


**SMALL-TOWN MAFIA: ORGANIZED
CRIME IN NEW KENSINGTON,
PENNSYLVANIA**

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n a cool November day in 1957 New York State troopers sent several well-dressed men scurrying into the countryside surrounding the Apalachin home of alleged mob boss Joseph “the Barber” Barbara. While many of the men who traveled there claimed to have come to visit their friend Barbara, it was alleged to be more of a meeting of leading national Mafiosi and their representatives. Among those darting into the woods was Gabriel “Kelly” Mannarino from the small western Pennsylvania town of New Kensington. The actions of the New York State police that day called into question the investigative priorities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which, under Director J. Edgar Hoover, had long denied the Mafia’s existence, despite Senate investigations pointing to the contrary.¹ The Apalachin incident forced Hoover to act, and in doing so he created the Top Hoodlum Program, which required all FBI field offices to maintain surveillance on their region’s “top ten hoodlums.”²

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FIGURE 1

The Pittsburgh field office, which covers twenty-five counties in Pennsylvania and all of West Virginia, included Gabriel Mannarino and his older brother Samuel among their top ten.³

New Kensington, Pennsylvania, is a small city located twenty miles northeast of Pittsburgh. For the majority of the twentieth century New Kensington was the key city in the Allegheny-Kiskiminitas Valley region of western Pennsylvania, a region comprised of small industrial and rural communities. New Kensington is known as the “Birthplace of the Aluminum Industry” as it was the site of the Aluminum Company of America’s (ALCOA) first large manufacturing works. New Kensington and surrounding communities owed much to ALCOA’s presence as the company’s payroll drove the area’s economy for over sixty years.⁴ While New Kensington was not a single-industry town, ALCOA dominated, and as a result its culture was strongly woven into the city’s political and social fabric. Workers referred to themselves as Alcoans. To cook with anything but New Kensington-produced aluminum cookware was unheard of. Workers and the community benefited from ALCOA’s welfare capitalism. For example, cost-sharing practices between Alcoa and the city built needed infrastructure. At its height of production from the wartime boom of the 1940s through the 1950s, ALCOA employed

an average of 4,500 workers in a community that at its peak reached 25,000 inhabitants. It had the largest plant, the biggest payroll, and jobs that ranged from foundry worker to research scientist. As a result, community identity was (and in some ways still is) shaped by its industrial heritage.

Outside of commemorative community histories, very little contemporary scholarship focuses on the history of New Kensington proper. The city is often mentioned peripherally in historical studies about industry and labor in the Alle-Kiski Valley specifically, or western Pennsylvania broadly. Scholarship that looks at New Kensington directly tends to emphasize the relationship between capital and labor, such as that on the Aluminum Workers of America; or it examines the culture of aluminum workers from their perspective in oral history projects that emphasize the cordial relationship between worker and company.⁵ The limited scholarship that moves beyond the worker-company relationship includes that which engages activism in the planning and construction of the World War II worker-housing plan, in addition to the cutting edge design of that plan.⁶ Despite these fine studies, overlooked is the existence and importance of organized crime in the city—specifically the activities of the Mannarino organization.

The majority of the most substantial work on organized crime has been produced by sociologists, criminologists, government entities, and law enforcement agencies. By far the most voluminous body of literature has fallen to crime-beat reporters as well as those who seek to sensationalize organized crime. The attention of historians and scholars in related disciplines (for example, American studies) to the subject has steadily grown over the last decade, with a diverse focus including labor racketeering, ward politics, Prohibition, and the gangster image in popular culture.⁷ More attention is often paid to criminal syndicates in larger cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. This is primarily due to more research material such as police records, crime commission reports, state and federal investigative agency files, and court records, to name a few. But we know from the work of the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Crime in Interstate Commerce, also known as the Kefauver Committee, that organized crime in the postwar period affected smaller communities as well.

From 1950 through 1951, the Kefauver Committee traveled to fourteen cities across the United States—including Scranton and Reading—and called over 500 witnesses, many of them alleged crime bosses. Televised, the hearings sought to call America's attention to a menace some deemed just as threatening as communism—a national crime syndicate. Following Kefauver,

a number of events focused public, scholarly, and government attention on organized crime. The most notable of these was the 1957 Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor-Management Field, also known as the McClellan hearings (again, named for the senator who chaired the committee), which is most famous for lead counsel Robert Kennedy's showdown with Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa. The McClellan hearings sought to root out mob influence and corruption in unions. The committee's scope widened through the 1960s and influenced the creation of a number of presidential crime commissions and task forces on organized crime, beginning with the Lyndon Johnson administration.

One work influenced by all of this activity is John Gardiner's late 1960s case study of "Wincanton" (Reading) which explores a criminal syndicate's social, economic, and political control over that town. Gardiner described the public attitude toward corruption characterized by a combination of apathy and fatalism.⁸ Gardiner's case study sought to provide a model for law enforcement to utilize in their fight against organized crime. This work on New Kensington, however, is by no means a model for law enforcement. But it looks at organized crime and applies it to an even smaller community than Reading. Furthermore, it also provides a model for comparison to the structure of larger syndicates in bigger cities, often shown through the relationships within specific neighborhoods such as Philadelphia's South Side, or nearby satellite communities such as Cicero to Chicago. While they did not receive the national notoriety of the big cities, places like New Kensington still caught the attention of federal agencies. The existence of the Top Hoodlum files provides an opportunity to study the structure of a small-town mafia and its influence in controlling the political economy of such communities. There is much to be learned from industrial towns like New Kensington, Braddock, Johnstown, Monessen, and the like, which goes beyond the story of capital, organized labor, and industrial decline. These communities also had a mob presence that had an impact on town politics and social organization. For better or worse, organized crime left its mark.

In New Kensington, brothers Samuel and Gabriel "Kelly" Mannarino controlled all forms of illegal enterprise in the town from the 1930s through the 1960s. Their major interests were gambling, specifically numbers games and illegal casinos.⁹ Much like the city's business district and ALCOA, Mannarino gambling operations reinforced New Kensington's position as a center city for the Alle-Kiski Valley region. Furthermore, the Mannarino organization's association with Pittsburgh's Amato-LaRocca-Genovese crime family positioned New Kensington as an important gambling hub in the tristate region of eastern

Ohio, northeastern West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania.¹⁰ This connection probably brought the Mannarino organization to the attention of federal authorities. For thirty years New Kensington was considered a “wide open” town where illegal gambling was largely tolerated by the community and protected by local government and law enforcement. The size of the community, government officials’ openness to corruption, the Mannarino brothers’ social mobility, and residents’ permissive attitudes all allowed illegal gambling to flourish.

The Mannarino organization’s success was tied to the industrial health of New Kensington and the Alle-Kiski Valley, as well as western Pennsylvania. When the region’s mills were strong, so were the casinos; as industry declined, so too did gambling revenue. Higher payrolls, especially in the postwar period, meant greater disposable income for many. In a sense, the Mannarino organization was like ALCOA’s New Kensington Works. At their prime they employed many people and pumped revenue into the local economy. As the years passed, both the works and the organization became aging structures. In the postwar movement of capital to the Sunbelt, as well as corporate moves toward global expansion to meet the challenges of global competition, the physical facilities of the works were no longer able to keep pace with changing methods of production. Despite upgrade movements, which proved to be more of a show to gain worker concessions, ALCOA seemingly went into a mode of planned obsolescence.

At the same time, the Mannarinos brothers’ age and declining health (and death) prevented them from effectively controlling their gambling industry. While ALCOA responded to national and global economic change and adapted accordingly—which meant eventually leaving town—the Mannarinos responded to changes in federal law enforcement’s approach to eliminating organized crime by curtailing operations. They also responded to the socioeconomic downturn that resulted from deindustrialization. As there was no longer the significant amount of money coming into gaming, the organization moved elsewhere as the town’s economy weakened; those who remained invested in narcotics trafficking.

Origins

FBI file details of the early lives of Samuel and his two younger brothers, Joseph and Gabriel, are sketchy at best. Their parents, Giancanto Ruggerio and Domenica, were Italian immigrants who first settled in Pittsburgh and

then moved to New Kensington sometime before 1914. Giancanto and his wife operated a small grocery store near where they lived in the integrated, predominately immigrant and black residential neighborhood in the downtown flats along the Allegheny River.¹¹

Samuel Mannarino began his career like many others during Prohibition by manufacturing and selling bootleg alcohol.¹² In 1926 Sam and his father were arrested for operating a still in the back of the Mannarino home. Apparently Giancanto's sons helped out not only in the grocery store but also with his bootleg alcohol side business, becoming another family of "alky cooks" supplementing their family income.¹³ It is unclear whether these men were working for a bootlegging gang (Pittsburgh's Amato-LaRocca family) or independently, as both options were typical for the period.

If Sam and his family were working for a bootlegging gang, then his early criminal opportunities placed him on a specific career path. Scholars, particularly those studying the Jewish community, give considerable attention to the gangster finding his stride during Prohibition. Bootlegging enabled the gangster to lay the foundation for the social mobility necessary to expand his career. Many bootleggers, especially in urban areas, provided a service to an affluent and politically astute clientele and these associations consequently opened doors for the illegal entrepreneur.¹⁴ Primed for the transfer of industry at the repeal of Prohibition as a result of both political connections as well as mass wealth accrued through the 1920s, the bootlegger became a gambler, investing in numbers games and casinos.¹⁵

But during Prohibition in New Kensington Greek immigrant (and apparently crime boss) Mike Zervos ran New Kensington's rackets—namely narcotics trafficking and gambling. Because of Zervos's hold on the town, there was no opportunity for Sam to bring his brand of illegal enterprise to the city. Furthermore, he was still too fresh to the criminal profession to have forced a takeover in New Kensington or cultivated the proper connections with a politically astute local clientele.

Instead, Sam moved into and up in the Pittsburgh bootlegging world and branched out into associated criminal activities under the tutelage of Pittsburgh gangsters. In 1927 he served a year and a half in a federal penitentiary for extortion while impersonating a federal Prohibition officer, but the time in federal prison did not damper Sam's drive; through the 1920s and 1930s several arrests marked his professional progress.¹⁶ During this period the Pittsburgh family's line of succession shifted from John Bazzano Sr. to Vincent Capizzi to Frank Amato Sr. of Braddock.¹⁷ Amato took the

Pittsburgh organization beyond Allegheny County's borders. His second in command (or caporegime) was John LaRocca, and Sam was his apprentice, who gained a reputation for his ability to "knock heads together."¹⁸

By the 1930s Sam was a seasoned strong-arm man who was quite knowledgeable of the structure and maintenance of a criminal syndicate. He found his opportunity to advance in 1928 as New Kensington's underworld went into a freefall when Zervos was convicted of murder and sent to prison. Sam stepped in to take control of New Kensington with the financial backing of his mentors. In time Sam shared control over New Kensington with his brother Gabriel.¹⁹ By 1940 the Mannarinos controlled all phases of gambling in New Kensington and Westmoreland County. As one of the most powerful young franchises in western Pennsylvania, the success of their organization relied on their ability to successfully influence local politicians, control law enforcement, and move across various social lines in the community.²⁰

Political Influence

No one denied the Mannarinos' influence on local government through the early 1960s. The brothers admitted to as much in interviews with the FBI, which appear to have been frequent. For its part the *New Kensington Daily Dispatch* was critical of mob rule in city hall and residents thought of political payoffs as "common knowledge."²¹ In its assessment of law enforcement agencies in the state, the Pennsylvania Crime Commission stated: "For too many years in too many jurisdictions, public officials and citizens alike have denied the severity of the problem. Syndicated gambling and corruption were accepted as unpleasant but not overly important realities. Apathy toward the effects of syndicated gambling develops a tradition of poor government."²² This certainly appears to have been the case in New Kensington. For better or worse corruption and misconduct were parts of the social and political fabric of the community since the 1910s. During the later years of the Progressive era, flats residents expressed concern over the neighborhood's "moral well-being" and pressured city officials to investigate conditions and police misconduct, which was done half-heartedly. This period was followed by Mike Zervos's rule. Consequently, it can be said that the town had a tradition of corruption, which may have made it easier for the Mannarinos to cultivate political ties from the start.

To guarantee the success of their enterprise the Mannarinos made sure that everyone who benefited from government and police protection contributed financially.²³ In an interview with the author, one individual, whose relative was at one time the city's Democratic Party chairman, noted that one of his most embarrassing moments was walking in on this relative as one of the Mannarino brothers handed over an envelope full of money.²⁴ Another method was not so direct. Around the time of each primary election major organization players gathered together and Sam instructed them which candidates to support. They contributed to campaigns and political parties by purchasing tickets to fundraisers rather than through direct contribution. For example, in 1958 they were encouraged to buy a set number of tickets for the Westmoreland County Worker's Committee dinner sponsored by the Democratic Party.²⁵ Furthermore, regional influence was carried through by the organization's alleged political paymaster, an Arnold city official, who used his connections throughout Westmoreland County to further protect the Mannarinos' interests.²⁶

In a February 1954 interview with the FBI Sam noted his approval of the current city government, going so far to say that "no one in this city gets any appointment or anything unless we clear them."²⁷ This was just slightly exaggerated as the FBI reported that throughout the 1950s no fewer than two councilmen and the mayor were Mannarino boosters, but this also indicates that the other two councilmen were independent of Mannarino rule.²⁸ Still, in a third-class city structure such as in New Kensington, the mayor acts as a fifth council member and tie-breaker if the council is deadlocked. From 1950 to 1962 Raymond Gardlock was the tiebreaker.

First as councilman and then mayor, Gardlock did what was necessary to keep New Kensington wide open and protect the Mannarinos' interests. But the orders he took from them sometimes protected the interests of others outside of the organization.²⁹ For example, in a 1958 FBI interview a Chamber of Commerce member claimed that at one point Gardlock wanted to raise taxes. The chamber was not pleased and one of its members appealed to Gabriel Mannarino on the chamber's behalf. It was alleged that the next day Gardlock reversed his decision.³⁰ While this says much about the mayor's loyalties, this example also speaks to the brothers' ability to move in professional circles and how they helped those tolerant of but not completely involved in illegal enterprise. Chamber members who associated with the brothers on various levels sought out their assistance rather than acting as a

block to pressure the city administration, suggesting that it was easier to set taxes via Gabriel Mannarino than doing it on their own. What the chamber had to reciprocate for this favor is also not known, but in all likelihood it was continued tolerance.

Social Mobility

Sociologist Daniel Bell labeled an organized crime career a “queer ladder of social mobility.”³¹ The career criminal moves up in society by mingling with others in legitimate enterprise through the exchange of illegal goods. Others see organized crime as a simple career choice—crime is just one of a number of avenues one can take to move up in and out of the ethnic slum.³² As provider of illegal goods and services, the illegal entrepreneur moves necessarily across social, political, and economic boundaries. Clients come from all walks of society, and protection to operate without police interference requires steady relationships with politicians and civic leaders.³³ This is the path the Mannarinos chose.³⁴

The Mannarino brothers were raised and established their legitimate and illegal businesses in New Kensington’s flats. While there may have been streets or parts of a street populated by a given race or ethnic group, there was no space for clearly distinct neighborhoods as in Chicago, New York, or Pittsburgh. Consequently, the brothers were raised with many of the individuals who would later operate clubs, establish and manage legitimate businesses, and fill local elected and appointed positions. Work with their legitimate businesses also allowed the brothers to move professionally with other businessmen with whom they were not raised. Their success enabled them to move up and out of the flats and into an upper-class neighborhood. By day they worked in the downtown business district bordering the neighborhood in which they were raised and at night they returned home to a neighborhood filled with merchants, industrial managers, research scientists, and other white-collar professionals.

As a result of their experience the brothers understood how New Kensington operated. They gave to others, most likely to curry favor, but possibly also because of a loyalty to the hometown from which they profited. Elizabeth Blissell, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, explained to the FBI that the brothers made financial contributions to many churches and gave “many gifts to needy people anonymously.” They did not hide their

occupation and were largely respected by the community.³⁵ In one FBI report an agent conveyed the sentiments of another informant who underscored the role the Mannarinos played in the community:

In most communities persons commonly regarded as criminals, hoodlums, or racketeers, are looked down upon by the legitimate business people. It is not so, however, with the Mannarino group. He believes there is hardly a person in the New Kensington area who is engaged in legitimate business who cannot recall anywhere from one to many legitimate dealings had with the Mannarino group to the profit of the legitimate businessmen. Also, most of the legitimate citizens of the community have received gifts or favors from the Mannarinos or their henchmen and that the Mannarinos move socially across lines which in most communities would separate them from the legitimate type people.³⁶

This is not atypical, as someone like Al Capone in Chicago also gave generously to needy individuals and organizations; some projects (in his case specifically in the ethnic slum) could not move forward without such funding.³⁷ It is difficult to say what projects in New Kensington needed Mannarino help, but FBI sources indicate that it was certainly accepted if not publicly acknowledged.

However, not everyone saw the Mannarino organization and its leadership as benevolent. Though not as dramatic as the federal law enforcement pressure that came in the 1960s, the 1950s saw small protest movements such as "Operation Crusade," an effort by the Westmoreland Ministerial Association to shut down illegal activity in the county.³⁸ Reportedly with the support of over 200 Westmoreland County churches, the crusade specifically targeted the Mannarinos along with suspected corrupt politicians and law enforcement agencies. Their campaign received only a modest amount of publicity, but it was alleged that "gambling activities were voluntarily curtailed" for a short time as a result.

In his study of Reading, John Gardiner notes that during this period ministerial associations were among those groups who agitated for reform by lobbying city officials.³⁹ In New Kensington the crusade focused on regional rather than local politicians. Perhaps they believed corruption at the local level could not be uprooted or that cleaning up the county would trickle down to the localities. Regardless, the Pennsylvania State Police claimed

that prior to the 1960s the crusade was the only organized citizen group to actively protest illegal activity in the region.⁴⁰

Acts of resistance also occurred in politics. In the fall of 1959 a group of activists sought to pull city government out of Mannarino control. The Volunteers for Good Government, described as a “factionalist group in the Democratic Party,” had a mission to sweep out corrupt incumbent city officials.⁴¹ At first they met secretly for fear of “reprisals against any members” and throughout their existence not all their members agreed to be identified.⁴² In April 1961 the Volunteers issued a twelve-point position statement in the *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*. The last was: “With the help of the people, we shall remove the brand of a racket run city. Curbing of vice will be placed in the hands of elected officials whose every desire is honesty, morality, and proper government, not government by submission to others.”⁴³

The Volunteers can be considered a proxy for crime commissions formed in larger communities during this period. Gardiner’s Reading benefited by a crime commission comprising the city’s “economic elite” who fostered a relationship with the town newspaper to make sure their efforts reached a wide audience. He also noted that most citizens’ groups may have opposed crime but “rarely called for sweeping political or economic changes.” The Volunteers were similarly comprised of twenty-one professionals and businessmen who can be considered New Kensington’s economic elite. But they were also different. They most certainly wanted sweeping political change. There is no indication, however, that they considered the economic impact that would come with such change.⁴⁴

As evidenced by the publication of their twelve-point plan, the Volunteers cultivated a relationship with the *Dispatch*. This was easy, as the newspaper’s editor, Eugene Simon, also wished to “rid the town of the reputation of being racket dominated.” In an FBI interview Simon emphasized the press’s increased support of opposition candidates. He used the press to emphasize the “duties and responsibilities of the businessmen and average citizens of the community to cooperate in all possible respects with Federal, State and local law enforcement agencies in order to fight organized crime and racketeering.”⁴⁵ The newspaper came out heavily in favor of the 1961 election’s reform mayoral candidate Edward Zaleski.

According to FBI reports Edward Zaleski was considered a “clean” councilman who had voted in opposition of motions that might have supported Mannarino interests. Zaleski ran on the “Clean-Up New Kensington” campaign, which was said to have troubled Mannarino operators. An informant

reported that the upcoming primary made gamblers nervous, many of whom believed that the opposition group had a chance to win. Zaleski's reform message and the work of Simon and the Volunteers must have been somewhat successful as Zaleski defeated Gardlock in the May 1961 primary.⁴⁶ As a result the Volunteers believed they had and could continue to affect great change in the community, and this was reinforced by informants' claims of a decline in illegal gambling.⁴⁷ The Volunteers' success was similar to that of Reading's reform candidates who campaigned to clean up the town.⁴⁸

However, given the history of the Mannarinos' alleged ability to "get to" people, Simon and others had their fears despite the win. Though he refused to believe it was true, Simon informed the FBI of a rumor that Zaleski and other council candidates had been "gotten to." But unlike their investigation into Gardlock, the FBI could never authenticate corruption claims against Zaleski. Still, these rumors persisted after Zaleski won the general election and dogged him through his tenure. In a November 1961 report a different informant reported that Zaleski was approached by high-ranking members of the Mannarino organization with an offer of \$30,000 to allow the organization to operate freely after his election.⁴⁹

Throughout the 1960s the Volunteers billed themselves as a watchdog group and spent a good bit of their time keeping tabs on "the daily business of the city, school board and public authorities" and "alerting [the citizens] whenever their best interests are in jeopardy in civic business."⁵⁰ But in the end their reform movement did not shake New Kensington's identity as a "racket run" town.⁵¹ Even as new mayors and council members were elected to office, rumors of attempted Mannarino interference and the existence of gambling (even at reduced levels) persisted.⁵² Gardlock ran for and won a council seat in 1963.

While Operation Crusade and the Volunteers for Good Government were public movements, there were more private ways that those unhappy with the Mannarinos registered their dissatisfaction. Not surprisingly, the brothers' white-collar neighbors provided information to the FBI. They were careful to stress their lives and social position in the community and claimed to have "no sympathy for racketeers."⁵³ While the brothers' social mobility and financial success provided them access to upper-middle-class residence, they were not quite embraced by all of their neighbors. The strengths of their social mobility rested in the flats where business and politics freely mixed in a public arena. The anchor of their operations came through their legitimate businesses.

Legitimate Business

Individually or together the Mannarino brothers and associates owned and maintained several successful legitimate businesses common to organized crime—such as the sale and rental of coin-operated machines—including the Nu Ken Novelty Company and the S & S Distributing Company.⁵⁴ They also owned a scrap-metal business, Ken Iron and Steel Company, which had contracts with ALCOA and Allegheny Ludlum.⁵⁵ All of these businesses listed their central address as 1263 Third Avenue, a prime location in the flats near industry, commerce, major roadways, and residences.⁵⁶

The Mannarinos' illegal enterprise was both tied to and separate from their legitimate businesses, as in the case of Nu Ken Novelty operations. According to a 1958 FBI report an estimated 300 Nu Ken Novelty pinball machines were located in New Kensington—Arnold businesses with each reportedly bringing in between \$30 and \$50 a week profit. An FBI informant alleged that for years the company and various proprietors split machine profits with 50 percent reported for tax purposes and the other 50 percent divided between the proprietor and Nu Ken Novelty.⁵⁷ Not necessarily a hard-core mob scam, not having to report money for taxes was a financial incentive for legitimate businessmen to tolerate the Mannarino monopoly on the coin-operated machine business.

There was no such incentive for tavern owners. According to FBI files, the Mannarino organization forced tavern owners to purchase their supplies from City Beverage Company and stock Stoney Beer over Rolling Rock allegedly because of their interest in the Stoney Beer brewing company. An anonymous letter dated May 8, 1958, from a tavern owner to U.S. Attorney General William P. Rodgers speaks to the level of control the Mannarinos held over local proprietors:

Dear Sir . . .

I am a tavern owner in New Kensington Pa. I read of your investigation of "Racketeers and I wish to inform you of bad situation in our racket city. The Mannarinos own a beer distributors in Arnold Pa. called City Beveridge Co. It is operated by Victor Carlucci, Sam Mannarino son_in law. I and other tavern owners are being force to buy our beer from City Beverageo or face loss of our cigarette, pinball and music machines. We cannot get machines elsewhere because they control the two cities. If we buy our own we have been told our taverns will be bombed.

The cheap beer that we are force to buy is causing us to lose trade. We cannot complain to local police or Liquor Board we know that Mannarino controls them.

I thought we lived in a free country, but New Kensington has its own KHRUSHCEV.

Yours truly,

Am. Citizen (but not in N.K.)⁵⁸

This tavern owner found no other avenue for registering dissatisfaction than through a letter to a federal agency, indicating the high level of local, and perhaps regional, corruption. For its part the Department of Justice merely passed the complaint through agency channels and eventually forwarded it to the FBI's Pittsburgh bureau where it was apparently filed but not acted upon.⁵⁹ The letter is evidence of the Mannarino organization's control over the area as well as the discontent some citizens felt with their presence.

Both the coin-operated machine scams as well as the Stoney Beer threats illuminate the dual nature of the Mannarino organization as both an enterprise criminal syndicate as well as a power one. An enterprise syndicate focuses solely on the mechanics of "illicit" enterprise—for example, activities like gambling and prostitution. The power syndicate can operate within an enterprise syndicate or outside of it, as in labor racketeering. Power syndicates use extortion and force, whereas the Mannarino organization was largely, but not exclusively, an enterprise syndicate, operating for profit predominately in gambling.⁶⁰ Many of those involved in the operations of the Mannarino enterprise syndicate benefited, including merchants, politicians, police, and gamblers. Those involved with their power syndicate practices, such as the "American Citizen," were threatened with violence if they did not submit.

Illegal Enterprise: Numbers Play and Casino Gambling

While the intimidation of tavern owners and the coin-operated machine scam can be directly tied to their legitimate businesses, the Mannarino gambling empire could not. FBI files indicate that since the 1930s the Mannarinos controlled the majority, if not all, of the gambling activity in Westmoreland County.⁶¹

In a 1940 interview Sam Mannarino admitted to his interests in gambling, horse racing, and numbers play in the New Kensington area.⁶² The numbers racket was the most widespread and financially successful of the gambling enterprises, but New Kensington was also known for its horse rooms and “carpet joints.”⁶³ It was alleged that by 1954 New Kensington was so wide-open that the top members of the Mannarino organization were collectively netting \$43,000 a week.⁶⁴ As with other such syndicates in the postwar period, gambling appears to have been the organization’s lifeblood.

Historically, gambling has been a part of American society from colonial-era lotteries used to build roads, churches, and public buildings to contemporary state lotteries that support everything from K-12 education to programs for senior citizens. Over the years the legality of gambling has been hotly debated; by the 1950s the majority of gambling activities were illegal in every state except Nevada. At the same time, the 1950s were the heyday for illegal gambling—from off-track betting to slot machines to illegal casinos. Opinion polls indicate that in 1950 57 percent of Americans gambled.⁶⁵ The explosive popularity of gambling can be tied to rapid economic growth and emphasis on leisure in the postwar period.⁶⁶ With money to spend many people saw gambling—from church bingo to illegal casinos—as an acceptable leisure activity. Kefauver Committee findings indicate that during the early 1950s gambling was a \$20 billion a year business with an estimated 50 million gamblers across the country.⁶⁷

Gambling activity in John Gardiner’s Reading reflects this claim. Gardiner found that some residents viewed gambling as harmless while others thought it was immoral, but with exceptions. A number of the people Gardiner polled believed that churches and charitable organizations should be allowed to organize bingo games and that the state should sponsor a lottery to support public schools. And despite their position on gambling, respondents generally agreed that people would gamble regardless of its legality.⁶⁸ While no such data exists for New Kensington, it can be assumed that residents’ attitudes were largely the same. Those such as the Mannarinos’ neighbors likely thought gambling was immoral, while at the same time the popularity of gambling in New Kensington demonstrates that many were tolerant of its existence, if not among the 57 percent of people gambling nationwide.

Of options available, the numbers operation was the most accessible, widespread, and possibly the most profitable of gambling activities in New Kensington.⁶⁹ As in other cities, numbers operations were highly organized and employed several levels of employment—from bankers to runners

to bookers. Numbers runners worked set schedules and routes, locally and regionally in Westmoreland, Armstrong, and portions of Allegheny counties.⁷⁰ People placed bets at several locations as local proprietors integrated numbers play into their legitimate businesses. In interviews conducted for this work, people noted that even if you did not play (and in this case they claimed, believably, not to play) you knew where you could do so. Numbers play was just about everywhere, from shoeshine parlors to newsstands to lunchrooms, confectionaries, and factory floors.⁷¹ The odds offered by New Kensington's numbers games varied, but were often comparable to those paid out in Pittsburgh—about 600 to one. Consequently several surrounding communities including Oakmont, Verona, Tarentum, Leechburg, Vandergrift, Ford City, and Jeanette all laid off their numbers bets with the Mannarino bank.⁷²

Most likely because of this, in 1961 FBI informants noted that the daily gross from regional numbers activity was roughly \$15,000 with between 5 and 10 percent (of the net) going to the Mannarino organization.⁷³ Bookers' commissions varied over the years and at some points they drew in as much as 30 percent—which was 5 to 10 percent above the industry average.⁷⁴ Plus, numbers play was a very attractive sideline for small local merchants. Not only did it bring them unreported income via commission, but it also served to boost their legitimate business as it brought patrons into their stores, restaurants, and taverns—much like today's lottery vendors.⁷⁵ Furthermore some merchants were what John Gardiner referred to as “fringe beneficiaries” of illegal activities. In Reading he found examples of landlords who rented space used for numbers banks and hotel operators who gave special rates to out-of-town gamblers.⁷⁶ FBI files indicate multiple locations of numbers banks, gambling casinos, and card games in New Kensington in buildings not owned by the Mannarinos or known associates. It should also be considered that some “clean” businesses benefited as well—people gambling downtown would stop in at a local merchant to make purchases.

Only a few FBI files name numbers operators. One such reference is to Earl “Early” Fields, an African American proprietor of the Fields Hotel known as the “colored numbers baron.” Numbers play has historically been an integral part of the urban African American community. Numbers banks were community financial centers, loaning money to retailers who sold numbers. Numbers operators also invested in the African American community from the purchase of real estate to the funding of scholarships.⁷⁷ However, in most cases African American numbers operators began to lose their hold in many

urban areas in the 1930s when white gangsters moved in on the action.⁷⁸ It is difficult to track the history of numbers play in New Kensington's African American community prior to FBI surveillance in the 1950s; therefore, nothing can be said of the agency of the black community in regards to illegal enterprise. However, the Mannarinos controlled play in the town's African American community, though they left its operations up to Fields.⁷⁹ His position in both the organization and the black community was important.

For example, one African American female informant alleged that no black man could open a gambling house in New Kensington without paying out 30 percent of gross profits to the Mannarinos. This exorbitant cost made it nearly impossible for one individual to do so and thus kept Fields as the preferred choice for handling the black community's needs.⁸⁰ His position was no doubt the result of his long-standing relationship with Gabriel Mannarino. One FBI report notes that in 1945 Fields and Gabriel, who both lived in the flats, were arrested together for selling numbers.⁸¹ Fields's position in the organization supports existing evidence of interethnic, multiracial collaboration fostered in organized crime syndicates; it demonstrates that the Mannarinos were socially mobile not only across class, but also in this instance, racial lines.⁸² The Mannarino organization understood the importance of race and the need for a cultural mediator in building business relations within the African American community.

The same can be said of Fields's political influence: he controlled the black vote. Numbers operators were particularly useful in getting out the vote at election time since every day they and their runners came into daily contact with several people.⁸³ In Chicago's African American community during the early twentieth century numbers operators used their financial and social standing to exert influence in local governments. They first worked within the white Irish ward system and eventually moved to elect black politicians—with both sets of politicians sensitive to the South Side's operations.⁸⁴

New Kensington's black community did not have comparable political power. Fields and the Mannarinos locked down the First Ward vote. The African American community might have rejected their candidates had other choices been available. According to an FBI informant, in 1955 an African American male decided to run against an incumbent "Mannarino man" for First Ward's constable. The challenger was allegedly paid (most likely by Fields) \$150 not to run. The informant believed that had the challenger not dropped out he may have won, but we cannot gauge the potential level of resistance within the black electorate.⁸⁵

While Earl Fields controlled numbers play in the African American community, no similar point man or organizational structure handled the play on ALCOA's New Kensington Works' floors. In 1958 an informant noted that a "substantial volume of numbers" play came from ALCOA, the area's largest employer. The Pennsylvania State Police noted that they were aware that some "shop stewards [sold] numbers or treasury lotto tickets in their departments."⁸⁶

At ALCOA unidentified employees were responsible for writing coworkers' numbers and turning them in to a handful of local businesses during the noon lunch hour.⁸⁷ These businesses, in close proximity to the works' main entrance, made little to no effort to conceal their activities.⁸⁸ For example, the FBI reported that Namey's Luncheonette kept a numbers book right by the cash register. While ALCOA is the only New Kensington factory referenced in FBI files, those across the Allegheny River, such as Duquesne Light in Springdale, also had a substantial volume of numbers play.⁸⁹

FBI informants (including respectable civic leaders) believed that the health of the numbers racket was tied to the general economic conditions of the area. For example, in early 1960 when the local economy was good informants claimed that "working people [were] playing numbers regularly and in many instances, for larger amounts."⁹⁰ However, during an economic slowdown in February 1961 "there were fewer large bets wagered but the number of bettors is about the same." At this time the estimated daily income from numbers play was about \$15,000; by July 1961 the gross daily income was down to between \$10,000 and \$12,000.⁹¹ While the bet amounts declined, the number of bets remained the same. Either this was a gaming culture or a chance for people to supplement decreased income (perhaps both) that kept people playing their numbers.⁹²

While numbers play seemed accessible to everyone, the New Kensington casinos were fewer in number but still very popular.⁹³ In the 1950s casinos could be found across the United States in places like Hot Springs, Arkansas, Saratoga, New York, and East St. Louis, Illinois—not just large cities.⁹⁴ In 1958 the so-described "plush" casinos in New Kensington were found in the Garibaldi Club and at Triangle Billiards.⁹⁵ They operated seven days a week between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. Friday through Sunday nights drew the largest crowds with as many as 300 patrons in a weekend. Informants and federal agents observed that visitors came from as far away as Wheeling, West Virginia, and eastern Ohio towns of Youngstown, Steubenville, and Warren. Craps and barbout were the most popular casino games. One informant noted

that two craps tables nightly grossed between \$50,000 and \$75,000. Two barbout tables brought in between \$5,000 and \$8,000 a night.⁹⁶

A number of competent employees kept gaming operations running smoothly. Slot machine repairmen and collections agents, loan sharks, bankers, sports bookies, horse room operators, luggers, card sharps, dealers, and stick men were among these.⁹⁷ The experienced gambler was much like the skilled laborer. They were experts and were compensated appropriately for it.

What and how much an individual was paid depended upon the job held and/or position within the organization. A February 1958 FBI report noted that one high-level employee who ran a dice table made a \$125 a week plus a 6 percent commission, which could be up to \$1,000 a week. The FBI concluded that "routine employees at the gambling casino receive \$150 per week flat, and those in charge receive \$150 weekly salary plus a small percentage of the net take."⁹⁸ Unfortunately, FBI files do not provide a full accounting of the number of people employed or an annual payroll. But taking John Gardiner's Reading as comparison, a single dice game in 1960 carried a \$350,000 annual payroll. Furthermore, in comparison to wages paid in "legitimate" career fields one can see why some would risk casino employment. According to the 1950 census the median individual income in New Kensington was \$2,913 and for families \$3,182. In Pittsburgh the median salary for a chemist was \$3,910 and a skilled machinist or job setter \$3,316.⁹⁹ Steady casino work was worth the associated risks.

Sadly—as they are the most colorful of characters—only a handful of lower-level casino employees are mentioned in the FBI files. One notable employee was Eleanor Ciancutti, the mother of three boys, one of whom, Anthony or "Sonny," was a high-ranking Mannarino man.¹⁰⁰ Files indicate that Ciancutti was a card dealer for games played in the back room of the Mannarino-controlled Bachelor's Club.¹⁰¹ There is no indication if her employment was part- or full-time or as a supplement to other income; nor is there any indication as to how she became employed in this capacity. It is likely that she was hired through her son, but she may have known the brothers on her own. The FBI's primary interest in Ciancutti was to uncover information about her boy. If the FBI wanted to know how disappointed Ciancutti was in her son's chosen profession, they hit the jackpot. Ciancutti was said to have frequently lodged complaints against her son's (and basically her own) employer for recruiting him into the profession. She contrasted Sonny's position to that of her other two sons, noted as college graduates who, according to the FBI, "held legitimate substantial positions in industry."¹⁰²

Outside of her role as disappointed mother, multiple informants noted Ciancutti to be a respected card dealer. She ran games “with an iron hand” and made sure that losers not covering their bets were “beat up.” As large-scale gambling went into decline after federal raids in 1961, few big-stakes card games continued to operate. Informants continued to note, however, that Ciancutti’s card games—whether at the Bachelor’s or Garibaldi clubs—continued to be the “important” ones.¹⁰³ While her personal ties to organization members secured her position through times of turmoil, much can also be said of her abilities as a dealer. Furthermore, her position indicates that the organization was integrated by gender as well as race and ethnicity.

IRS Raids and Their Impact

The high times of casino gambling and numbers play eventually came to an end, despite political payoffs and police protection.¹⁰⁴ The press and the International Revenue Service (IRS) were largely responsible for the Mannarino organization’s demise.

Often the press was the only local institution digging into and exposing organized crime and illegal gambling in many cities and towns affected by criminal syndicates. John Gardiner noted that in 1956 Reading’s press exerted some power in curbing illegal activities through its exposure of corruption and police ineptitude following a series of IRS raids.¹⁰⁵ The *New Kensington Daily Dispatch* reported on Mannarino organization activities as they did any other newsworthy event, but as time wore on the tone of these stories were decidedly anti-organized crime. For a brief period in June 1958 Gabriel Mannarino allegedly shut down Triangle Billiards for fear of possible IRS raids triggered by recent exposés of its operations that ran in both the *Dispatch* and the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.¹⁰⁶ At that time nothing happened, but later in the year the IRS conducted its first raid in New Kensington.

In the 1920s the Internal Revenue Service was a young agency taken lightly by many. Its pursuit and 1931 conviction of Al Capone on tax evasion charges gave it needed credibility.¹⁰⁷ The IRS quickly became a major force in federal pursuit of organized crime and remained so for decades. For example, despite the creation of the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section in the Department of Justice in 1954, in the early 1960s the IRS’s tax investigations still led law enforcement’s way in fighting organized crime.¹⁰⁸

The IRS was more aggressive than the FBI in conducting investigations in New Kensington.

Beginning in 1961 a series of raids by federal and state agencies, mainly the IRS and the Pennsylvania State Police, threatened the success of the Mannarino organization's illegal enterprises and unflatteringly gave New Kensington a national reputation as "Little Las Vegas." These raids were supported by antigambling statutes passed by Congress in 1961, which gave the IRS and the attorney general the authority to pursue illegal gambling operations more aggressively.¹⁰⁹

For three months during the summer of 1961 undercover IRS agents patronized the town's casinos and horse room in preparation for an August 24 raid. A three-hour raid of one casino and a nearby numbers headquarters brought the arrest of twenty-six employees and approximately forty patrons.¹¹⁰ A crowd of about 500 that formed did not take the raid seriously. It cheered the patrons as they trickled out of the casino (having left their "names" with the authorities) and jeered the federal agents. The *Dispatch* reported that at one point casino employee Jimmy Ameris broke free of the federal agents who had taken him into custody and a spectator tripped up one of the two agents who pursued Ameris. The crowd cheered Ameris in his escape and then jeered the federal agents after they caught him. Whether or not these spectators were residents of the flats, persons with business in the downtown area, or both is uncertain. The crowd's allegiance was decidedly not with the outsider federal law enforcement agents.¹¹¹

This raid was part of Robert Kennedy's attack on organized crime. Since his work as lead prosecutor in the McClellan hearings—which sought to root out mob influence and corruption in labor unions—Kennedy was tremendously influenced by what he believed to be the mob's tragic impact on America. Therefore pursuit of the mob became a top priority when he became U.S. Attorney General, and the Mannarinos became one of a number of criminal syndicates he targeted. According to the *Dispatch* Kennedy requested that surveillance and investigation of the town continue for some time following the raids.¹¹² Consequently small-town New Kensington became part of a national drive against organized crime and made the community synonymous with mob rule.

Local press condemned the Mannarino organization as well as blamed its activities for the spotlight shown on the community as jeopardizing the marketing of New Kensington's viability as a resurgent industrial community at a key time. The paper was especially critical of the police force for its

inability to keep the town clean and thereby attractive to potential investors. This problem was underscored in an August 28 editorial:

Serious damage to the good name of New Kensington [comes] at a most critical time when it is competing with hundreds of other communities to attract new industry . . . [and] the shameful failure of [police] Chief Bordonaro and his department is certain to have an adverse influence on industrialists who are looking for new plant sites. Maintenance of law and order is a basic requirement on the part of industry owners in choosing new locations.¹¹³

For the editors of the *Dispatch* the emphasis lay not solely on the inaction of a corrupt police force or the blind eye of a corrupt mayor but also on the reputation that the region was sure to receive as a result of this raid. Gardiner, too, points out that many in Reading believed that corruption deterred community growth.¹¹⁴

By 1961 industrial decline was the primary problem facing the community and this raid did little to help matters. But such troubles did not begin in 1961. ALCOA had started to pull out of New Kensington in 1946 when it transferred some of its aluminum seal production southward. In the years between 1947 and 1961 ALCOA frequently threatened to pull specific operations out of New Kensington, though many union leaders saw this as a ruse to obtain labor concessions. Regardless of its motives, ALCOA kept the community on edge as it invested in certain aspects of its production facilities while relocating others out of state. The company claimed that some investments were rewards for being a good community while department relocations were the result of a combination of market and productivity factors. During this time employment fluctuated between 1,900 and 3,500.¹¹⁵ The press and many in the community blamed the uncertainty of their industrial future on three things: lazy workers, bad publicity brought on by Mannarino organization activities, and corrupt city government and law enforcement. Therefore the raids only increased the blame.

Smaller raids followed the August 1961 event—mostly by the Pennsylvania State Police with a couple by the New Kensington Police Department—but none appeared to have the dramatic impact of the IRS's August 1961 raid.¹¹⁶ One informant reported a 60 percent drop in all forms of gambling—from casino and horse-room action to sports betting and numbers play as card games became almost “nonexistent.” Many believed the high times would

never return. One bookie was reported as saying, "It looks like we are all dead." FBI spot surveillance indicated that this may very well have been the case.¹¹⁷

The success of the raids resulted in a federal grand jury investigation.¹¹⁸ Informants explained that the brothers shut down the town's illegal activities and thereby the FBI's sources for information. One informant, employed in the brothers' legitimate businesses, noted that even casual conversations and drop-in visits by acquaintances stopped. Spot surveillance observed the predictable—almost boring—routines of the brothers and higher-echelon employees.¹¹⁹

The federal grand jury probe into the Mannarino organization continued into 1962.¹²⁰ It culminated with the June indictment of seventeen known Mannarino associates and employees on charges of violating the Federal Wagering Tax Laws.¹²¹ Minor sentences were handed out but the federal pressure, which continued through the 1960s, took a toll. By 1964 gambling was nonexistent compared to years prior to the 1961 raids. The FBI reported that "many men who have made substantial incomes from gambling all of their adult lives are now either wholly unemployed or doing so little 'business' that they have had to reduce their living standards drastically, some to the point where they can no longer pay their bills."¹²² They found themselves in a situation similar to the growing number of unemployed industrial workers.

Informants continued to report to FBI agents on the various though incredibly reduced gambling activities in the community. The plush casinos were no more and high-stakes card and dice games were infrequent and often traveled out of town. Another blow to the investigation came with Sam's death in 1967, which left fifty-four year-old Gabriel to run the entire organization. As time wore on informants began to report on workers' discontent with Gabriel Mannarino's management style. One claimed that numbers play had dropped from a daily average of \$15,000 in the late 1950s to about \$4,000 per day in 1968. It no longer had the tight organization or the patrons necessary to be as profitable as in times past.¹²³ Gambling activities were small and extremely fragmented after he allegedly relinquished most of the organization's control of numbers play to independent operators.¹²⁴ Another informant noted that same year that roughly only ten "long-time Organization numbers writers" continued to be employed with protection. A number of independent operators began to pop up as a result, who only did small volumes of sales, which they covered themselves. This was taken as a sign that Gabriel Mannarino no longer cared to monopolize all phases

of gambling in New Kensington.¹²⁵ As a consequence he seemed to have less concern for maintaining police protection or political influence.

Decline

Sociologist Alan Block explains that “urban underworlds changed in response to outside pressures, such as population growth, ever more rapid urbanization, and industrialization. These quantitative and qualitative changes in urban structures and economies accounted for different patterns of organized crime in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Modern capitalism created lucrative new enterprises for criminals.”¹²⁶ And to a large extent this was certainly the case for the Mannarinos. The organization benefited from industrial success, the urbanization of the Alle-Kiski Valley, and the postwar economic boom and invigorated consumer culture. But in the 1960s the Mannarino organization was also affected by outside pressure of the federal government and the changing nature of America’s industrial economy.

ALCOA responded to global competition, changing modes of industrial production, increased costs of unionized labor, outmoded production facilities, and lucrative financial incentives by moving production to the Sunbelt. The company’s acts of corporate paternalism continued in a sad way, turning over buildings that once housed administrative offices to city authorities, donating acres of undeveloped land for ball parks, and selling its massive works to a developer for future use as a light industry park. The city failed to develop the buildings into profitable enterprises, and the new industrial park brought low-paying, nonunion jobs. Many of the workers facing the shutdown were eligible for retirement, and a number who were not sought work out of town. Disposable income for recreational gambling went into decline.

During a 1969 interview with the FBI Gabriel appeared to be relinquishing his control over the city. He noted that New Kensington was a “dead town” compared to ten years earlier. While claiming no involvement in the enterprise, he asserted that the numbers racket was no longer a profitable business for two reasons: too many people wanted to be paid off and there was too much pressure by state and federal law enforcement agencies.¹²⁷

That same year ALCOA announced that it would phase out its New Kensington Works operations by 1971. In 1965 the plant employed 1,849 and by 1971 it was down to 364. By this time the Mannarino organization,

like ALCOA's New Kensington Works, was an aging institution. Much like ALCOA's half-hearted 1966 modernization campaign to stay viable (and squeeze those last drops of blood out of their workers) in New Kensington, the Mannarino organization stuck around in the community after it was no longer a profitable environment.

In 1972 interviews informants noted that the closing of ALCOA and American-St. Gobain glassworks in neighboring Arnold just about killed what was left of numbers play. On "really good" days it was estimated to gross \$1,000 and as a result New Kensington was no longer the bank for surrounding communities—this had all transferred to Pittsburgh.¹²⁸ The Pennsylvania lottery also debuted in March of 1972 with fifty-cent bets on a chance for a \$1 million prize. How much that drew away from illegal numbers is uncertain, but its existence cannot be ignored.

Through an examination of the FBI files it appears that by 1972 Gabriel Mannarino's attention to the gambling interests in New Kensington was waning, much to the consternation of former employees. An informant noted that remaining Mannarino men were "unhappy about his apparent disinterest in their problems." This is much like some corporations' declining interest in their employees after pulling out of a community. Like ALCOA's industrial workers who were trained to do a specific job, so were these runners, bookies, stick men, and card dealers. They could hold out the hope that gambling would return although the reality, as with heavy industry, was highly unlikely. Gamblers, like industrial workers, left the area. Those who remained found themselves seeking "legitimate" employment. Others became welfare recipients. What activities were left seemed seedy.

Since New Kensington was no longer a viable town for gambling, and with many of the older members of the organization having passed away, a notable number of those Gabriel's age and younger moved on to more lucrative positions with the LaRocca-Genovese organization in the Pittsburgh area—specifically the East Liberty and Squirrel Hill neighborhoods. The organization also entered narcotics trafficking through its associations with Pittsburgh's LaRocca-Genovese family. Just like with the Mannarinos, gambling had been the LaRocca-Genovese family's largest moneymaker, but things changed in the 1960s. The Pennsylvania Crime Commission reported that sometime around 1967 the La Rocca-Genovese family began investing their "significant" gambling profits in cocaine trafficking. Like other syndicates devoted to gambling, the Mannarino organization was lured by the rise in popularity of cocaine and the potential for great profits. By the

1970s the Mannarino organization was represented in the Pittsburgh family's drug-trafficking enterprises.¹²⁹

Gabriel Mannarino's death in 1980 was considered by the Pennsylvania Tate Crime Commission to be one of the major events in the decade. It believed Gabriel was the "most active" member of the LaRocca-Genovese family and the likely successor to John LaRocca.¹³⁰ When Gabriel Mannarino died, so did the brand of New Kensington as a "racket-run" city.

NOTES

I would like to thank the anonymous readers as well as the following for their review of and commentary on this article: Mark Kornbluh, Christine Daniels, Kirsten Fermaglich, and Irwin Marcus. Sadly I was unable to incorporate all of their suggestions, though they will undoubtedly shape future work. Any errors are all my own.

1. The agency's concerns were largely directed toward counterintelligence and other related Cold War activities.
2. Athan G. Theoharis, Tony G. Proveda, Susan Rosenfeld, and Richard Gid Powers, eds., *The FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2000), 35–36. The 1963 annual report of the U.S. attorney general contains a section titled "La Cosa Nostra" where it states that as a result of intelligence work done by the attorney general's office in concert with federal agencies, La Cosa Nostra—"a nation-wide organization with international ties dedicated to criminal activities"—was proven to exist. *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1963* (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General, 1963), 204–5.
3. The FBI's "Top Hoodlum" files and the successor "Anti-Racketeering" files are the main sources of this work. These records are located in the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) (<http://www.archives.gov/research/jfk/>). The FBI files found their way into the collection as part of the Executive Branch Agency Records gathered as part of the investigative process. For more on the process, please see the NARA site. For references to this collection, FBI records used as part of this collection begin (at first appearance) with the administrative information such as reporting agent and report subject, date of the record creation, and then "JFK NARA," followed by the actual FBI record number; subsequent references to the same source will have administrative information with the FBI record number in parentheses.
4. Aluminum production and manufacturing was not the only industry. New Kensington and Arnold (specifically Arnold) were home to glass and other metals manufacturing, as well as coal-mining activity.
5. Carl Meyerhuber, "Organizing Alcoa: The Aluminum Workers' Union in Pennsylvania's Allegheny Valley, 1900–1970," *Pennsylvania History* 48, no. 3 (July 1981): 195–220; Carl Meyerhuber, *Less Than Forever: The Rise and Decline of Union Solidarity in Western Pennsylvania, 1914–1948* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1987); Christine Mueseler, "ALCOA,

- New Kensington: 'It Was More Than a Job . . . It Was a Way of Life,'" *Pennsylvania Folklife* 45, no. 2 (1995–96): 73–82.
6. Kristin M. Szylvian, "Bauhaus on Trial: Aluminum City Terrace and Federal Defense Housing during World War II," *Planning Perspectives* 9, no. 3 (1993): 229–54; Kristin M. Szylvian, "The Federal Housing Program During World War II," in *From Tenement to Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Planning Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. John Bauman, Roger Biles and Kristin M. Szylvian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
 7. Aside from sources referenced in this work, see also Fred Gardaphe, *From Wise Guys to Wise Men: The Gangster and Italian Masculinities* (New York: Routledge, 2006); James Jacobs, *Mobsters, Unions, and Feds: The Mafia and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); David Ruth, *Inventing the Public Enemy: The Gangster in American Culture, 1918–1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); David Witwer, *Shadow of the Racketeer: Scandal in Organized Labor* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
 8. John A. Gardiner, "Public Attitudes Toward Gambling and Corruption," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 274 (November 1967): 123–34; and John A. Gardiner, *The Politics of Corruption: Organized Crime in an American City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970).
 9. When I use the term "illegal enterprise" I am referring to Mark Haller's definition, which states that illegal enterprise is "a broad range of criminal activities . . . [which] entail the sale of illegal goods or services to customers who know that the goods or services are illegal." Haller considers gambling and its various forms to be "most important." Mark H. Haller, "Illegal Enterprise: A Theoretical and Historical Interpretation," *Criminology* 28, no. 2 (1990): 207.
 10. Frank Amato was the Pittsburgh "boss" when the brothers first started their control of New Kensington's rackets. Amato's underboss and successor was Sebastian John LaRocca. Later the FBI would refer to the Pittsburgh organization as the LaRocca-Genovese Family, which acknowledged Mike Genovese, LaRocca's underboss and successor. "The La Rocca-Genovese Organization," report, December 29, 1960, JFK NARA, 124-10213-10443.
 11. SA Richard Gordon Douce report on Gabriel Mannarino, April 14, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10234. George Mannarino was born in 1876 in Amatea, Italy, and emigrated from Naples on April 16, 1897. Domenica was also born in Amatea, but her date of birth was not known to the FBI. Mannarino became a naturalized citizen on December 21, 1915. At this time New Kensington's population was 7,707. As a town of 10,000 or less the ethnic breakdown is not included. The numbers available note the following: Native white/native parentage—3,135; Native white/foreign or mixed parentage—2,130; Foreign-born white—2,376; Negro—63; Indian, Chinese and Japanese—3; From oral histories, city council minutes, and FBI files, it appears that the First Ward contained the largest number of immigrants. The census divides the wards by population: First Ward, 3,362; Second Ward, 2,558; Third Ward, 1,787. U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, General Report and Analysis* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913).
 12. For examples of Prohibition-era ethnic Italian activities see Humbert S. Nelli, *Italians in Chicago, 1880–1930: A Study in Ethnic Mobility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Humbert S. Nelli, *The Business of Crime: Italians and Syndicate Crime in the United States* (New York: Oxford

- University Press, 1976); and, Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill: Italian Americans in St. Louis, 1882–1982* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).
13. Memorandum on Gabriel Mannarino, April 1, 1955, JFK NARA, 124-10024-10027; reports on Gabriel Mannarino, November 19, 1957, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10203, and January 15, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10212; report of SA Richard Gordon Douce on Sam Mannarino, April 4, 1958, JFK NARA 124-10277-10021. For the still operation charge the FBI cites Westmoreland County Court Case No. 213, February Term 1927 Court of Quarter Session, Judge E. Whitten presiding; SA Richard Gordon Douce report on Sam Mannarino, June 24, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10214-10225; report of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, July 24, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10136. Mark H. Haller, "Organized Crime in Urban Society: Chicago in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (1972): 224.
 14. Jenna Weissman Joselit, *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), chap. 5.
 15. Mark H. Haller, "The Changing Structure of American Gambling in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social Issues* 35, no. 3 (1979): 92, 108, 110; Mark H. Haller, "Bootleggers as Businessmen: From Slums to City Builders," in *Law, Alcohol and Order: Perspectives on National Prohibition*, ed. David Kyvig (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Daniel Bell, "Crime as an American Way of Life," *Antioch Review* 13, no. 2 (Summer 1953): 137.
 16. Report on Samuel Mannarino, December 23, 1957, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10043. For the impersonating of a federal officer the FBI cites the records of the U.S. District Court, Pittsburgh, Criminal Case No. 2251; report of Douce on Samuel Mannarino (124-10277-10035).
 17. Local and state law enforcement had been following Pittsburgh's Italian underworld since the 1920s. Report of SA Thomas Forsyth III on Samuel Mannarino, December 22, 1966, JFK NARA, 124-10284-10057. This report provides more details on Sam's time as an apprentice in the Pittsburgh organization.
 18. Pennsylvania Crime Commission, *Organized Crime in Pennsylvania: A Decade of Change, 1990 Report* (Conshohocken, PA: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1990), 60–63, 115. See Pennsylvania Crime Commission reports for the early history of organized crime in Pittsburgh.
 19. Gabriel's arrest record takes off after the Mannarino organization is formed. It includes gaming and violation of the Uniform Firearms Act in 1933, violation of state liquor laws in 1934, and suspicious person in a robbery charge in 1934. Report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10203).
 20. Douce report on Samuel Mannarino (124-10214-10225); report of Forsyth (124-10283-10136); report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10203); advisory report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10212); report of Douce on Samuel Mannarino (124-10277-10021); report of SA Douce of Samuel Mannarino, April 14, 1958 JFK NARA, 124-10222-10234.
 21. Memorandum on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10203). "A resident of New Kensington" asserted that "it was common knowledge" the organization financed local elections.
 22. Pennsylvania Crime Commission, *A Decade of Organized Crime: Report on Organized Crime, 1980 Report* (St. David's, PA: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1980), 74.
 23. Report of Douce (124-10277-10035).
 24. Informant (protected identity), interview with Jeanine Mazak-Kahne, July 8, 2005.
 25. Report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, June 16, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10027.

26. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, April 1, 1955, JFK NARA, 124-10024-10027.
27. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, September 27, 1957, JFK NARA, 124-10224-10032. In this interview Sam admits to open gambling in the town and that he and his brother exert a significant amount of control over it. The majority of the FBI interviews were conducted in New Kensington—either at their places of business, the Ken Mar Hotel, or the Bonfire Restaurant.
28. For an example of their claims, see report of Norman T. Thompson, February 17, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10216. The two non-Mannarino men were said to vote against measures that favored the Mannarino organization's interests. Often their votes were merely symbolic.
29. Report of Douce (124-10277-10035).
30. Report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, April 14, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10234. At the time of the interview the informant was the manager of the Bell Telephone Company in New Kensington.
31. Bell, "Crime as an American Way of Life," 132.
32. The others included factory work, higher education/the professions, and city government service. Haller, "Organized Crime in Urban Society," 211-12.
33. See also William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Whyte's sociological study of the south side of Philadelphia is representative of ethnic-based organized crime and covers social mobility and police and government corruption.
34. The comparison could be made with the Capone gang's relationship to Cicero, Illinois, a small town outside of Chicago. There they had easier control over city politics and made their bootleg alcohol and gambling businesses run with little interference. It served as a satellite to Chicago. It is difficult, however, to carry out this comparison in detail with New Kensington. The Mannarinos, not the Amato-LaRocca-Genovese gang, ran New Kensington. Furthermore, while it can be argued that New Kensington was a satellite to Pittsburgh, it served a broader base, the majority of it being regional within the Alle-Kiski Valley.
35. Reports of SA Richard Gordon Douce, April 14, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10234, and June 16, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10027. Blissell also confirmed that the brothers completely controlled the town from gambling through city government. She claimed that the brothers made no attempts to hide their involvement with gambling. Blissell was a highly respected member of the community and did much to help it in various ways—specifically her involvement in establishing an extension campus of Pennsylvania State University (and after whom its library is named).
36. Report of SA Clive G. Matthews to Director, October 16, 1963, JFK NARA, 124-10284-10039. The statements of Blissell are corroborated by those of the individual identified as "Kruise."
37. Haller, "Organized Crime in Urban Society," 223; Nelli, *Business of Crime*, 221-22.
38. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, October 10 and 20, 1952.
39. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, 73.
40. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director (124-10024-10027). A corroborating statement from a person listed as a "businessman in New Kensington" on the effect of "Operation Crusade" can be found in the May 9, 1956, report, JFK NARA, 124-10224-10030.

41. "Volunteers for Good Government," New Kensington Jubilee Souvenir Book, 1966.
42. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, April 3, 1964, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10440. The informant contacted the FBI to set up this meeting; memo from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, April 27, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10459. This informant claimed that after their twelve-point program was published in the *Daily Dispatch* on April 7, 1961, they began "receiving opposition from the racketeering element."
43. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, April 7, 1961.
44. Ibid. To achieve political change the Volunteers ran a slate of their own as well as supporting all opposition candidates—even Republicans. In Reading, John Gardiner found that often "good government" groups supported Republican candidates, who often were the minority party. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, 10, 86–88.
45. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, March 7, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10287-10003. During the campaign season as well as through the August raids the Pittsburgh office was sending a near constant stream of AIRTEL memoranda to the FBI director. This possibly indicates the importance of the opposition movement and federal agencies in their attempt to break the Mannarino organization's hold on New Kensington.
46. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, May 16, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10472. This memo also notes informants' claims that while Gabriel backed Gardlock, Sam backed Zaleski. Memorandum, May 9, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10282-10033.
47. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director, May 17, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10473. This informant was a man named James Russell Cooper, who stated that he was on the group's publicity and finance committees, wrote the press releases, and was influential in crafting policy. He claimed that two candidates refused bribes from the Mannarino organization. Memorandum, June 1, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10482.
48. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, chap. 5.
49. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the Director (124-10287-10003); reports of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, January 25, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10205, and February 19, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10278-10040.
50. "Volunteers for Good Government," New Kensington Jubilee Souvenir Book, 1966.
51. Neither did the changes to the police force. For years the Mannarinos allegedly appointed chiefs of police who served and protected Mannarino interest. When the administration changed hands, new appointments were made and there were reported attempts to clean up the police force. To what extent this was successful is unknown. Discussion of the tenures of allegedly corrupt or promisingly clean of police chiefs can be found in nearly every report, for highlights see reports of SA Richard Gordon Douce, February 14, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10035, and June 16, 1959, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10027; reports of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, June 10, 1960, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10066, and July 28, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10282-10086; memorandum from J. F. Malone to Mr. Mohr on the subject of the New Kensington Police Department, January 11, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10278-10031; memorandum from SAC Pittsburgh to the Director, March 11, 1964, JFK NARA, 124-10286-10035; and reports of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, January 24, 1966, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10013, and February 19, 1969, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10009.

52. For concerns over other mayors' efforts to stay clean of organized crime see files concerning Lenus Hileman and James McDowell: reports of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, July 15, 1966, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10012, and December 23, 1969, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10007.
53. For example, one man was identified as an assistant chief engineer, Design Division, Aluminum Company of America, Research Laboratories. Douce report (124-10222-10234). The FBI checked in on the "neighborhood sources" tracking the activities of Gabriel Mannarino's family. Their reporting largely focused on the activities of the Mannarino brothers' children and wives.
54. While largely concerned with pinball and vending machines, the business also owned console-type slot machines. SA Thomas Forsyth III report on Samuel Mannarino, July 24, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10136. For a more detailed accounting of changes in ownership and partnership of Nu Ken Novelty through 1980 see *A Decade of Organized Crime: 1980 Report*, Pennsylvania Crime Commission, Alvin B. Lewis, Chairman (St. Davids, PA: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1980), 219–20. The Pennsylvania Crime Commission notes that coin-operated machine business is typical of the types of legitimate businesses owned by organized crime figures. *Report on Organized Crime*, 49–50.
55. Forsyth report on Samuel Mannarino (124-10283-10136). According to FBI reports Ken Iron and Steel had scrap contracts with several of the local metals industries—ALCOA, Union Spring, and Allegheny Ludlum. Many of the scrap contracts were canceled as the Mannarino organization's troubles with federal agencies received more press coverage in the early 1960s. See reports of Thomas G. Forsyth III, May 25, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10220-10495, and August 8, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10286-10004.
56. There were two notable exceptions to the Third Avenue offices: Gabriel's partial ownership of Catoris Candy located in downtown New Kensington, and Samuel's Bonfire Restaurant located outside of town. The former was allegedly where Gabriel kept his business office and the latter provided access to a number of small rural towns in Westmoreland and Armstrong counties. FBI files indicate that the main office building on Third Avenue was the headquarters for both legitimate business and illegal enterprise, although wiretaps in the late 1960s failed to produce concrete evidence of the latter. It was believed that the organization also conducted business pertaining to its illegal enterprise at various other locations including local clubs, Catoris Candy, the Bonfire, and Samuel Mannarino's residence, among other places. For a sampling of wiretap transcripts see: JFK NARA, 124-90007-10006, 124-10279-10259, 124-10279-10262, 124-10279-10264, 124-10279-10266, 124-10279-10267, 124-10279-10287, 124-10279-10292, 124-10279-10294, 124-10279-10369, 124-10279-100381, 124-10279-10388. These samples are from surveillance conducted during 1964.
57. Ibid. According to the FBI files these businesses included "bars, restaurants, confectionaries and hotels." Sam Mannarino, Gabriel Mannarino, their business partner Willie Sams, and two other associates were indicted for tax fraud for the years 1957 and 1958. The indictment charges that these men fraudulently reported earnings from their pinball machine distribution and maintenance business, Nu Ken Novelty. *Annual Report of the Attorney General* (1963), 219.
58. Memo from Malcolm Anderson, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division to the Director of the FBI, May 16, 1958, JFK NARA, 125-10224-10033, referring to the anonymous letter. Grammar and punctuation in letter as in the original.

59. Ibid.
60. Alan Block, *East Side, West Side: Organizing Crime in New York, 1930–1950* (Cardiff: University Cardiff College Press, 1980; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), esp. 129–30.
61. Forsyth report on Samuel Mannarino (124-10283-10136).
62. Report on Samuel Mannarino, SA Albert E. Klebe, December 23, 1957, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10043.
63. A “carpet joint” or “rug joint” refers to an upscale gambling casino containing premier gaming equipment. This is in contrast to a “sawdust joint,” which refers to a basic, no-frills outfit. John Scarne, *New Complete Guide to Gambling*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 833, 848–49.
64. Report on Sam Mannarino (124-10224-10030).
65. Michael Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 214.
66. William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 112.
67. Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power*, 215; Bell, “Crime as an American Way of Life,” 134, 142. He correctly notes that the committee’s findings revealed that “gambling [was] a basic institution in American life, flourishing openly and accepted widely.”
68. He also noted that long-time residents were more tolerant of gambling: Gardiner, “Public Attitudes Toward Gambling and Corruption,” 126; Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, chap. 4.
69. Haller’s work corroborates this statement. See Haller, “Illegal Enterprise” and “Organized Crime in Urban Society,” as well as Mark Haller, “Policy Gambling, Entertainment, and the Emergence of Black Politics: Chicago From 1900 to 1940,” *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 4 (1991). For an excellent description of the mechanics of a numbers syndicate see chapter 6 in Block’s *East Side, West Side* and Peter Reuter, *Disorganized Crime: The Economics of the Visible Hand* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), chap. 3. A December 28, 1962, FBI report notes that four types of numbers games existed. Old Stock play had a three-number combination pulled from the NYSE’s total volume of sales. It was not a popular play because of potential “rigging” and was avoided by most writers. New Stock, however, was the most heavily played—roughly 50 percent of total numbers that were written at that time. New Stock involved a “more complicated system of getting the individual numerals from a combination of Treasury balance and stock sales.” Of bets, 25 percent were with the Pittsburgh Race or 3-5-7 Race. The result is determined by finishing positions in the third, fifth, and seventh horse races at an “eastern, midwestern or southern race track.” The final 25 percent was played on the New Ken Race or 5-6-7 Race. The result is the same at the Pittsburgh Race, just using different finishing positions. Report of James B. Fanning on Gabriel Mannarino, December 28, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10219-10222.
70. Forsyth report (124-10282-10086).
71. Memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the FBI Director, August 19, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10343. An informant in this file discusses the organizational structure of numbers play. See Correlation Summary on Gabriel Mannarino, December 9, 1971, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10205. Ruth and Wendel Milz, interview with Jeanine Mazak-Kahne, June 10, 2005.

72. In a 1961 report the odds were 500 to 1; Forsyth report (124-10282-10086). However, other informants report that New Kensington also paid out at 600 to 1 and 700 to 1. There is no explanation for the inconsistency. JFK NARA, 124-10283-10016; and memorandum from the Pittsburgh SAC to the FBI Director, May 13, 1958, JFK NARA 124-10214-10225.
73. Douce report (124-10222-10234).
74. For this field 20 to 25 percent appears to be average. See Block's *East Side, West Side*, 151-52.
75. Haller, "Illegal Enterprise," 225.
76. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, 82.
77. Ivan Light, "Numbers Gambling Among Blacks: A Financial Institution," *American Sociological Review* 42, no. 6 (December 1977): 892. Rufus Schatzberg and Robert J. Kelly, *African-American Organized Crime: A Social History* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), chap. 4. See also Ivan Light, "The Ethnic Vice Industry, 1880-1944," *American Sociological Review* 42, no. 3 (June 1977).
78. Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power*, 207.
79. It is noted that Earl Fields had an FBI file as well—file no.4152032. In 1958 the FBI reported that he was sixty years old. Forsyth report (124-10282-10086). Fields had a criminal record with the Pennsylvania State Police for numbers activity. He was arrested and convicted three times for "operating a lottery" between the years 1939 and 1945. Report of Douce (124-10283-10027); advisory report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10212). Runners also covered the Arnold and Parnassus areas, which at this point was still predominately white. Whether or not they crossed racial lines or serviced only minority/ethnic enclaves within those communities is not clear. It is clear that runners within the ward worked directly for Fields, not the Mannarinis. Report of SA Norman T. Thompson, February 17, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10216.
80. Advisory report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10212). The informant notes that two to three people minimum were required to go in on such a venture. Percentages paid in protection money had to go to Mayor Gardlock, the police, and the brothers.
81. Advisory report on Gabriel Mannarino, January 15, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10212. If the April 1958 report is correct, in 1945 Gabriel Mannarino was twenty-nine years old and Fields forty-seven.
82. This conforms to Joselit's study on Jewish gangsters in New York City, where she notes that Jewish gangsters maintained "ethnically heterogeneous gangs." Joselit, *Our Gang*, 95.
83. Woodiwiss states that politicians understood the "political realities" of numbers games as their operators "constituted the nucleus of a political bloc that included the votes of families, friends, employees and customers." Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power*, 207.
84. Haller, "Policy Gambling, Entertainment, and the Emergence of Black Politics."
85. A \$150 payoff (if this is true) does not seem like an extraordinarily large sum, even by 1955 standards. It is roughly \$1100 in today's money. Advisory report on Gabriel Mannarino (124-10222-10212); report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, June 24, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10214-10225.
86. Daniel Bell noted that at the Kefauver hearings a CIO official believed that about 15 percent of low level union officers may have been involved in numbers games. Bell, "Crime as an American Way of Life," 137. Irving Moss explains how factory bosses were obliged to tolerate considerable

- gambling on the shop floor: "Big-Time Gamblers Invade the Factories," *Reader's Digest* (August 1950): 49–52; and "Plant Gambling," *Business Week* (January 21, 1950): 109–10.
87. Memorandum of SA Frank E. Allison to Director, February 23, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10220-10435.
88. Report, August 19, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10343. The FBI notes the following businesses took these bets: Ben Namey's Luncheonette (1001 Second Avenue), John's Lunch (999 Second Avenue), Pool Room (unidentified address—noted as located in red brick-faced one-story building on 10th Street next to factory gate).
89. Report of SA Forsyth (124-10278-10040). In 1958 the FBI passed along information concerning numbers activity near the ALCOA plant. Report of Richard Gordon Douce, October 2, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10348.
90. Segment of unidentified report, March 15, 1960, JFK NARA, 124-10226-10407. It is noted that the informant gave this information during a January 28, 1960, interview.
91. Reports of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, February 27, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10427, and July 28, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10282-10086.
92. In a November 1, 1961, interview an informant claimed that numbers play was down 60 percent because of federal investigation into illegal gambling in New Kensington. Report of SA Forsyth, December 13, 1961, JFK NARA 124-10278-10016.
93. Samuel Mannarino report of Douce (124-10277-10035). To understand New Kensington in the context of illegal casino gambling in the state of Pennsylvania as understood by a national audience see Gordon Schendel, "Something's Rotten in the State of Pennsylvania," *Collier's*, November 11, 1958.
94. Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power*, 214.
95. It is alleged that the casino in the basement of the Garibaldi Building opened in the spring of 1953. It remained in full operation there until fall of 1957 when it was complemented by the opening of a casino on the second floor of 938 Barnes Street, which operated under the name of Triangle Billiards. Contained in one of the FBI files is an extensive, five-page description of gambling operations at both the Garibaldi Building and Triangle Billiards. Report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, October 2, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10348; Forsyth report (124-10282-10086).
96. Both craps and barbout are high-stakes dice games, with craps being was the most popular. Anti-Racketeering case report of Richard Gordon Douce, June 24, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10214-10225. The informant, T-10, appears to have extensive knowledge of the gambling activities of the organization. S/he is listed in other reports to provide information (corroborated by other informants) on salary and commission amounts.
97. Luggers were individuals sent by casino management to pick up patrons from various locations. In this case it was from areas in Pittsburgh, most often Squirrel Hill. Memorandum from Pittsburgh SAC to FBI Director, report of August 23, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10164. For more on loansharking see Mark A. Haller and John V. Alvitti, "Loansharking in American Cities: Historical Analysis of a Marginal Enterprise," *American Journal of Legal History* 21, no. 2 (April 1977): 125–56.

98. Samuel Mannarino report of Douce (124-10277-10035); investigative summary report of Douce (124-10283-10027). The two reports contain nearly identical information—the latter expands to name another high-level employee making the same money.
99. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, 19–21; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Census of Population 1950*, vol. 2, *Characteristics of the Population*, part 38 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952). I selected chemist because it relates to ALCOA's Research Laboratory and is nicely representative of New Kensington's professional class.
100. Ciancutti is the only woman organization employee noted. She is also one of two references made to women involved in gambling. The other is of women who patronized horse rooms during the day. The majority of reports on the Mannarino brothers and their top employees do mention women frequently. Agents note mothers, wives, daughters, secretaries, and illicit love interests. The mothers and wives, with the exception of Eleanor Ciancutti, were always noted as deeply religious and quiet. In many cases the FBI appears to be almost obsessive with their interest in the race and ethnic backgrounds of Mannarino organization associates' girlfriends and lovers. Another more hidden understanding of women and their role is through understanding the role of the female informant. Like all too much of the literature on the Mafia, it is difficult to find work that treats these women as much more than personalities and playthings. It appears that this is beginning to change. For example, see the scholarly *Women and the Mafia: Female Roles in Organized Crime Structures*, ed. Giovanni Fiandanca (New York: Springer, 2007); the popular (and somewhat superficial) *No Questions Asked: The Secret Life of Women in the Mob* by Clare Longrigg (New York: Hyperion, 2004); and the autobiographical *Divorced from the Mob: My Journey from Organized Crime to Independent Woman* by Andrea Giovino (New York: Carroll and Graff, 2004).
101. Report of SA Forsyth, December 13, 1960, JFK NARA, 124-10216-10411. She was identified as a poker dealer but also dealt other games.
102. Report of Forsyth, December 13, 1960, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10069.
103. Report of Thomas G. Forsyth, October 13, 1964, JFK NARA, 124-10284-10030. This report is specific to Sonny Ciancutti. Sonny is also reported to have given beatings to those who did not make good on their debts. Report of Forsyth (124-10277-10012). The FBI reports that her card game at the Garibaldi was "neither a high stakes nor penny-ante game."
104. Anti-Racketeering case report of Douce (124-10214-10225). The majority of scholarship on illegal enterprise documents payoffs for police and political protection. See Mark Haller, "Historical Roots of Police Behavior: Chicago, 1890–1925," *Law and Society Review* 10, no. 2, *Essays in Honor of J. Willard Hurst, Part Two* (Winter 1976): 303–23; Block, *East Side, West Side*.
105. William Howard Moore, *The Kefauver Committee and the Politics of Crime, 1950–1952* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 40–41; Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, 29.
106. Anti-Racketeering case report of Douce (124-10214-10225). Allegedly the casino was up and running again by mid-June. Report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, July 8, 1958, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10035. Common to the *Dispatch's* May 12 and the *Post-Gazette's* May 23 editions are references to police protection and out-of-state patrons. *Post-Gazette* writer Vince Johnson reported that the casino's estimated yearly income was \$2 million. The *Dispatch* reported a nightly play of up to \$100,000. The Vince Johnson piece, "Mannarino Mob Flies High," is interesting as it appears heavily edited—most likely for space. His description of Triangle Billiards is largely from

the outside—a reference to valet parking in city lots and the ease of getting into the building. He notes the difficulty one has in getting to the actual casino itself and it appears that he did not get into the casino. Johnson also fails to note any sources—identified or protected—for his story. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 23, 1958.

107. Woodiwiss, *Organized Crime and American Power*, 201–2.
108. Jay Albanese, *Organized Crime in America*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 1989), 80.
109. Prior to the Kefauver Committee hearings of 1950, gambling laws were primarily a state affair. As a result of the Kefauver Committee findings, in 1951 Congress passed the Johnson Act targeting interstate transportation of gambling devices. In 1961 amendments were made to Title 18 of the U.S. Code “to prohibit the interstate transmission of wagering information.” That year the federal government made it illegal to “travel in interstate commerce with the intent and attempt to engage in certain unlawful activities, including gambling.” In 1962 the Johnson Act was amended into the Gambling Devices Act and in 1964 a law targeting bribes in sporting events was passed. *A Decade of Organized Crime*, 128. See also Act of January 2, 1951, ch. 1194, 64 Stat. 1134; Act of September 13, 1961, Pub L. No. 87-216, 75 Stat. 491; Act of September 13, 1961, Pub L. No. 87-228, 75 Stat. 498; Pub. L. No. 87-840, 76 Stat. 1075; Act of June 6, 1964, Pub L. No. 88-316, 78 Stat. 203. *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1966* (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General, 1966), 239–40. According to the Attorney General these laws “[prohibit] the transmission of wagering information . . . interstate travel in aid of racketeering enterprises . . . interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia.” The resulting increase in investigations was great as by the close of the 1963 fiscal year, nationwide 1413 potential cases for evaluation had been forwarded to the Attorney General’s Office. *Annual Report of the Attorney General* (1963), 206, 349–51.
110. The *Dispatch* reported that the federal agents had chosen this time because it was the peak hour for the horse room and near the time when the barbout games began to start up. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, August 25, 1961. Teletype to FBI Director, August 25, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10151. The IRS gave the FBI extremely short notice of their raid. The *New Kensington Daily Dispatch* initially reported twenty-two employees arrested. As the investigation unfolded more employees were arrested. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, September 5, 1961.
111. Interviews taken with just about every informant for this work all speak to the large downtown crowds on the weekend days and late into the night. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch* August 25, 1961. The IRS eventually called in the New Kensington police to help with crowd control and in response the department sent six officers—who handily settled down the crowd. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, August 28, 1961. FBI files indicate that federal and state agencies had in the past intentionally failed to inform local police of their investigations for fear that a corrupt force would tip off the organization. Teletype from Pittsburgh office to the Director, August 28, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10155.
112. Motivation for Robert Kennedy’s pursuit of the Mafia is best understood in his work *The Enemy Within* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960). *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, August 28, 1961.
113. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, August 28, 1961.
114. Gardiner, *Politics of Corruption*, chap. 6.

115. Employment numbers were provided by the ALCOA corporate archivist. She indicated that numbers from 1961 to 1964 are unavailable.
116. For example, on February 1, 1962, a single Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) detective raided two minor establishments. See *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, February 2, 1962, and report of Forsyth (124-10278-10040). Another raid of note was the July 28, 1961, PSP effort to confiscate coin-operated "gambling devices." Report of Thomas G. Forsyth III, September 20, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10219-10218. For more detail on the Red Coach machine raids see Frank E. Allison report titled "Crime Conditions in Western District of Pennsylvania," n.d., JFK NARA, 124-102083-10097.
117. The FBI reported little traffic at gambling spots and the "idle presence on street corners of numerous [Mannarino organization] small fry." Teletype from Pittsburgh office to the Director, September 21, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-100283-10169. Beyond a fear of unemployment, gamblers also feared that the IRS investigation prior to and following the raids would bring federal indictments against them. Teletype from the Pittsburgh office to the Director, September 26, 1961, JFK NARA, 124-10283-10116.
118. The FBI summed up informants' statements as follows: "Men who have been employed in one phase or another of the Mannarino gambling set-ups are now loafing about town, and their principal topics of discussion concern the FGJ hearings, their belief that the newly-elected reform administration in New Kensington will not allow resumption of open gambling, and their 'fears' concerning their own futures." Report of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, January 3, 1962, JFK NARA 124-10283-10200.
119. Multiple informants explained that the brothers "ordered a moratorium" on activity and told underlings to talk to no one in the organization until informed otherwise and avoid talking to the grand jury. Another estimated numbers play to be down 50 percent; only three card games were running (but only one a night); all sports/horse betting and dice games were shut down. Gabriel began spending more time at his ranch in Allegheny Township. Sam had already started to spend more time at the Bonfire Restaurant, also located in Allegheny Township. Ibid.
120. While the probe is covered in the *Dispatch* the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* coverage in December 1962 is quite comprehensive. The *Post-Gazette* coverage also plays up Robert Kennedy's pursuit of the Mannarino "Gang."
121. Report of Thomas G. Forsyth III, July 23, 1962, JFK NARA, 124-10219-10214. *New Kensington Daily Dispatch*, August 9, 1962.
122. Report of Thomas G. Forsyth III, February 28, 1964, JFK NARA, 124-10219-10244.
123. In 1969 an informant reported that others believed Gabriel Mannarino would not permit new gambling establishments to open as he was uncertain as to whether "the Federal Government is serious about its avowed intention of intensifying investigations of members of 'The Mafia.'" Report of Thomas G. Forsyth III, December 23, 1969, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10007.
124. Report of Thomas G. Forsyth III, February 19, 1969, JFK NARA, 124-10277-10009.
125. By 1977 there were very few places where one could play numbers or gamble—the FBI lists them as Weber's Hotel, Royal Café, and the Greek Club. Report of T. A. Meek Jr., April 26, 1977, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10200.

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126. Alan A. Block, "Introduction: The Business of Organized Crime," in *The Business of Crime: A Documentary Study of Organized Crime in the American Economy*, ed. Alan A. Block (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991): 15.
127. Report of Forsyth (124-10277-10007).
128. Report of SA Thomas G. Forsyth III, April 2, 1953, JFK NARA, 124-10222-10196.
129. *Organized Crime in Pennsylvania*, 126-27, 130-33. In the mid-1960s states began to legalize some forms of gambling in response to discontent with proposed tax increases.
130. Gabriel had been responsible for Westmoreland County and Youngstown, Ohio. After his death his responsibilities were divided between two individuals: Sonny Ciancutti took over New Kensington and Westmoreland County and Joseph Naples took over Youngstown. Gabriel's death put Michael Genovese next in line to succeed John LaRocca when he died in 1984. *Organized Crime in Pennsylvania*, 113, 120.