

of commercialized vice which were ordered by me last winter.

The dangerous days of another winter will soon be on Chicago and then will be revealed to what extent we succeeded and in what measure we failed in combating a crime cause that threatened for a time to give Chicago permanent claim to the unsavory title of "crime capital of the country." The only way to clean the cesspool was to get down into it with shovel, bucket and brush. It was undignified and unpleasant, but at the end commercialized vice in Chicago was cleaned up and along with it the set of slimy spoils-men under whose protection and management it grew to such menacing and monumental proportions.

The then chief justice of the Criminal court was criticized and condemned by the public defenders of the corrupt conditions that came to his attention in a shocking survey prepared and presented by the Juvenile Protective association. This survey was used in charging two grand juries in plain language, and calling the situation "the shame of Chicago." Calling a spade a spade may have revolted some good citizens and may have been resented by those who don't like to read of such things in newspapers.

But if there has been only a temporary cessation of the activities of the crime incubators, if the vice lords have been driven to cover and the spread of social diseases that claimed 250,000 victims in Chicago in 1922 has been halted for a few months, if the brothels and bawdy houses, the buffet flats and assignation hotels, the "black and tan" cabarets and other rendezvous of rot-

tenness that catered to a curious youth and entrapped thousands of young girls each year have only been curbed temporarily, then it was well worth while.

Vicious Resort Hit by Dever.

"The vicious resort is at once the breeding place and the playground of the gunman," Mayor Dever was quoted as saying last month in directing Chief of Police Collins to see that there was no cessation of the campaign against vice resorts. After years of failure on the part of other public officials to act and the perversion of public duty by those who were charged by law to prevent prostitution and crime, the determination of the Dever administration to permit no return to the past is a guarantee.

The solid support of the mayor in such a policy by public opinion is the only thing that insures permanency to the closed conditions that now obtain. Once roused, the public opinion that so splendidly supported me in the Criminal court last February, when vice was making its last-ditch fight, will be more than sufficient to sustain an honest city administration this winter when the test of the power of politicians and police protectors of vice to re-establish themselves will come, as it did a year ago.

But even without the open and protected places of prostitution, there are other incubators of crime still doing business at their stands, but not as boldly as before. There can be no armistice in the war against crime, and no furlough from the ranks of public opinion for those who have enlisted to fight it.

A City Ashamed:

ARTICLE VI.

There were three phases of the vice situation in Chicago which had reached its rottenest level last winter that served to shock me out of a sense of sophistication typical of the public whose servant I had sworn to be. I am indebted to the Juvenile Protective association, to a straight-spoken clear-thinking commissioner of health, Dr. H. N. Bundesen, and to the recognition by the press of a public duty to tell the truth in terrible terms for my awakening in time to the thing that was "The Shame of Chicago."

Before I became chief justice of the Criminal court in September, 1922, there had been an expose of conditions published in The Daily News that indicated the throw-back of such a condition as existed in 1911 immediately prior to State's Attorney Wayman's closing of the 22d street "red light district." But it was not until December that a concrete survey of the situation was prepared and presented by the Juvenile Protective association which convinced me that Chicago had "touched bottom" so far as moral conditions were concerned.

Impressed by Three Phases.

The three phases of the situation that impressed me then were:

First—The physical phase—the authoritative statement of Health Commissioner Bundesen that there were then in Chicago 250,000 cases of the pestilence which we had been speaking softly of as "social diseases." Innocence suffering from the sins of ignorance and ignorance sinning because a prudish public permitted the unwary to become entrapped by the lure of things that could not live if the light were let in.

Second—the moral phase and with it the knowledge that nowhere in the United States was it being made easier for the youth of a city to sin against the laws of nature and society. No home safe against the temptations of a system of vice with ramifications reaching everywhere to enlist recruits from a budding manhood and womanhood without which the system could never maintain and perpetuate itself in commercialized form.

Third—the relation of protected vice to the rotting fabric of local government and law enforcement, a pernicious phase of the partnership between politics and crime to which we have already referred. In deadly parallel to the paralysis of law and order had been the begetting of crime and criminals—products of the "protection" that must come from constituted authorities in exchange for either cash or considerations of political support.

An open and flagrant menace to morals, health and public decency had been impressed on a public official with full power to act and the only choice for the man who happened to be chief justice of the Criminal court was whether to compound with infamy through toleration and inaction or to act antagonistically against those responsible.

Charge to Two Grand Juries.

Coming to the court as it did from an organization such as the Juvenile Protective association through Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, its president for twenty-one years, the petition upon which two grand juries were charged to investigate a condition claimed to support the conviction that Chicago was "the worst vice-ridden city in America" was of imperative importance. The petition itself was a clear, circumstantial and concise compilation of information in support of the summarized charges.

"That there are in the city of Chicago as many as 100 houses of ill-fame

or assignation, patronized by young men and boys; that many of these houses are organized into groups managed and controlled by syndicates for the monopolizing of the business and the facilitating of protection of houses and patrons from officers of the law; that there are public places of amusement, so-called cabarets, in which women solicit their patrons and which are found to be frequented not only by a lawless element but by the 'slumming parties' which through curiosity contribute to the upkeep of such places as 'black-and-tan' cabarets frequented by young men, boys and girls of both races, who witness the debauchery incident to the free intermingling of negro women and white men in obscene, lewd and indecent dancing and performances presented by both performers and patrons."

The petition prepared by Attorney Harry E. Smoot and signed by Miss Jessie F. Binford, superintendent of the association, recited in remarkable detail the results of three weeks of independent investigation by Paul D. Kinzie of New York, secretary of the American Social Hygiene society.

Bought Immunity, Was Charge.

It charged in forthright fashion and with the conviction of complete corroboration that "the open and notorious violations of the law to be found by any observer obtain by reason of the immunity of all engaged in the nefarious business—an immunity purchased by the payment of money directly and indirectly to those whose duty it is to enforce the law and those able to influence officers of the law against its enforcement."

By reason of the menace to the children of Chicago contained in these conditions as well as the vital effect upon the moral, physical and social welfare of the community there could be no question that those things alone justified the Juvenile Protective association in presenting the condition so squarely to the court. However, a more impelling reason was stated:

"The very existence of these conditions of vice and of vile and lewd practices and notorious violations of the law shows the community thoroughly disarmed of its only adequate means of eradicating such conditions—namely, the performance of their duty by officers of the law in enforcing law.

"Menacing as may be the violations themselves, they can be no more sinister than the violation of the law by its officers in failing to function, and if

it may be adduced by evidence that such malfeasance and misfeasance are due in whole or in part to the payment of protection money and to bribery, then the community is faced with a condition of rottenness far more serious than the menace of commercialized vice."

Sought to Kill the System.

From the first the court was convinced of the futility of fighting a condition by attempting to bring to justice through the grand jury the keepers and inmates of the city's "sore spots" without at the same time delivering all the destructive force at our command on the system which was the substructure of commercialized vice. Merely send a grand jury on a "man hunt" that might make a few minor vice lords and their slaves or the petty police parasites "martyrs" to a system that would still survive, and you have accomplished no permanent prophylaxis.

In my instructions to both the January and February grand juries I was insistent upon two things: "Does this condition exist in as evil entirety as charged?" And "Does it exist, if at all, through the protection provided by the police or in spite of any opposition on their part to prostitution, wherever known to them?"

It was apparent to every one before any instruction had been given to the grand jury on Jan. 8 that the anticipated was happening in every haunt of vice throughout Chicago—that the police lid was clanging down and that through the subterranean channels of communication "the word" was going out to the places of prostitution in every police precinct to "lie low." Meanwhile all the subtle influence and political "pull" purchased by the vice-lords throughout the years since 1915, was being brought to bear.

The subtle influences that had surrounded Chicago vice in the many years that millions were being made by its promoters, protectors and procurers were to be sensed at all stages of this first skirmish with syndicated corruption. The slimy trail of the political parasites of the system could be seen in the Criminal court building, leading up to the very door of the grand jury room. Outside hovered a host of spies and secret agents of the panderers, politicians and police—inside a great confusion of disconnected detail that only reiterated the basic condition, but placed no responsibility.

Public Support Needed.

Early it became apparent that the inquiry would accomplish little unless the public could be called to arms. There had come to the Criminal court the representatives of civic organizations—earnest, sincere citizens who said they were there to stand behind us in the investigation, and there had come from a vast, unorganized good citizenship a torrent of letters and calls, evident of the interest and irresistible sentiment that could be crystallized if the public could be told one-half of the truth in direct, downright fashion.

There came a committee representative of 20,000 business men throughout the city pledging the support of the All-Chicago council and there came one man of vision and vigor, Attorney William R. Moss, who had the courage and capability to set about finding the means of bringing into close co-operation the best elements of citizenship in Cook county. This was accomplished by enlisting the Chicago Church federation—that great and practical organization—which provided a method for arousing and focusing moral sentiment.

The magnificent moral leadership of the Chicago Church federation made itself manifest through men like Moss, like Bundesen and through that judge of the morals court, Daniel P. Trude, who stepped from the bench in the face of a storm of insult from the defenders of degradation to carry the case against commercialized vice to the people.

Long after these lines have been forgotten by every one but the writer the mothers and fathers of Chicago will recall the twenty community mass meetings held under the auspices of the Church federation throughout Cook county on Sunday, Feb. 12, when thousands of church-goers gathered in one place in each community from Winnetka on the north to South Chicago and westward to Oak Park and were told the unvarnished truth about vice.

From such civic soldiers as Bundesen, Trude and Moss, Edward E. Gore, former president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, S. J. Duncan-Clark, chairman of the civic relations department of the Church federation, Kneeland Ball, of the All-Chicago council; George B. Stephenson, Boy Scout executive; Frank S. Harris and Henry N. Tolles, educators and lecturers and a dozen others they heard the story of commercialized vice in the second city of America.

Consider for yourself now and for the future the consequences of officially permitting more than 500 places of prosti-

tution to operate throughout Chicago, as they were presented to those thousands of church-goers by men who must be believed. It was an hour for truth-telling such as seldom comes to a community.

Jury at Lawndale Hospital.

Out at Lawndale, in the contagious-disease hospital, were the wrecks of women who in the end had nothing from their degradation but disease and the counterfeit clutch on life for the doomed, which is "dope." To them I had sent the twenty-three average citizens of the Cook county grand jury for first-hand corroboration of the terrible things that are possible under the "protection" of city politics, complaisant public prosecutors and the police when money is to be made by "men of influence."

One by one there had come from the twenty broken girls, who gave their ghastly testimony under oath between bursts of blasphemy, stories that sickened some and enraged others and that

sent the grand jurors shuddering to their homes that night—shocked and ashamed of the city they lived in.

It was of such things that the thousands of men and women of the great church-going public heard and of the record of testimony torn from under the raw edge of the rottenest system of protected vice ever set up in Chicago or any other American city. It is not my present purpose again to attempt by a retelling of that revolting record to shock needlessly a public that then and there reawakened.

Rather would I review in another article the results of this great movement to revive the civic conscience that permanently restored my confidence in the soundness of Chicago's heart and mind—lost at the beginning because of the complacent attitude toward things ugly and unpleasant. Many times since I have felt the force of that tremendous thing—an aroused and angry sentiment that, I hope, will never again permit public officials to compound with infamy in a city ashamed.

The Fight That Failed.

ARTICLE VII.

Out of every evil comes great good, particularly when the pendulum of public opinion gains momentum and swings at full force against those revealed to be responsible for such a thing as the thwarting of two grand jury inquiries into commercialized vice in Chicago. Thus it was with "the bucket of black-wash" that boiled over.

In alluding to the futile February grand jury's investigation as "The Fight That Failed" I do not wish to be understood as saying that nothing destructive to the vastly powerful vice "trust," which went to smash soon after, was traceable to the work of even a weak-kneed body of citizens such as they. Neither then nor now do I desire any condemnation to come to the six citizens who courageously refused to concur in the majority report of "the black-wash grand jury."

Paradoxical perhaps but nevertheless true—had it not been for that very failure, had not a majority of the jurors been led into a disgraceful deadfall by those whose duty it should have been to guide the investigation through to a fair and impartial conclusion—it is doubtful if Chicago to-day would be

cleaner of commercialized vice than at any time since 1917. And no greater good than that could come to the greatest of cities!

Drastic Drive Following Report.

The most drastic drive against vice dens in the history of Chicago followed on the heels of the return of the reprehensible report in which an astounding grant of absolution was given the police from all blame attaching to the admitted existence of commercialized vice throughout Chicago.

It was an amazing document, which was handed up to the bench by the representative of Cook county's public prosecutor, who admitted in open court authorship of the phrases wherein the department of police was defended against "the heckling of reformers," coupled with caustic criticism of the Municipal court for alleged "failure to co-operate" with those whom even this jury was convinced had connived with commercialized vice lords.

Such condemnation as has come to me from certain sources close to an administration that made the shame of Chicago possible for rejecting that report almost in its entirety I shall continue to regard as the sincerest com-