Pittsburgh 17 January); *New York Sun* 13 August p.1 + 14 August p.5 + 15 August p.1 + 17 August p.3 + 18 August 1904 p.10 (alias, kidnapping); *Canton Commercial Advertiser* 16 August 1904 p.2 (naval career, Italian prison sentence, ransom); *New York Times* 19 August p.1 + 20 August 1904 p.1 (age, ransom of only \$500 paid); *Sun* 29 March 1905 p.3 ("dread bulwark"); *Evening World* 22 February 1908 p.X (wealthy in Italy).

IMMIGRATION DATES OF MEMBERS OF THE MORELLO GANG Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.176, roll 109, 25 April 1903.

TESTIMONIALS FBI Gentile file XXX; Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* p.219; *New York Times*, 8 May 1903 p.7 (example letter).

VITO CASCIO FERRO Passenger list for SS *La Champagne*, 9 September 1901, 'Passenger & crew lists of vessels arriving in New York 1897-1957', T715/225, RG85, NARA; dailies Flynn vol.6 fols.615, roll 108, 7 May (Morello associated with Fraute) + fols. 763-8, 22 May 1902 (Cascio Ferro arrested with Fraute gang); 'Description and information of criminals,' vol.39 of 40 fol.370, RG 87, NARA (arrest details, description); Petacco, *Joe Petrosino* p.94 ("plate of macaroni"), 95 (proffers advice).

IGNAZIO LUPO Queens death certificate #524, 13 January 1947, NYMA (correct spelling of name).

LUPO PERSONALITY, BACKGROUND AND YOUTH Comito confession II, 68 (voice); Federal transcripts Morello fols.462-4 (youth, Palermo murder, emigration, New York businesses); Flynn p.28 ('business man of the two'); Prisoner's criminal record (Palermo murder) + admission summary, 5 August 1936 (education, lachrymose), both inmate file 2883 Ignazio Lupo, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE; dailies Flynn vol.35 fol.723, roll 591, 4 June 1912 (relative in Palermo Mafia); *New York Times* 17 February p.4 + *American* 20 February 1910 p.3 (lachrymose); *Washington Post* 17 May 1914 p.47 (voice) + 5 February 1922 p.64 (intelligent, looks, touch like poison); Selvaggio, *The Rise of the American Mafia in New York* pp.51-3 (buggy, Trestelle, office, working habits); 'The Mafia and the Secret Service — the Elizabeth Street Syndicate' in Frank Wilson collection, box 10, folder 370, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming ('Field agents...').

GROCERY BUSINESS *New York Times* 5 December 1908 p.1 (pretentious), 31 December 1911 p.X (branches); Flynn p.24 (branches).

D'AGOSTINO GANG *Washington Post*, 12 July 1914 MS6.

FLYNN ON LUPO AND MORELLO Flynn dailies vol.9 fol.135, roll 109, 20 April 1903 (first noticed); *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.4 (inner councils); *Washington Post*, 22 February 1922 SM1 ("Lupo was the business man...").

LUPO MARRIAGE Manhattan marriage certificate #251, 22 December 1903, NYMA (details of marriage); 1910 and 1930 Federal censuses (family); Salvatrice Lupo to Myrl Alexander, director, Social Service Unit, nd (July 1936), inmate file 2883 Ignazio Lupo, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (husband's qualities).

MORELLO HOME LIFE Dailies Hazen vol.5 fol.789, roll 173, 20 March (neighbours do not know him), vol.9 fol.92, roll 174, 11 June 1900 (East Harlem); dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.6, roll 109, 2 April 1903 (Chrystie St; sleeps in); *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.1 (squalid, live as man and wife); *New York Journal* 22 April 1903 p.2 (elusive, move about); Flynn pp.177–9 (illegitimate child, 'shortly before the barrel murder').

TAKES A SECOND WIFE Passenger list for SS *Sardegna*, 23 September 1903, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/396, RG85, NARA (literate, dowry, youngest, brother and sister, age); thirteenth census of the United States (1910) for 218 East 90<sup>th</sup> Street, Borough of Manhattan (no English, children); *Washington Post* 12 July 1914 MS6 (death of first wife); *Herald* 16 April 1903 pp.3–4 (does not live with son); Flynn p.177 ("notion to get married", death of daughter); private information from Morello family (chosen from photographs); Lina–Morello correspondence 1910–20, inmate file 2882, Giuseppe Morello, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (passionate, sharp temper, self-worth).

SALEMI FAMILY Manhattan marriage certificate #249, 27 December 1903, NYMA (Vincenzo marries Lucia); *New York Times* 20 June 1923 p.4 (Vincenzo Salemi and organised crime).

GROWTH OF LUPO'S GROCERY BUSINESS *New York Times* 3 March SM10 + 25 May 1907 p.18 (Costa); 17 March p.1 (Manzella) + 29 November 1909 p.2 (extortion schemes; extorts \$4000); *New York Herald* 12 October 1905 p.1 (Costa).

HORSE POISONING AND BOMBS Bowen & Neil, *The United States Secret Service* pp.37–8; (poisoning); *New York Times* 17 March 1909 p.1 (bombing, extortion).

DYNAMITE BOMB FACTORY Dailies Flynn vol.34 fols.183–4, roll 591, 23 January 1912.

IMPORTED COUNTERFEITS Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.349, roll 109, 24 May 1903 (quantity of notes); *Annual Report of the Chief of the Secret Service Division* 1903 p.8 + *New York Times*, 3 April 1910 SM6 + 'The Mafia and the Secret Service — the Elizabeth Street Syndicate,' Frank Wilson collection, + Walter Page (ed), *The World's Work* 1913 p.35 + *Washington Post*, 26 April 1914 M5 + Flynn p.18 (smuggled from Italy).

NEW COUNTERFEITS IDENTIFIED *New York Sun* 16 April 1903 pp.1–2 (Flynn aware since spring 02); dailies Flynn XXX (agents collect samples); Federal transcripts Giallombardo, trial transcript fol.11 (spelling mistakes).

LADUCA GOES FREE *Pittsburgh Gazette* 17 April p.1 + *Evening Journal* 23 April 1903 p.2.

CATANIA MURDER *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 24 July p.1 ("bled a gallon", hogtied, family, no enemies, quarrel, multiple killers) + 25 July p.2 (address) + 26 July p.18 and 30 July 1902 p.18 (vendetta); 5 October 1902 p.5 (police say Mafia killing); *Brooklyn Standard Union* 28 July 1902 p.X (last seen in Manhattan); *Herald* 24 July 1902 p.1 (Dead Man's Cove); dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.93, roll 109, 15 April + fol.135, 20 April 1903 (drunkard, killed by Morello gang, last seen with Lupu); Federal transcripts Morello, 469 (Lupo admits to knowing Catania).

DI PRIEMO ARREST Federal transcripts Giallombardo, trial transcript fols.2–13, 27 (circumstances, origins, arrival in US); evidence of John Rossi (separately typed and filed with the Bill of Exceptions) fols. 1–4 (events in Rossi's shop); inmate admission register for Federal prisoners, Sing Sing correctional facility, 1896–1908, vol.1 fols.171–3, 17 March 1903, B0148–80, NYSA (DiPriemo, Crocevera, Giallombardo personal details); Passenger list for SS *Marco Minghetti*, 25 May 1901, 'Passenger lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1902', T519/XX, RG85, NARA (Di Priemo arrival, hometown); *Washington Post*, 26

April 1914 M5 (circumstances, boodle carrier); *Flynn's Weekly* 4 October 1924 pp.401-02  
(butchers' grease).

FLYNN'S TRICK *Washington Post*, 26 April 1914 M5 ("I kept Di Priemo..."); dailies Flynn vol.9  
fols.149, 152, roll 109, 22 April 1903 (common knowledge).

MADONIA-MORELLO CORRESPONDENCE *Journal* 20 April pp.1-2 + 21 April p.3 + 22 April p.1 +  
23 April 1903 p.1; *Sun* 21 April p.X + 23 April 1903 p.X; *Herald* 23 April 1903 p.6; *Chicago*  
*Tribune* 23 April 1903 p.5.

## 6. VENGEANCE

AT THE POLICE COURT *Sun* 17 April 20 April p.1 (court cleared) + 21 April 1903 p.1 (word arrives); Dash, *Satan's Circus* p.11 (description of court).

MORELLO GANG ON THE STAND Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.107, roll 109, 17 April (Lupo arrest); *Sun* 20 April p.1 (Le Barbier in court); *Sun* 23 April p.1 + *New York Times* same date p.16 (Laduca knife); *Commercial Advertiser* 1 May 1903 p.2 (Genova); dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.176, roll 109, 25 April 1903 (minor members).

DEFENCE FUND *Journal* 21 April 1903 p.2 (\$10,000); *St Lawrence Herald* (Potsdam, NY), 1 May 1903 p.1 (Boston).

PROCEEDINGS *Sun* 20 April p.1 ("I ask..."; "I am sure..."); dailies Flynn vol.9, roll 109, fol.160, 23 April 1903 (Morello on the stand); *Herald* 21 April 1903 p.4 (same); *Washington Times* same date p.1 (Lupo; third degree).

MADONIA IDENTIFIED *Sun* 21 April p.1 (Garvan's paper); *Journal* 22 April 1903 p.1 ("In the Mafia...").

SALVATORE MADONIA STATEMENT *Journal* 22 April 1903 p.2 (more evidence, Petrosino and Madonia, "I believe...").

SALVATORE MADONIA FLEES *Journal* 23 April 1903 p.2 (Illich, "If I stay here", train).

FLYNN HELPS THE POLICE Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.182, reel 109, 26 April 1903 (discovers ticket); *New York Times* 26 April 1903 p.2 (bail; Carey redeems ticket; bail revoked; McClusky's call; arraigned); Carey, *Memoirs of a Murder Man* p.116-17 (pawnbrokers), 119 (Morello as king); *Herald* 2 May 1903 p.5 (Inzerillo and Fanaro cracking).

INQUEST *New York Times* 2 May p.16 (difficulties, jurors' names, Zacconi, "gruesome objects"); *Herald* 28 April p.5 ("made no secret") + 2 May p.5 ("Evident misgivings") + 8 May 1903 p.5 ("remarkable exhibition"); Carey, op.cit. p.120 (intimidation of Inzerillo, the Madonias, Di Priemo); LeBrun, *It's Time to Tell* p.138 ("I had difficulty..."). MORELLO PRECAUTIONS Dailies Flynn vol.10 fol.373, roll 109, 27 October 1903 (mail) and fol.395, 30 October 1903 (movements).

FLYNN'S CRITICISM OF THE POLICE *Chicago Tribune* 24 August 1913 I 3 ("Too many policemen").

'THE DETECTIVES USED TO COME AROUND' Federal transcripts Morello fols.457-8.

RISE IN BLACK HAND CRIME XXX.

VACHRIS Pitkin, *The Black Hand* p.44.

ITALIAN SQUAD *New York Times* 30 December 1906 SM21 (Petrosino described; long hours; office, rogues' gallery; "almost entirely separate") + 14 March 1909 p.2 (numbers increased, files in head); *Sun* 14 March 1909 p.2 (8 men); McAdoo, *Guarding A Great City* p.154 (created by McAdoo); Pitkin, *The Black Hand* pp.56-7 (members), 66 (Italian, 81-3 (Alfano, kidnapping, fingerprinting); Lardner & Reppetto, op.cit. pp.129 (more teeth than a dentist), 131 (dates of formation and expansion).

'BLOODY MURDER IN THE BRONX' *Sun* 14 March 1909 p.2.

ENRICO ALFANO *New York Times* 12 March p.16 + 1 April 1911 p.5 + 16 July 1922 E6 (case details); Pitkin, op.cit. p.82 (demi-god).

PETROSINO'S QUALITIES *Sun* 14 March 1909 p.2 ('short fat man', disguises).

NOTES BURNED Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.349, roll 109, 24 May 1903.

LOOSE ENDS Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.204, roll 109, 30 April 1903 (Canadian case); vol.10 fol.123, roll 109, 19 September 1903 (watch begins again) + fol.259, 10 October 1903 (agents' trial); *Annual Report of the Chief of the Secret Service Division* 1903 p.8 (mail fraud); Flynn pp.226–38 (Canadian case); *Washington Post* 5 February 1922 p.64 (“enveloped in mystery...”).

THE SECRET SERVICE *Washington Evening Star* 24 August 1889 p.9 (Washington HQ, Rogues' Gallery, number of agents); dailies Hazen vol.9 fol.72, roll 174, 10 June 1900 (lack of manpower); dailies Flynn vol.6 fol.702, roll 108, 16 May 1902 (number of operatives in NY); vol.9 fol.161, 23 April + fol.430, 4 June 1903 (Brancatto); *Chicago Tribune* 24 August 1913 I 3 ('A detective force of a hundred'); *New York Times* 6 February 1911 SM14 (wide variety of Secret Service agents); *Time Magazine* 1 April 1929 (Richey); *New York Times* 11 March 1939 p.21 (Rubano); Flynn p.24 (keeps watch); Melanson, *Secret Service* p.3 (waiting list); Johnson, *Illegal Tender* p.33 (Brancatto); Dash, *Satan's Circus* pp.49–52, 55–6, 62–66, 114, 376 (police corruption).

FLYNN'S ACTIONS Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.11, reel 109, 3 April 1903 (intercept post); *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 M5 (followed to New Orleans); Flynn pp.38–9 (hires room).

## 7. FAMILY BUSINESS

MARCHIANI MURDER Passenger list for *SS Neckar*, 15 March 1905, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/544, RG85, NARA (arrival in New York); *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 20 February p.1 (discovery, scene of crime, mutilations) + 21 February p.1 ('desanguination', informer, Pigtown) + 23 February p.1 (Fanaro arrested) + 27 February 1908 pp.1, 3 (police theories); *Brooklyn Standard Union* 21 February 1908 p.1 (mutilations); *New York American* 21 February p.4 (mutilations) + 23 February 1908 p.2 (in US three years, father's letter, Fontana, Petrosino); *New York Herald* 21 February 1908 p.5 (Sicilian vengeance); *Evening World* 22 February 1908 p.2 (Fontana connection); *Sun* 23 February 1908 p.2 (Fanaro); Kings death certificate #3956, 20 February 1908, NYMA (spelling of name; age).

PAUL KELLY Thompson & Raymond, *Gang Rule in New York* p.361 (Morello protection); Territt, *Only Saps Work* pp.30-3 + Dempsey, *Gangster City* pp.3-11 (career); Sante, *Low Life* pp.217, 223 (numbers, career).

WEISBARD *Journal* 16 January pp.1, 5 + 17 January 1901 p.1 (circumstances, \$300); 15 April 1903 pp.1, 3 (links to Mafia); *Herald* 17 January p.1 + 18 January 1901 p.X (circumstances); *Sun* 19 April 1903 p.X (links to Mafia).

TROJA *Evening World* 19 April 1902 p.X (circumstances); *Herald* 16 April 1903 p.X (Mafia link).

DIAMOND SAM SICA *American* 13 January 1908 p.6 (circumstances); *Herald* 9 May 1922 p.X (Terranova a suspect); Manhattan death certificate #12266, 12 January 1908, NYMA (name, place of death).

CIRO AND NICK PLOT TO KILL A WOMAN Dailies New York vol.36 fols.120-1, reel 591, 18 July 1912.

"SOMETIMES THE SYSTEM..." Trial transcripts Vollero fol.X; Dempsey, *Gangster City* pp.35-6.

BOTCHED KILLINGS Terranova files; Thompson & Raymond, op.cit. pp.5-6.

"THERE IS A WOOD..." *Herald* 7 January 1917 SM2.

LULU VICARI Dailies New York vol.36 fols.66-7, roll 591, 11 July 1912.

OTHER KILLERS *New York Times*, 15 December 1906 p.18 (Sperlozzos' place in underworld); *Harper's Weekly* 8 May 1909 pp.7-8 (chalk mark); *Herald* 10 November 1909 p.1 (hold-up man).

BARNET BAFF CASE *New York Times* 25 November p.X, 26 November p.X, 27 November 1914 p.X (killing, cartel), 11 February 1916 p.X (gunmen, \$100); *New York American* 8 October 1915 p.5 (Greco); Critchley, *The Birth of Organized Crime* pp.XX-YY (significance of Baff case).

RULES AND REGULATIONS Flynn pp.199-202.

NICOLA GENTILE Gentile, *Vita di Capomafia* pp.7-71 (career, "boss of the bosses"); FBI Gentile file fols.XX-YY; Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* pp.213-223 ("the classic raw material").

MAFIA OUTSIDE NEW YORK Gentile, *Vita di Capomafia* pp.1-75 (boss of bosses, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles); FBI Gentile file XX (XXX); *Winona Republican Herald* 22 February 1901 p.1 (New Yorker at Chicago murder); *Winona Republican Herald* 2 December p.1 + 4 December 1903 p.1 ("admitted in court"); Celeste Morello, *Before Bruno* I, 4-46 (Philadelphia); XXX (Baltimore), XXX (Wilkes-Barre); *Sun*, 19 April 1903 p.15 (Boston, Chicago); *Winona Republican Herald* 22 February 1901 p.2

(Chicago); *Ogden Standard Examiner* 7 December 1898 p.8 (Di Franchi and San Francisco).  
Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* pp. 19, 63 + Critchley, 'Buster, Maranzano and the  
Castellammarese War' p.X (Buffalo); *Los Angeles Times* 10 February 1916 section II p.1 and  
20 December 1917, section II p.1 + 27 February 1919 section II p.1 + Warner, 'The first  
Mafia boss of Los Angeles?' *On the Spot Journal* Fall 2008 (Los Angeles, Mike Marino).

MORELLO'S INFLUENCE IN NEW ORLEANS *New York Times* 8 May 1903 p.7 (F. Genova). *Herald*, 8  
May 1903 p.5 (Genova letter).

MURDER IN NEW ORLEANS *New York Times* 3 April 1910 SM6 (four day visit; "the offending  
Italian"); *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 M5 (knotted handkerchief, death sign).

ORDERED OTHER MURDERS *New York Herald* 22 February 1908 p.1; *Evening World* same date  
p.2 (suggestive cases).

COMMISSION FBI Gentile file XX; Dickie, op.cit. p.219 ("It was made up..."); for Morello's, see  
Flynn pp.207-14; Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* pp.126, 141, 159-61 (commission in 1930s);  
Raab, *Five Families* pp.117-24 (every five years).

VALACHI Maas, *The Valachi Papers* pp.39-40.

DIPPING THE BEAK Petacco, *Joe Petrosino* p.XX (introduced to New York); Celeste Morello,  
*Before Bruno I*, 39 ("With the Mafia").

SAW THEMSELVES AS BENEFACTORS Cf. Bonanno, op.cit. p.X.

"GOOD MORNING..." *Washington Post* 5 February 1922 p.64.

SALVATORE ROMANO Flynn pp.174-98.

MORELLO'S DISCHARGE FROM PRISON Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.584, roll 109, 27 June 1903.

HORSE THEFT Dailies New York vol.34 fol.729, reel 591, 13 March 1912; Comito confession II, 86-7; McAdoo, *Guarding a Great City* pp.144-5.

KIDNAPPING NYPD criminal record for Giuseppe Morello, inmate file 2882, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (arrests); *New York American* 7 March p.1 + 8 March 1906 p.5 (Bozzuffi); *Washington Post* 26 July 1914 M6 (Morellos' involvement); File 01097-02C, line 910476, Division of Old Records, New York County Clerk's Office (Bozzuffi knows Morello).

BAND OF INCENDIARIES Comito confession II, 59-61 (poor, methods); Atlanta Federal Penitentiary inmate file 28XX (physical description); *Washington Post* 3 May 1914 M8 (Lupo relative, from Corleone).

"ENTIRELY RISK-FREE PROFITS" Ibid II, 60 (police corrupted, political corruption, "Morello knows"); *New York Times* 9 March 1900 p.1 (\$3m a year).

RACKETS Terrett, op.cit. pp.78-87 (poultry racket), 93 (wet wash); Nelli, op.cit. p.244 (labour racketeering).

TERRANOVA BROTHERS Manhattan marriage certificate #18591, 23 July 1913, NYMA + dailies New York vol.35 fol.913, roll 591, 22 June 1912 (Vincenzo); dailies Taylor vol.4 fol.92, roll 277, 9 January 1911 (Ciro); dailies New York vol.34 fol.729, roll 591, 13 March 1912 (Nick); Dash, *Satan's Circus* p.24n (New York ice trade).

MORELLO INVESTMENTS *Journal*, 22 April 1903 p.2 (barber shop, cobbler's); Flynn pp.28-9 (multiple stores, \$200,000).

LUPO'S IDEA *Washington Post* XXX.

IGNATZ FLORIO ASSOCIATION File 01097-02C, line no. 910476, Division of Old Records (incorporation, directors, shareholdings, extraordinary meeting); *New York Times*, XXX (lots

and mortgages) + 22 April p.13 + 24 June p.9 + 10 July p.9 + 24 September p.11 + 7 October 1908 p.12 (sued by creditors); *Times* 7 May p.11 (Supreme Court) + 25 June 1909 p.16 (\$8,032); *Washington Times* 2 December 1910 p.6 (need for more funds becomes urgent); *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 M5 (shares \$3, \$5; Mississippi to the Gulf; embezzlement, legal actions); John A Philbrick & Brother v. Ignatz Florio Co-Operative Association Among Corleonesi, 137 Appellate Division 613 (1910), 122 NYS 341, fols. 1-99 (disputes with suppliers); Flynn pp.183-4 (\$5 down, Romano holding, dividends); XXX, Giuseppe Morello, inmate file 2882, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers (staggered on); Salvatore Cina statement in Dailies New York vol.38 fols.472-3, roll 592, 11 February 1913 (menaced by shareholders); Dickie, op.cit. pp.111-17 (Ignatz Florio of Palermo).

DEPRESSION OF 1907 Bruner & Carr, *The Panic of 1907* pp.XX-YY (extent); Iorezzo, *Italian Migration and the Impact of the Padrone System* p.123 (effects in Little Italy).

LUPO'S BANKRUPTCY *New York Times* XXX, 17 November 1909 p.X (Petrosino beating, stock value, losses); *Herald* 13 November 1909 p.7 (\$38,000 loss); *Washington Post* 12 July 1914 MS6; XXX (exaggerated versions of beating).

RETURN TO COUNTERFEITING *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 M5.

## 8. GREEN GOODS

ANTONIO COMITO IN NEW YORK AND HIGHLAND Comito confession I, 1–37; confession II, 1–46 (most details); Federal transcripts Morello fols. 20–32 (home, in Italy and Brazil, Katrina, Philadelphia, Cecala, Cina, Sylvester, journey to Highland, Giglio, stone house, pornography), 89 (age), 119 (languages), 132–4, 138–41 (Katrina's name, journey, \$5, age); *Washington Post* 3 May M8 (Cecala background) + 10 May 1914 M8 (Comito physical description).

MANUFACTURE OF THE PLATES Dailies Flynn vol.33 fols.517–18, reel 590, 24 November 1911 (Antonio Milone; engraving the plates; Florio Society); Comito confession II, 38–40, 43 (zinc plates, description of notes; advantages of \$5 bills); Lynn Glaser, *Counterfeiting in America* pp.192–4 (photoengraving techniques).

HIGHLAND IN DECEMBER Comito confession II, 37–42 (snow, boredom, illness, plates and paper, threats, branches of society).

ZU VINCENZO'S STORY Ibid II, 48–52 (story); Flynn p.114 (former banker).

THE COUNTERFEITING OPERATION IN ACTION Ibid II, 39–43 (\$5 plates, silkless, orders, print targets), 45 (other families), 53 (completion date, macaroni box, \$2 colours), 65–6 (printing time, sentries); Federal transcripts Morello fols.42 (days per plate), 45, 53 (total printed, box).

COMITO'S ENCOUNTER WITH MORELLO Comito confession II, 54–9.

GIUSEPPE CALICCHIO Federal transcripts Morello fols.317–19 (background); Comito confession II, 65–6 (poorly dressed); prisoner records for Giuseppe Calicchio, inmate file 2881, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (appearance).

LUPO APPEARS Comito confession II, 68-71 (date and time, guns and ammunition, Petrosino, hiding out).

## 9. "SEE THE FINE PARSLEY"

RISING TIDE OF BLACK HAND CRIME *New York Times, Sun* XXX; Pitkin, *The Black Hand* pp.74

(accounts book), 80, 92 (White Hand).

"SEE THE FINE PARSLEY" Petacco, *Joe Petrosino* p.40.

DEPORTATION Pitkin, op.cit. pp.61-2 (Stanton St, Petrosino quote, detective bureau in Italy), 83-4 (new immigration law, list of criminals); *San Francisco Call* 18 October 1905 p.X + *New York Times*, same date p.X + Train, *Courts, Criminals and the Camorra* pp.226-7 (5,000 former convicts, new treaty on deportation).

GENERAL BINGHAM Pitkin op.cit. pp.63-5 (career, one leg); Lardner & Reppetto, *NYPD* pp.141-2 (riff raff, Italian Squad); *North American Review* September 1908 (ethnic crime); Petacco op.cit. pp.68-9 (Petrosino's report).

POLICE SECRET SERVICE *Herald* 20 February 1909 p.6.

PRIVATELY FUNDED *Winona Republican Herald* 13 March 1909 p.1.

MARRIAGE Manhattan marriage certificate XXX; Petacco, op.cit. pp.70-1 (courting, "You too"), 110 (daughter).

DEPARTURE Petacco, op.cit. pp.118, 123 (liner, mood, Vachris); Pitkin, op.cit. pp.109-10 (mission background).

SIMONE VELLETRI Petacco, op.cit. pp.119-22 (alias, digestive, deportee, recognised. Delli Bovi).

IN ITALY *Herald* 14 March 1909 p.4 (meets journalists, followed); Petacco, op.cit. pp.123-32 (Rome, Padula, letter to brother)

HERALD ARTICLE *Herald* 20 February 1909 p.6.

PALERMO Petacco, op.cit. pp.133–45 (certificates, bank account, typewriter)

ITALIAN POLICE VIEW OF PETROSINO Ibid pp.130, 139.

VISIT KNOWN Comito confession II, 69 (Mafia knowledge); *Washington Herald*, 14 March 1909 p.6 (Alfano, Baltimore Black Hand); Fiaschetti, *The Man They Couldn't Escape* pp.276–8 (Camorra); Petacco, op.cit. pp.158–9 (*Il Mattino*).

DIFFICULTY OF KILLING PETROSINO Comito confession II, 81.

PASSANANTI AND COSTATINO *New York Times* 31 December 1911 SM5 (work for Lupu); anonymous letter to Ceola, 16 March 1909, in Petacco, op.cit. p.168 (bosses pay fare, visit Cascio Ferro); report of Baldassare Ceola in ibid pp.170–4 (passage, creditors, activities, aliases, Milone and Fontana).

CASCIO FERRO ESCAPES NEW YORK Dailies Flynn vol.9 fol.117, roll 109, 18 April and fol.132, 19 April 1903.

MURDER OF PETROSINO *Sun* 14 March 1909 p.1 (blood, two men); Petacco, op.cit. pp.146–50; Dickie, op.cit. pp.199–200, 209–11 (shots, wounds, carriage, gas lights).

SUSPECTS *New York Times* 15 March p.1, 16 March 1909 p.1 (XXX); *Chicago Tribune* 21 March 1909 p.1 (140 arrests); Petacco op.cit. pp.150–63 (Schillaci, Militano, Cascio Ferro, anonymous letters); Dickie, op.cit. p.X (Cascio Ferro's alibi).

COSTATINO'S TELEGRAMS *American* 17 November 1909 p.9; *New York Times* 31 December 1911 SM5 ("whiskers"); Petacco, op.cit. p.125 ("I Lo Baido").

CASCIO FERRO ARRESTED Petacco, op.cit. pp.175–9.

"LIEUTENANT PETROSINO'S ARRIVAL..." Cited by Petacco, op.cit. pp.165-6.

COLLAPSE OF CEOLA'S CASE *Sun* 17 November 1909 p.3 (release); Petacco, op.cit. pp.178-9 (Ferrantelli, retirement).

RUMOURS *Richmond Times Dispatch* 11 January 1910 p.X (Pennsylvania); XXX (Mexico).

OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION *American* 14 March 1909 p.1 (Bishop's telegram).

"THE FEELING AMONG MOST NEW YORKERS..." *Tribune* 14 March 1909 p.1.

WIFE ALERTED *Herald* 14 March 1909 p.4 (wife); *Winona Republican Herald* 13 March 1909 p.1 (tears).

FUNERAL *New York Times* 13 April 1909 p.1; *Sun*, same date, p.1; *Tribune*, same date, p.1.

## 10. SHEEP AND WOLVES

NEWS OF PETROSINO'S DEATH REACHES HIGHLAND Comito confession II, 80-1.

WORK ALL MARCH Ibid II, 75, 79, 82 (\$2 notes, retouching \$5m); Flynn pp.121, 126, 134-5 (rate of work, more paper).

PROBLEMS WITH \$5 BILLS Comito confession II, 73.

THREATS OF VIOLENCE Ibid, II, 72 (rifle), 73. 80, 84-5 (burn notes, "damn brains," grabbed by the throat).

NEW \$5 NOTES Ibid, II, 97.

FURTHER ORDERS, PROFITS Ibid, II, 71 (towns), 73 (25 cents on the dollar), 74 (barely profitable), 87 (orders), 102 (promised \$500, \$13,500 order); dailies Flynn vol.28 fol.824, 7 January 1910, roll 116 (others charge 10 cents on the dollar); Flynn pp.34-5 (35 cents on the dollar), 135-6, 142 (proofs, orders).

WORK SUSPENDED FOR THE SUMMER Comito confession II, 102-4.

READS OF ARRESTS Ibid, II, 105.

FLYNN IMPROVES EFFICIENCY Dailies Flynn vol.27 fol.1002, reel 116, 1 November 1909 + vol.28 fols.600-01, reel 116, 19 December 1909 (new informants); Federal transcripts Morello fol.274 (Rubano service); *New York Times* 11 March 1939 p.21 (Rubano career); *Washington Post* 7 July 1912 SM1 (five informants, "here, there and everywhere"); Bowen & Neil, *The United States Secret Service* p.39 (Rubano infiltrates Morello organisation).

WATCHING MORELLO Federal transcripts Morello fol.308 (first man suspected); *New York Times* 3 April 1910 SM6 (life surveillance, "The oftener Morello was arrested...") + 6 February 1911 SM14 ("ideas are big...").

FIRST SIGN OF COUNTERFEITS Dailies Flynn vol.29, fol.168, roll 116, 20 February 1910 (first seen May); Comito, confession II, 58 ("Do I not take"); Federal transcripts Morello fol.302 (bankers and shopkeepers); Flynn p.31 (cities notes circulated in).

TRACKING THE COUNTERFEITERS Dailies Flynn vol.27, fol.396, roll 116, 11 September 1909 (description of Boscarini); vol.29, fol.168, roll 116, 20 February 1910 (Locino and Boscarini; no testimony); Federal transcripts Morello fols.222-3 (233 E. 97<sup>th</sup> St); *Washington Post* 26 April SM5 (fear premature arrests) + 3 May 1914 M8 (Boscarini, marked bills, meet behind boxes) + 22 February 1922 p.64 (Ignatz Florio); Flynn pp.32-42 (Pittston; Flynn's pursuit; hired room).

CECALA'S METHODS *Washington Post* 3 May 1914 M8 (pyramid, six deputies); Flynn pp.33, 35-6 (Corleonesi, obtain sanction).

LUPU RETURNS *Sun* 12 September 1909 p.X (mind disturbed, Black Hand threat); *Washington Post* 10 May 1914 M8 (trailed to Ardonia); Flynn pp.39-40 ("Like malignant spirits"); dailies Flynn vol.27 fols.394-7, roll 116, 11 September 1909 + fol.1002, 1 November 1909 (a second lead).

ROUNDING UP THE GANG Dailies Flynn vol.28 fols.161-72, roll 116, 16 November 1909 (apartment raid, names, addresses; Italian Squad; Black Hand letters found; Cecala's marked bills); *New York Times* 16 November 1909 p.1 (Black Hand notes; \$3,600 in counterfeits); *Sun*, same date p.1 (buckshot); Federal transcripts Morello fols. 285, 301 (Lupo arrest); *Washington Post* 5 February 1922 p.64 (nine guns, Lina, diapers); Flynn pp.206-07 (Gallagher); Bowen & Neil, op.cit. pp.44-5 (Callaghan's encounter with Morello).

LUPU'S ARREST Dailies Flynn vol.28 fols.811-12, roll 116, 6 January + fols.859-60, 9 January + fols.867-8, 10 January 1910.

DISCHARGES AND BAIL Dailies Flynn vol.28 fols.184-5, roll 116, 17 November 1909; *Sun* 17 November 1909 p.6.

RUMOURS OF COMITO Dailies Flynn vol.28 fols.600-01, 19 December 1909 + fols.795-808, roll 116, 5 January 1910 (Mazzei, arrest date); vol.30 fol.990, reel 117, 5 September 1910 (full name); Federal transcripts Morello fol.122 (nine men); Washington Post 10 May 1914 M8 (expected evidence, no counterfeits, kindness); Comito, confession II (detailed evidence).

DEFENCE FUND *Sun* 27 January 1910 p.1.

CECALA'S ALIBI Federal transcripts Morello fols. 424, 427-8.

MORELLO'S ALIBI Ibid fols. 345-50 ("This is the way it was done..."), 428-30 (Brancatto); Flynn pp. 181 (60 patients), 186-7, 93 (hypochondriac), 187-93 (mother, meeting with Terranova, 'pale as a ghost').

BOSCARINI TRIAL DAILIES FLYNN VOL.31 FOL.892, REEL XX, 7 DECEMBER 1910.

'RABBLE' *New York Times*, 3 April 1910 p.X

DAGGERS AND DEATH SIGNS Ibid; *Sun* 27 January p.X + 28 January 1910 p.X.

548 FELONIES Pitkin, *The Black Hand* p.XX.

OPENING THE TRIAL *Sun* 27 January 1910 p.1 ("thin, nervous youth", Morellos' looks)

DESTRUCTION OF THE PLANT Dailies Taylor vol.4 fol.236, roll 277, 22 January 1911 (plates); dailies New York vol.34 fol.113, roll 591. 16 January 1912 (Mrs Cina) + fol.792, 18 March 1912 (New Paltz River); dailies New York vol.38 fols.347-8, 30 January 1913 (Lupo buries counterfeits).

SHOCK AT SEEING COMITO Sun 27 January 1910 p.X.

COMITO TERRIFIED Sun 29 January 1910 p.X.

COMITO PORTRAYED AS A BANDIT XXX.

LUPU TESTIFIES Federal transcripts Morello fols. XX-YY.

CHARGED WITH PERJURY DAILIES FLYNN VOL.30 FOL.76, REEL XX, 11 JUNE 1910 (BRANCATTO TRIAL);  
Flynn pp.XX-YY (Romano Grand Jury testimony and trial).

PRIVATE BURIAL GROUND XXX.

PRICE ON COMITO'S HEAD *Washington Post* 10 May 1914 M8.

SENTENCING Dailies Flynn vol.29 fol.166, roll 116, 20 February 1910 (45 minutes); Federal transcripts Morello fols. 317 (Calicchio's age), 576-8 (verdicts); cumulation of verdicts recorded in 'Description and information of criminals' vols. 39 and 40 of 40, RG 87, NARA (typical sentences); *New York Times*, 20 February 1910 pp.1, 2 (court cleared, tears, convulsions, outside the court, Flynn's comment); *Sun*, same date, p.1 (most severe sentences, Calicchio aged, slid rather than walked); *American*, same date, p.3 (haunted looks, "words of the judge"); *Chicago Tribune* 24 April 1913 I 3 (sentences reflect earlier crimes).

## 11. MOB

HURRIED SOUTH *New York Times* 21 February 1910 p.18.

ATLANTA FEDERAL PENITENTIARY *New York Times* 3 April 1910 SM6 ("spaghetti or garlic");  
*Washington Post*, 15 May 1910 MT4 (conditions).

RELEASE DATES Prisoner records for Giuseppe Morello, inmate file 2882, and Ignazio Lupo inmate file 2883, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary (see fund, Cockran), 7 June 1914 SM1 (other Mafia families).

ESCAPE Dailies Flynn vol.30 fols.958, roll 117, 1 September 1910 (bribe guards); dailies New York vol.36 fol.68, roll 591, 11 July 1912; dailies New York vol.36 fol.68, 11 July 1912, roll 591, and *Plattsburgh Sentinel* (NY) 10 July 1912 p.2 (guard doubled); dailies New York vol.47 fol.666, roll 595, 14 July 1915 (too much influence).

MORELLO AND LUPO IN JAIL Prisoner's record, inmate file 2883 Ignazio Lupo (disapproving comments); Angela Piazza and Lina Morello to Warden, 14 May 1912 (buried alive); J. Calvin Weaver (prison physician) to Warden, 7 February 1914 (indigestion) and 22 July 1915 (heart trouble, weight gain); Morello to Lina, 1 June 1913 ("You are wrong"); Lina to Morello, 25 May 1915 (complaints), all inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello.

LINA STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE Dailies Flynn vol.30 fol.1009, roll 117, 7 September 1910 (feather business, pawn tickets); dailies New York vol.49 fol.655, roll 596, 1 February 1916 (silver); Lina to Morello, 15 February 1915, inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello (weekly allowance).

LINA UPSET Lina to Morello, 1 July 1915 ("Listen, Giuseppe"), 1 July 1916 ("Somewhat surprised"), and 6 August 1916 ("My always adored"), all inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello.

THREATS ACTUAL AND ILLUSORY *Atlanta Constitution*, 25 February p.13 and *Richmond Times Dispatch*, same date, p.1 (letter to Ray); *World* 3 June 1912 p.1 and *Washington Post* 7 July 1912 SM1 (Secret Service protection, children warned, Flynn assassination plot); *Herald* 2 June 1912 p.3 (100 feet from home); Dailies New York vol.35 fol.980, roll 591, 1 July 1912 (Ciro quote) and vol.36 fols.458-9, roll 591, 20 August 1912 (kidnap plot); dailies New York vol.35 fols 692-6, 1 June 1912; fols.710-11, 3 June, both roll 591; *New York Times* 3 June 1912 p.9; *World* 2 June pp.1, 3. Klinke's side of the story is given in the *American*, 28 May 1912 p.3; 29 May p.6; 30 May pp.5, 12; 31 May p.12; June p.11; 3 June p.10; 4 June p.10; 5 June p.2.

TERRANOVA DEMURS Dailies New York vol.36 fols.458-9, roll 591, 20 August 1912. PLOTS AGAINST COMITO *New York Times* 23 May 1910 p.1 and 24 May p.10, *Brooklyn Standard Union* 23 May p.1, *Washington Times* 23 May p.1 (mutilated body in Brooklyn); Dailies Flynn vol.30 fols.10-11, 3 June 1910, roll 117 (relative menaced); fol.398, 19 July (Mexican border); dailies New York vol. 32 fol.127, 14 June 1911, roll 590, fol.269, 28 June (revolver) and fol.319, 3 July (leaves country); Flynn pp.217-20 (bounty, Rubano).

CONFESSIONS, INFORMANTS AND THE MISSING PLATES Dailies Flynn vol.29 fols.168-9, roll 116, 20 February 1910 (predicts men will talk); *New York Times* 17 January 1911 p.1 and *Atlanta Constitution*, same date, p.2 (Morello confession); dailies Taylor vol.4 fol.236, roll 277, 22 January 1911 (burial site); dailies New York vol.33 fols.517-22, roll 590, 21 November 1911 (Sylvester, Lupo, Morello, Cina, burial site) and fol.665, roll 590, 8 December 1911 (commutation, Cecala), vol.34 fol.113. 12 January 1912 and fol.769, 16 March 1912, roll 591 (Terranova's plans, burial site), vol.43 fol.406, roll 594, 13 May 1914 (Giglio).

DARED NOT DIVULGE LOCATION Dailies New York vol.34 fol.215, roll 591, 25 January 1912 + vol.36 fol.466, roll 591, 11 July 1912.

SYLVESTER AS INFORMER Dailies New York vol.33 fols.517-18, 21 November 1911, roll 590 (engraver, plates and burial site), vol.34 fols.792-3, 18 March 1912, roll 591 (location of plant, Flynn intervenes) and vol.41 fol.787, 6 December 1913, roll 593 (Vincent Terranova); 'Letters sent' and commutation of sentence, 23 October 1913 (correspondence with Flynn, release date), both inmate file 2885 Nicholas Sylvester, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE.

LOCINO SHOT *Washington Post* 3 May 1914 M8.

SEARCH FOR OTHER INFORMANTS Dailies New York vol.33 fol.664-5, 8 December 1911, reel 590 (search for informants); dailies Flynn vol.30 fol.86, 12 June 1910 and fol.148, 18 June, both reel 117 (potential informant refuses to co-operate); Manhattan death certificate #34140, 17 November 1911, NYMA; New York dailies vol.33 fol.472, 18 November 1911, reel 590, *World* 18 November 1911 p.3 and *New York Times*, same date p.7 (Bono murdered); *Washington Post* 5 February 1922 p.64 (ritual incisions, "Morello's enemy").

MAZZEI CONTINUES TO SHINE Dailies New York vol.33 fol.796, reel 590; volume 34 fols.111, 113, reel 591, 16 January 1912 + fol.184, 23 January 1912 + fol.852, 22 March 1912.

SALVATORE CLEMENTE 'Description and information of criminals' vol.30 of 40 fol.172, April 1895, RG87, NARA (description, first conviction); dailies Flynn vol.3 fol.615, reel 106 + fols.763-8, 22 May 1902 (Secret Service knowledge of Clemente gang); vol. 31 fol.13-14, reel 117, 4 October (recruited); fol.57-8, 8 October (given trial); fol.61-2, 10 October 1910 (commences work for Flynn).

CLEMENTE, THE ODDO FARM AND FLYNN'S CHILDREN Dailies New York vol.34 fol.215, roll 591, 25 January 1912; vol.36 fols.458-9, roll 591, 20 August 1912

MORELLO ATTEMPTS TO KEEP CONTROL *Washington Post*, 5 February 1922 p.64 (runs gang from cell); dailies New York vol.34 fols.7–8, roll 591, 3 January 1912 (letters).

LOMONTE BROTHERS Dailies Flynn vol.30 fol.994, reel 117, 5 September 1910 (relationship); Manhattan death certificates #16903, 24 May 1914 and #29667, 13 Oct 1915, NYMA (ages); *World* 14 October 1915 p.22 (feed store); *Washington Post* 5 February 1922 p.64 (runs family from cell, Lomontes succeed Morello).

STRENGTH OF THE MAFIA IN 1909 AND 1910 *New York Times* 3 June 1912 p.X.

EUGENE UBRIACO Manhattan death certificate XXX; Passenger list for SS XXX, YYY, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/ZZ, RG85, NARA.

DI MARCO BROTHERS AND VERRAZANO XXX.

PASQUARELLA SPINELLI Dailies New York vol.33 fol.522, roll 590, 21 November 1911 (informant); fol.653–4, 7 December 1911 (Nick's blacksmith's shop); *Herald* 21 March 1912 p.1 (murder, address) + 7 January SM2 (money) + 30 November 1917 pt1 p.2 (police informant, Murder Stable); *American* 21 March 1912 p.7 (murder) + 8 October 1915 p.5 (police knowledge of horse theft ring); Mondello, *A Sicilian in East Harlem* p.17 (Rex, extortion ring); Selvaggi, *The Rise and Fall of the Mafia in New York* pp.24–38 (Naples, character, illiterate, coal, money-lending); Manhattan death certificate #9128, 20 March 1912, NYMA (age); Manhattan death certificate #5755, 19 February 1914 (Lazzazzara murder, spelling of name); *New York Times* 14 February 1914 p.X + *American*, same date p.X + *Herald*, same date p.X (Lazzazzara murder circumstances).

CALOGERO MORELLO MURDER AND AFTERMATH *Herald* 14 April 1912 p.7 (shooting) + 2 June 1912 p.3 (informant); *American* 14 April 1912 p.1 (shooting); dailies New York vol.35

fols.174-5, roll 591, 17 April (Clemente information) + fol.206, 20 April ('butcher every one of them') + fols.258-9, 25 April (Terranova's first killing) + fol.275, 26 April + fols.327-8, 1 May (Clemente's information, breaking news to Morello) + fols.569-70, 22 May (Madonia relative) + fols.739-40, 6 June 1912 (Terranova's second murder) + fols.843-4, 17 June 1912 (alibi).

BOSS IN ALL BUT NAME Dailies New York vol.35 fols.827-8, reel 591, 14 June 1912; vol.36 fols.458-9, roll 591, 20 August 1912.

□

LOMONTES GIVE UP THEIR SALOON Dailies □ New □ York vol.34 fol.442, reel 591, 14 February 1912 (saloon with Lima), fol.729, 13 March 1912 (give it up).

FORTUNATO □ LOMONTE □ MURDER Manhattan death certificate #16903, 24 May 1914 (injuries); dailies New York vol.43 fol.528, □ reel 594, 26 □ May □ 1914 □ (shot, location); fol.537, 27 May (no clues to killer). □ □ □ □

GIOSUE GALLUCCI Passenger list for SS *Wertundam*, 11 March 1892, M237/583, RG85, NARA, and Manhattan death certificate #33625, 21 May 1915, NYMA (date of arrival, age); Passenger list for SS *Aller*, 8 August 1899, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/77 (Neapolitan); *Herald* 18 May 1915 p.7 (appearance, jewellery, influence, lottery, theft of winnings, legitimate and illegal businesses, shot in leg); *New York Times*, same date, p.22 (money lender); *Herald* 30 November 1917 pt.1 p.2 (lottery in basement, winners robbed); Fiaschetti, *The Man They Couldn't Escape* pp.111-18 (stool pigeons, army of men, workings of Royal lottery scam, spits); Cotillo, *A New American* p.20 (swaggered about, "All people were hirelings"); Humberto Nelli, *The Business of Crime* pp.129-30 (political influence).

10 DEAD BODYGUARDS *Herald* 18 May 1915 p.7.

GENNARO GALLUCCI MURDER *Herald* 15 November 1909 p.1 (murder and background);  
Manhattan death certificate #33625, 16 November 1909, NYMA (time in NY; wounds)

GIOSUE GALLUCCI MURDER *Herald* 18 May 1915 p.7 (bodyguards, circumstance); Fiaschetti,  
op.cit. pp.116–17 (crime scene, deathbed); *Washington Post* 28 November 1917 p.3  
(murdered by Morellos).

TOM LOMONTE MURDER *Herald* 14 October 1915 p.22 (murder, chase, East 115<sup>th</sup> St);  
Seely transcripts Impoluzzo (circumstances, Impoluzzo defence, no motive).

NICK TERRANOVA SUSPECTED OF LOMONTE SHOOTINGS *Brooklyn Standard Union*, 8 September  
1916 p.3.

## 12. ARTICHOKE KINGS

GALLUCCI'S RACKETS FALL INTO MORELLOS' HANDS *Herald* 8 May 1915 p.1 (rackets); trial transcripts Vollero vol.75 fols.113-15 + trial transcripts Morano fols.235-9 + Nelli, *The Business of Crime* p.131 (Morello rackets as of 1916).

ROYAL LOTTERY WORKINGS XXX (robbed); Fiaschetti, *The Man They Couldn't Escape* pp.107-19 (profitable; Gallucci reputation).

BLACK HAND CRIME DIES OUT Sacco, 'Black Hand outrage' p.XX.

MORELLO FAMILY AND NARCOTICS *American*, 29 November 1917 p.3.

NOTHING PREORDAINED Bonanno, *A Man of Honor*, p.84.

FOUR FAMILIES *Dailies New York* vol.34 fol.546-7, reel 591, XX February 1912 (four families; leaders; affiliations); Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* pp.63 ("bland, compliant"), 84 ("not preordained"), 93-4 (Schiro character), 121 (size of Mineo family); Critchley, 'Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War' p.XX (Schiro age); Manhattan death certificate XXX (Mineo age).

SCHIRO FAMILY *Dailies Flynn* vol.34 fols.546-7, roll 591, 25 February 1912 (exists); Critchley, 'Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War' p.61 & n (Schiro emigration date); Bonanno, *op.cit.* pp.63, 93 (character, rich).

MINEO FAMILY *Dailies Flynn* vol.34 fols.546-7, roll 591, 25 February 1912 (exists); Bonanno, *op.cit.* pp.84, 116, 141 (largest in 1930).

D'AQUILA FAMILY *Dailies Flynn* vol.34 fols.546-7, roll 591, 25 February 1912 (exists, can summon meetings, joint approval of members) + XXX; *New York Times* 11 October 1928 p.XX (confidence man); Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* p.223 (Palermo Mafia dominance); Gentile, *Vita*

*di Capomafia* p.70n.

FONTANA AND FANARO Dailies New York vol.41 fols.472-3, roll 593, 10 November 1913 (Fontana killed); fols.483-4, 11 November 1913 (D'Aquila's dominant position); fols.678-9, 27 November 1913 (Fanaro killed).

ATTEMPT TO KILL TERRANOVA *Brooklyn Standard Union*, 8 September 1916 p.X.

JOE DIMARCO MURDER Dailies New York vol.36 fol.81, roll 591, 18 July + fols. 165-6, 23 July 1912 (DiMarco a Terranova ally, marked for death); *Herald* 21 July 1916 p.1 (murdered, poker hand); Manhattan death certificate #21421, 20 July 1916 (place and time, injuries); *American* 4 June 1918 p.13 (Terranovas responsible); Thompson & Raymond, *Gang Rule in New York* pp.4-5 (plot).

SALVATORE DIMARCO MURDER Queens death certificate 4413, 13 October 1913 (place and date, injuries); *Herald*, 14 October 1916 p.5 (body found, auction).

CAMORRA Di Fiore, *La Camorra e le sue storie* pp.1-100 (history, organisation); *New York Times*, 30 June 1926 (nationwide).

ARRIVAL OF CAMORRISTS IN THE UNITED STATES XXX.

CAMORRA BOSSES Trial transcripts Morano fol.XX (Ricci), YY (Morano).

MAFIA-CAMORRA RELATIONS Trial transcripts Vollero fol.XXX (Mafia pressure); *Herald* 15 February 1918.

NAVY STREET GANG Trial transcripts Vollero fols.XX-YY (friend killed, organisation, size).

TALKS BREAK DOWN Trial transcripts Vollero fols.XX-YY.

PREPARATIONS FOR MURDER Ibid fols XX-YY.

NICK TERRANOVA MURDER *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 6 September p.X (weather); *Herald* 8 September p.X + *New York Times*, same date p.X (location, circumstances) + *American* 9 September 1916 (half-drawn revolver); XXX (Mealli).

“THE POLICE CANNOT GET ANY WITNESSES” Trial transcripts Vollero fol.XX.

MORE KILLINGS XXX (Philadelphia); trial transcripts Vollero fol.XX (Neapolitans attempt to hire rooms); trial transcripts Morano fols.XX-YY; trial transcripts Paretto (1926) fols.XX-YY (Nazzaro murder); Seely transcripts Giordano fols. XX-YY (Verrazano murder).

CAMORRA TAKES OVER MORELLO RACKETS Trial transcripts Vollero fols. XX-YY; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 28 November 1917 p.X (coal and ice rackets); Nelli, op.cit. p.132.

RALPH THE BARBER Trial transcripts Vollero fols.XX-YY (career); *New York Tribune*, 28 November 1917 p.X (motives, wife, 10 days' confession); *American*, same date p.X (23 murders, mistress, criminal record, scar); *Newark Star-Eagle* 17 August 1925 (criminal record).

SERIES OF TRIALS See trial transcripts Vollero (1919), Marano (1922) and Paretto (1922); *Brooklyn Daily Standard Union* 18 June 1918 p.8; *New York Times*, 1 July 1926 p.7.

TRIAL OF TONY THE SHOEMAKER Trial transcripts Paretto (1926) fols XX-YY; *New York Times* 30 June 1926 p.7; Downey, *Gangster City* p.36.

## 13. THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

CHANGING NEW YORK Jackson, *Encyclopedia of New York City* pp.605, 921; draft cards for Vincenzo and Ciro Terranova, June 1917, RG 163, NARA-SE.

MASSERIA'S ORIGINS Critchley, 'Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War' p.55.

UMBERTO VALENTI Gentile, *Vita di Capomafia* pp.55-71 (2,000 associates, 'the Ghost').

MORELLO AND LUPO FLEE AMERICA Ibid pp.70-1 (D'Aquila, sentence, a dozen men); Ignazio Lupo, inmate file 2883, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, Records of the Bureau of Prisons, RG 129, NARA-SE (release date); Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* pp.217-20.

DATING MORELLO'S TRIP TO ITALY Gentile, op.cit. pp.70-1; *New York Times* 23 February 1938 p.40; *Washington Post* 22 February 1922 p.64 (Newport News, dates); *New York Times* 13 June 1922 p.1 (return date for Lupo).

"HIDING IN THE VICINITY OF PALERMO" Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* p.100.

PROHIBITION Sinclair, *Prohibition* pp.205-6 (Prohibition Bureau), 212 (quarter of a million), 220 (exports), 231 (NY juries), 244-8 (market size); Jackson op.cit. p.944 (speakeasies).

DUTCH SCHULTZ AND CIRO TERRANOVA Dempsey, *Gangster City* pp.38, 199, 202.

VITO GENOVESE Peter Maas, *The Valachi Papers* pp.128-31; XXX (Paretti)

BONANNO ON PROHIBITION Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* p.65.

VINCENZO SALEMI KILLED Manhattan death certificate XXX; *New York Times* XXX. My thanks to David Critchley for supplying the latter reference.

VINCENZO TERRANOVA MURDER Manhattan death certificate #13893, 8 May 1922, NYMA (wounds); *New York Daily News* 9 May 1922 pp.2, 14; *New York Times*, same date p.1 (circumstances).

TERRANOVA AND MAFIA ALLIANCES Manhattan marriage certificate #18591, 23 July 1913, NYMA (Bernardina Reina); Bonanno, op.cit. pp.84–5 (Tom Reina); Maas, op.cit. p.65 (ice rackets); Downey, op.cit. p.139 (Viserti).

MASSERIA Bonanno, *A Man of Honor* pp.84–6 (appearance, gluttony, “the Chinese”, messy eater), 100 (“his belly...”); Critchley, ‘Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War’ p.55 (immigration date); Maas, op.cit. pp.47–8 (Ciro and Masseria); *New York Times* XXX (and Lima) + 16 April 1931 p.1 (immigration, career).

VALENTI KILLED Dempsey, op.cit. pp.139–42.

REPUTATION OF CIRO TERRANOVA Maas, op.cit. pp.53–4 (brokers truce, sets up burglars); *New York Times* 28 December 1929 p.X + 16 January 1930 p.X (Vitale dinner, murder contract); Terrett, *Only Saps Work* p.33 (Vitale’s criminal connections).

DEATH OF TOTO D’AQUILA *New York Times* 11 October p.X + 12 October 1928 p.X (criminal career, cheese importer, unknown as Mafiosi, witness changes story); Gentile, *Vita di Capomafia* pp.70–1 (authoritarian, from Palermo).

AGES OF MAFIA LEADERS *New York Times* 11 October p.X (D’Aquila); Critchley, ‘Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War’ pp.55, 61n (Mineo, Schiro); Maas, op.cit. p.65 (Reina); Bonanno op.cit. pp.84–5 (“careful not to offend”)

FATHERS AND BOSSES Bonanno, op.cit. pp.63, 76–7, 85.

MASSERIA SEIZES FURTHER POWER Maas op.cit. p.65, Critchley op.cit. pp.44, 75.

OUTBREAK OF WAR Critchley op.cit. pp.61&n (origins); Bonanno, op.cit. p.86 (guff), 88 (thick-skulled).

“BRAINS TRUST” Bonanno, op.cit. p.100.

THE MORELLO TOUCH Bonanno, op.cit. pp.87-8 93-4 (Milazzo murder, Aiello, Capone), 100 (Morello and Milazzo), 102 (tribute, Bonventre murder); Critchley op.cit. p.63 (Milazzo murder).

THE VOLCANO Bonanno, op.cit. p.95 (“In a war between...”), 101 (sandwich), 102 (condemned).

SCHIRO ABDICATES Bonanno, op.cit. p.102 (“If Masseria”); Critchley, op.cit. p.61n (Schiro leaves for Italy).

AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY Bonanno op.cit. p.74

SALVATORE MARANZANO Bonanno, op.cit. pp.71 (appearance, voice), 100 (and Morello); Maas, op.cit. p.74 (Valachi’s views); Critchley, op.cit. pp. 56-61 (background, immigration, and D’Aquila).

MEETING WITH MASSERIA AND MORELLO Bonanno, op.cit. p.98-9.

MARANZANO STRIKES BACK Ibid pp.95, 104.

“WE’RE ONLY A FEW...” Maas, op.cit. p.77.

MARANZANO ORGANISES Ibid p.77, Bonanno op.cit. pp.104-5 (limo, machine gun).

“I WATCHED MARANZANO LOADING...” Bonanno, op.cit. p.117.

BUSTER FROM CHICAGO Maas, op.cit. p.77 (Valachi’s initiation); Critchley op.cit. pp.46-51 (Buster identified); Bonanno, op.cit. p.105 (virtuoso).

“MARANZANO USED TO SAY...” Bonanno, op.cit. p.107.

“PETER MORELLO” Critchley, op.cit. p.63n (alias); Manhattan death certificate #19631, 15 August 1930, NYMA (correct identity).

MURDER OF GIUSEPPE MORELLO *New York Times*, 16 August 1930, p.1; *Daily News*, same date, pp.2, 4; *Herald Tribune*, same date, pp.1,4 (details); autopsy report 16 August 1930, Office of the Chief Medical Examiner, file DA4801, NYMA (wounds); Maas, op.cit. p.67 + Bonanno, op.cit. p.107 (events of murder).

## EPILOGUE

LOST HIS BEST MAN Bonnano, *A Man of Honor* p.107.

DEFECTORS Ibid pp.120-1.

MINEO AS ADVISOR Ibid p.116.

MINEO MURDER Ibid p.120 (“Maranzano had already decided...”); Peter Maas, *The Valachi Papers* pp.68-71 (“To rent this apartment...”; Masseria spotted, Mineo shot).

LUCIANO Bonanno op.cit. pp.121-2.

“LIMITED NUMBER OF MEALS” Ibid p.120.

MASSERIA MURDER *New York Times* 16 April 1931 p.1 (circumstances); Critchley, ‘Buster, Maranzano and the Castellammare War’ pp.64-5 (‘ritual’ aspects dismissed).

MARANZANO’S VICTORY Bonanno op.cit. pp.123-7 (aftermath, national conference, family heads), 131 (“more comfortable...”); Maas, op.cit. pp.84-88 (numbers at meeting; “Whatever happened in the past...”; \$115,000; “control everything”).

MARANZANO’S DEATH Maas, op.cit. pp.89-90.

“PURGE DAY” AND THE MUSTACHE PETES Thompson & Raymond, *Gang Rule in New York*, pp.374-5 (purge day); Nelli, in *The Business of Crime* pp.179-218 (no evidence); Critchley, op.cit., pp.44-78 (events in context); Maas, op.cit. p.96 (“They got Jimmy Marino...”).

STEVE LA SALLE Terranova files (Morello associate); Maas, *The Valachi Papers* p.111 (numbers racket).

FLYNN AND COUNTER-ESPIONAGE *Flynn's Weekly* 8 November 1924 pp.253-67 (cases); Melanson, *The Secret Service* pp.37-8 (manpower); Fox, 'Bureaucratic wrangling over counterintelligence, 1917-18' (agencies).

FLYNN RESIGNS *Washington Post* 24 December 1917 p.4 and 30 December 1917 p.2 (dates, exhausted); McCormick, *Hopeless Cases* pp.44-5 (Hale).

MORAN TAKES OVER *New York Times* 23 December 1917 p.1 (New York); XXX (corrupt).

AT THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION Ackermann, *Young J. Edgar* pp.27-30 (abilities, reaction, FRA police), 30. 256-7 (investigation); McCormick, op.cit. pp.8, 45-6, 108-09, 118-19, 125-7 (Wall Street, Clemente, resignation, Burns).

SHORT OF MONEY Ackerman, *Young J. Edgar* p.28 (Palmer quote).

FILM CAREER Dumaux, *King Baggot* pp.99-102, 243; information from Kevin Brownlow.

DETECTIVE AGENCY Private information from the Flynn family.

FLYNN'S DEATH *New York Times* 15 October 1928 p.23; *Chicago Tribune*, same date, p.32.

FRANCESCO ORTOLEVA Dailies Flynn vol.30 fols.202-03, reel 117, 25 June 1910 (mother); James Ortelero to William Mayer, Warden, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, 7 and 15 February, 23 March 1911, inmate file 2882 Giuseppe Morello, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, RG 129, NARA-SE (works for Flynn; pressurise Morello); Passenger list for SS *San Guglielmo*, 25 January 1914, 'Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1897-1957', T715/2254, RG85, NARA (arrives NY); Flynn 259, 260-1 (weighted; mutual prayers).

FATE OF GANGSTERS Dailies New York vol.39 fol.17, reel 592, 3 April 1913 (Inzerillo); *Washington Post* 26 April 1914 SM5 (Di Primo); Petacco, *Joe Petrosino* pp.190, 192 (Costantino and Passananti).

FATE OF RALPH THE BARBER *Brooklyn Standard-Union* 12 June 1918 p.8 (begs to stay in jail); *Newark Star-Eagle* 17 August 1925 + Alfonso Pepe death certificate, 18 August, Essex County, NJ, #3346 of 1925 (murder); *New York Times* 17 June 1929 p.19 (killed within a month).

PELLEGRINO MORANO AND GIUSEPPE VOCARO *New York Times*, 1 July 1926 p.7.

ALESSANDRO VOLLERO Maas, *The Valachi Papers* pp.55, 60–1, 101.

RISE AND FALL OF VITO CASCIO FERRO Barzini, *The Italians* pp. 263–6 (career and influence); Petacco, *Joe Petrosino* p.195 (incorrect details of death); Hess, *Mafia and Mafiosi* p.51 (charges); Ianni, *A Family Business* pp.32 (inscription), Servadio, *Mafioso* pp.60–3 (Mafia career); Dickie, *Cosa Nostra* pp.176, 185–6 (death); 'Description and information of criminals', vol.39 of 40 fol.370, RG 87, NARA (physical description).

LUPO RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES *Washington Post* 13 June 1922 p.5; *New York Times*, same date, p.1, and 23 February 1938 p.40.

HANDSOME HOME *New York Times* 17 July 1935 p.42 + 16 July 1936 pp.1,3.

1920S–1930S CAREER "Statement of parole violator," nd (?July 1936) (La Rosa Fruit, bakery, working habits); Salvatrice Lupo to Myrl Alexander, director, Social Services Unit, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, nd (July 1936) (bakery trade, jealousy); John Lupo to Alexander, 22 July 1936 (hard working); copy of Lupo's NYPD record, 21 July 1936 (homicide arrest); "Office memorandum," 18 December 1946 (commutation), all in inmate file 2883, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary papers, Records of the Bureau of Prisons, RG 129, NARA-SE; *New York Times* 9 October 1930 p.X (Consiglio), 17 July 1935 p.42 (Rose Vitale), 16 July 1936 pp.1,3 (lottery). 22 January 1937 p.X (bakery racket) and 23 February 1938 p.40 (violence, grapes); *Atlanta Constitution*, 18 July 1936 p.1 (banks \$3m, runs at cost); *Washington Post*

29 August 1931 p.8 (grape racket); Terrett, *Only Saps Work* p.96 (Uale's grape racket); Reppetto, *American Mafia* pp.154-5 (LaGuardia).

RETURNED TO PRISON Harding commutation 29 October 1921; presidential warrant, 10 July 1936; "Record of Court Commitment" 31 July 1936, all in inmate file 2883; *New York Times* 16 July 1936 p.1 (Lehman); *Atlanta Constitution*, 18 July 1936 p.1 (hurried arrest).

FIGHTS CONVICTION Lupo v. Zerbst, 92 F.2d 362, 19 October 1937; Lupo v. Zerbst, 2 April 1937, inmate file 2883.

ROCCO LUPO BANKRUPT *New York Times* 29 September 1937 p.39.

SECOND STINT IN ATLANTA PENITENTIARY "Record of Ignatio Lupo," undated; "Admission summary," undated (medical, time to serve); presidential order, 10 July 1936 (recall); John Lupo to Myrl Alexander, 22 July 1936 (breakdown); Ignazio Lupo to Joseph Sanford, warden, 8 June 1938; "Special progress reports" of 27 June and 31 August 1940; A. Hughes (parole assistant) to Sanford, 14 October 1946 (visits); Sanford to Director of prison service, 15 July 1946; Sanford to Walter Urich, parole executive, Bureau of Prisons, 19 July 1946 (recommendations); "Clinical record," December 1946; "institutional memorandum," 26 December 1946 (funds at release), all in inmate file 2883; Selvaggi, *The Rise and Fall of the Mafia in New York* pp.65, 70 (religion, exercise, letter to daughter).

MONEY LOST Cf. Mondello, *A Sicilian in East Harlem* p.9.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF LUPO'S WIFE AND CHILDREN "Admission summary: Lupo, Ignatio", undated (1936); Salvatrice Lupo to Myrl Alexander, director, Social Services Unit, Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, nd (July 1936); all in inmate file 2883.

RENTED ROOM AND DEATH Queens death certificate #524, 13 January 1947, NYMA.

ANGELA TERRANOVA Queens death certificate #4526, 20 Jun 1941, NYMA.

LINA MORELLO Private information from the Morello family (Down's Syndrome); index to New York City death certificates 1950–1982, New York Public Library (date of death).

LAST YEARS OF CIRO TERRANOVA Maas, op.cit. pp.110–11 (Schultz and the numbers racket); *New York Times* 3 February 1933 p.8 (new artichoke king), 29 July 1935 p.17 (wedding), 10 November 1935 SM6 (canter), 5 June 1936 p.20 (police harassment), 14 May 1937 p.6 (foreclosure and bankruptcy), 20 February 1938 p.26 (stroke and death).

FLYNN AND PETROSINO GRAVES Private information from the Flynn family (Valhalla); Selwyn Raab, *Five Families* pp.492–501 (D'Arco, vegetable rackets); author's visits to Petrosino Park, March 2006 (neglected) and Calvary Cemetery, July 2007 (Petrosino and Morello graves).