FINAL REPORT
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
CITY OF CHICAGO
POLICE INVESTIGATION
1911-1912
Final Report
Police Investigation

Inquiry conducted by authority of
His Honor, Carter H. Harrison,
Mayor, Sept. 5, 1911, to March
7, 1912.
Details of Vice Investigation—
Departmental Analysis — Re-
organization Plan — Conclusions
and Recommendations.

HARMON M. CAMPBELL
JOHN J. FLYNN
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Commissioners
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FINAL REPORT.

March 7, 1912.

HON. CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor, City of Chicago.

Dear Sir: Following is the final report of the investigation undertaken by this Commission of the Police Department of the city of Chicago:

On September 5th, 1911, the Commission received from you the following letter:

September 5, 1911.

To the Honorable, The Civil Service Commission.

Gentlemen: During the past two weeks charges have been rife in the local press to the effect that a criminal conspiracy exists between certain commanding officers of the Police Department and certain gamblers operating and attempting to operate within the city limits. It is openly charged that money is paid by these gamblers to some agents acting for members of the Police Department to secure protection for these illegal games of chance.

Every commanding officer of the Police Department, with the exception of one, as far as my knowledge goes, has secured his appointment through the agency of the Civil Service Commission. Your office is today undertaking a systematic examination into the efficiency of various classes of city employes. Is there any place where better work could be done than by attempting to ferret out the truth or falsity of these charges? Your Commission can subpoena witnesses and take testimony under oath. If there is any lack of sufficient evidence to show the truth of these charges it is due to the Police Department of the city of Chicago that its good name be cleared of any unjust imputation of guilt. On the other hand if the testimony collected shows that the charges are true, it will be possible for your Commission to rid the force of men whose presence on it is a disgrace to it.

I would respectfully suggest that no better work can be performed by the Civil Service Commission than to undertake an immediate and searching investigation into the alleged connection between the Police Department and the various criminal classes in the city.

Yours very truly,

CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor.
To this the Commission replied as follows:

September 7, 1911.

Honorable Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of Chicago.

Dear Sir: Acting upon the suggestion contained in your communication of Sept. 5, the Commission will undertake an immediate inquiry concerning conditions in the Department of Police with reference to the charge that a connection exists between the Department and the various criminal classes of the city. In its inquiry the Commission will undertake:

1. To determine the truth or falsity of the charge that certain gamblers are operating and attempting to operate within the city limits under police protection.

2. To determine the truth or falsity of the charge that there is a connection between the Police Department and the various criminal classes.

3. To fix responsibility for such conditions as may be shown to exist contrary to law and efficient police duty.

4. To report fully for your information such conditions as may be shown to exist tending to impair individual and departmental efficiency.

The inquiry will be conducted in accordance with Sections 12 and 14 of the Civil Service Act. In the course of its investigation the Commission will avail itself of all the authority conferred upon it by law to administer oaths, secure by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses, compel the production of books and records, and to remove from the public service unfit employees.

To that end it will employ special counsel and take such other measures as it may deem necessary to the successful prosecution of such an inquiry. The Commission earnestly asks your assistance to secure a special appropriation from the City Council to defray the expense incidental to an inquiry of this character.

Very truly yours,

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

H. M. CAMPBELL, President.

On the same day, September 7, 1911, each member of the Commission received the following letter from you:

September 7, 1911.

My Dear Sir: During the approaching probe of the Police Department unquestionably representations will be made to you that the administration desires certain things to be done in connection with it.

My only personal desire is that the probe shall be conducted to the furthest ramifications of the various charges which have been made. Absolutely no one is authorized to convey any message from me, either to the
Civil Service Commission or to the individual members of it, in connection with this investigation. At any time I desire to communicate with you, I shall do so in person.

Yours very truly,

CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor.

In response to our first letter to you, you wrote as follows:

September 8, 1911.

To the Honorable, The Civil Service Commission,

Gentlemen: Replying to your letter of the 7th, in which you ask my assistance to secure a special appropriation from the City Council to defray the expenses of the investigation of the alleged conspiracy existing between certain officers of the Police Department and criminal classes of the city, the City Council will not meet until the 25th day of September, and pending their meeting it will be impossible to secure a direct appropriation.

I would suggest that you confer with Alderman Richert, of the Finance Committee, as to the amount needed for the investigation, and pending the meeting of the City Council and the passage of the necessary ordinance that your Commission proceed with the work, leaving it to the City Council later on to provide the necessary funds.

Very truly yours,

CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor.

Acting upon your suggestion that the Commission confer with Alderman Richert and the Finance Committee as to funds necessary, the matter was taken up with Finance Committee and the sum of $10,000 was appropriated. Subsequently this amount was increased by further appropriations aggregating $45,000.

The Commission, immediately started an investigation under Section 14 of the act of the legislature entitled, "An Act to Regulate the Civil Service of Cities," Approved March 28, 1895, which provides in substance that the Commission shall investigate the enforcement of this Act and of its rules, and the conduct and action of the appointees to the classified service in its city.

GENERAL PLAN.

At the outset the Commission decided on a general plan which would include an investigation of existing conditions in all precincts, districts and divisions, with a view of ascertaining whether or not the state laws, city ordinances and the rules, regulations and orders of the Department of Police were being enforced, and, where violations existed, to fix the responsibility therefor.

Where lack of efficiency of responsible officers was shown by proof of existing conditions in any such precinct, district or division, charges
should be preferred against the officers deemed responsible. This plan has been consistently followed throughout the entire investigation.

Much delay was caused by the difficulty of securing an efficient, honest and reliable staff of investigators. From a trial of substantially fifty, ten were finally selected as equal to any test to which they might be put. With these men more than 2,000 separate places were investigated, many several times, authenticated reports turned in and tabulated. In not to exceed ten instances, was the accuracy of these reports successfully attacked, and in the majority of cases this was found to be due to errors in street numbers and to recent changes therein. It is safe to say that more than 5,000 distinct reports in all were received and recorded.

From this systematic canvass of vice conditions in all parts of the city of Chicago, a substantially complete history of such conditions has been collected and reduced to card index systems, under appropriate heads, divided into police precincts, so that the vice conditions in any part of the city can be seen at a glance.

**FIXING RESPONSIBILITY.**

In pursuance of this Commission's statement to you that it would undertake to fix the responsibility for such conditions as may be shown to exist contrary to law and efficient police service, it prepared, and the Chief of Police signed, charges against three inspectors, five captains, seven lieutenants and forty-one plain clothes men. One captain resigned under charges, and three inspectors, three captains, one sergeant and six plain clothes men have been discharged. Fines were imposed against nine plain clothes men and one captain, and one lieutenant and the remaining plain clothes men were exonerated. Three captains against whom no charges were pending (one a former inspector), resigned during the progress of the investigation.

Had it not been for the wide publicity given to the investigation at its very inception, the work would have been much easier and evidence could have been obtained more easily. This was particularly true as to gambling. As the inquiry apparently was aimed at the start at gambling alone, the gambling fraternity, always cautious, immediately began to cover up its activities as far as possible.

**SUPPORT.**

The Commission and the public at large owe to your Honor the greatest debt of gratitude for the faithful support which you have given the investigation. Without this support the Commission's efforts must have resulted in failure. The Commission also desires to extend its thanks to the City Council for the promptness with which it has made
appropriations of necessary funds, and for the encouragement it has had from individual members of that body. The Commission regrets, however, that it is compelled to say that in spite of the support given it by the press, it has received active help from but few of the so-called reform organizations interested in moral uplift, which naturally would be expected to join in an effort to correct police evils and to thereby clean up vice conditions in the city of Chicago.

Another difficulty the Commission faced was that of obtaining testimony from persons other than its hired investigators. Signed and anonymous letters by the thousand were received complaining of intolerable conditions in various parts of the city, and were investigated where such action was deemed warranted. Hundreds of persons were interviewed who gave valuable information "in confidence," few, if any of whom would willingly take the witness stand, either through a desire to avoid notoriety or through fear of future police exactions. An unwilling witness is usually a hostile or dangerous one, and this accounts for the fact that scores of witnesses who might have been able to prove conditions known intimately by thousands of people, were not called before the Commission.

GAMBLING.

During the course of the investigation reliable information was secured as to the existence in the city of more than six hundred places where gambling of more or less public or semi-public character was carried on, the nature of the games of chance being handbooks, poker and other card games, roulette, craps and other dice games. This included only such games as were carried on by keepers or handbook owners, and did not include games of a private character where there was no "rake-off" and where no professionals were involved.

The evidence amply shows that a very large proportion of these places and games were known to the police and that they could have been suppressed by an honest, intelligent effort. The Commission feels that it has fully proved that a criminal conspiracy existed between certain commanding officers of the Police Department and certain gamblers operating and attempting to operate within the city limits, and is satisfied that money has been paid by these gamblers to secure protection for illegal games of chance. It is not prepared, however, to make a direct assertion as to what individual members of the Department have profited through the payment of this protection money, nor does it believe such assertion necessary.

The machinery used in levying and collecting tribute from vice is complicated and the hands through which the money passes are numerous. All being of equal guilt, direct evidence could be obtained only
through informants. If a minor police officer acting as a collector should come out into the open and testify as to such payments, it was the unanimous belief in the service that this would mean sooner or later his elimination from the force, even if granted immunity by the Commission. If a gambler gave the information, he could never expect to be permitted to ply his trade in the city again.

The Commission therefore took the position that by showing existing conditions it conclusively proved inefficiency and neglect of duty on the part of the officers responsible.

Appendix "A" shows the number of gambling places known to have been in existence in the various police precincts prior to and during the early part of the investigation, a large proportion of which have ceased to operate. It is useless to expect the entire elimination of professional gambling in Chicago, particularly in the matter of handbooks, but the activity of the police since the revival of the gambling squads operating from police headquarters, has rendered operations unprofitable and difficult. The collection of money for protection is no longer safe and the direct bribery of policemen is dangerous. On the other hand increasing vigilance on the part of the Department and honest and efficient police administration are necessary to prevent the reopening of gambling houses, pool rooms and handbooks.

The average citizen patronizing handbooks and professional games seldom stops to realize his absolute lack of chance to win. In the operation of handbooks the percentage in favor of the layer of odds is never less than three to two, and more frequently two to one. In the professional card games the "rake-off" in favor of the house eliminates the ultimate chance of winning by the outsider, not taking into consideration the greater skill of the house players or the "crooked" deck and the "crooked" dealer. In the dice games, loaded dice and electrically controlled tables were common, and in all the outsider or the "sucker" (in gambling parlance) contributed the funds with which to secure protection as well as to make the game profitable.

There is and has been for years a more or less organized gang of so-called "flat joint" operators making this city their headquarters. A "flat joint," in the words of an eminent operator who makes Chicago his home, is not a gambling device, for the simple reason that the "sucker" never wins. Its variations are endless. There are the spindle, the cloth and dice, the bird cage, the marble game, and so on ad infinitum, but all containing the same essential principle—absolute control by the operator and no chance for the player. As a "sure thing" proposition, three card monte and the shell game fade into insignificance. And yet these "skin" devices were repeatedly operated on the public
streets of the city of Chicago during the summer of 1911, under the very eyes of the police, and by all or part of the same gang.

The men who first brought the Department into notorious dispute in this regard, through uniformed and citizen's dress policemen permitting them to run on 35th street on September 4, 1911, preceding and following the Gotch-Hackenschmidt wrestling match, had previously operated at South Chicago, Kensington, 31st street carnival, the 101 Ranch shows and Riverview Park, as well as in the State street museums in the 2d precinct, and in various places on the West Side. Later they were at the Ski tournament at Cary, Illinois, and on the special trains to and from South Bend in connection with the McFarland-Murphy prize fight. These men are well known to the police, and if the Department had any desire to locate and drive them from the city, it would not require a journey outside the loop.

The games in the Chinese quarter along Clark street, operating with impunity and, as the Chinamen thought and had reason to think, under police license and protection, were completely put out of business by one raid of the gambling squad, upon information furnished by the Commission. In spite of the fact that the then Inspector of the Division openly stated on the witness stand and elsewhere that conviction could not be secured in Chinese gambling cases, the evidence was so conclusive that in every game raided a plea of guilty was entered and fines imposed.

The gambling squad has been the subject of more or less adverse criticism, some of which was doubtless justified, but at the same time credit must be given it for the work it has performed. Since its revival on October 19, 1911, and up to February 29, 1912, it has made 999 arrests, secured 248 convictions with fines and costs aggregating $8,000, and virtually wiped out public gambling. Its activities have also proved beneficial in stiffening the discipline among district and precinct commanders, sergeants and patrolmen. Nevertheless, the Commission renews the suggestion made in its preliminary report that under a properly organized and administered police force there is no necessity or excuse for a gambling squad operating out of headquarters, as is now the case, no matter how efficient it may be. It tends to a diffusion of responsibility which has been the curse of the Department for years. The Commission adheres to its original idea of fixed territorial responsibility as to those common and apparent forms of vice not directly connected with crimes against persons or property which clearly come under the supervision of the secret service.

The explanation of the large number of arrests in which convictions were not secured is the disinclination of the courts to fine inmates. Very
few have been so punished, even in instances where proof was conclusive and the keeper fined.

**PROSTITUTION.**

In that remarkable public document, "The Vice Report," (the greater portion of which is in an alleged cipher), the Vice Commission estimates the number of professional prostitutes in the city of Chicago at 5,000. Like many conclusions available to the public in that document, it is based upon inadequate information. The number is nearer 20,000 than 5,000, and 15,000 is a conservative estimate. A recent canvas clearly indicates approximately 2,000 in the 3d precinct alone, while amazingly large numbers can be found in the 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, 10th, 11th, 15th, 27th, 28th, 38th and 39th precincts. This does not include women who eke out an inadequate wage by occasional acts of prostitution for hire, but only those that depend entirely upon the revenue from prostitution for a livelihood.

That prostitution has existed in the past, does exist now, and probably will always exist, is admitted by the Commission. The state laws and the city ordinances prohibit the operation of bawdy-houses, assignation houses, houses of prostitution and ill fame. If the Police Department of the city did its sworn duty to enforce the laws of the state of Illinois and the ordinances of the city of Chicago, there could be no open houses of prostitution. However, upon the theory that public opinion permits a breaking down of the laws and ordinances in this respect, houses of prostitution and assignation have been permitted to run unmolested by the police in various parts of the city from time immemorial. In order to define the relationship of the Police Department with houses of this character, and prostitution generally, the then General Superintendent of Police, on April 28, 1910, promulgated the following rules for the regulation of this vice:

**Office of the General Superintendent of Police.**

Chicago, April 28, 1910.

The following orders regulating vice, which have heretofore been promulgated, are reissued in this form in order that every member of the Department may be personally advised concerning them and govern himself accordingly:

To Commanding Officers: The following rules governing the regulation of vice are hereby promulgated and will be rigidly enforced by all commanding officers:

1. Messenger and delivery boys, or any person over the age of three or under the age of eighteen years, shall not be permitted either in the district or to enter the premises.

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2. Harboring Inmates Under Legal Age—The law in this subject is to be rigidly enforced, and all keepers held strictly accountable. If inmates under age are found, the houses shall be suppressed, and it shall be definitely understood that this action will be taken in any and all cases where this law is violated.

3. Forcible Detention—No person, regardless of age, shall be detained against his or her will, nor shall iron bars or other obstacles be permitted upon any exit.

4. No Women Without Male Escorts shall be permitted in a saloon. All soliciting of this nature to be vigorously suppressed.

5. Short Skirts, Transparent Gowns or Other Improper Attire shall not be permitted in the parlors or public rooms.

6. Men will not be permitted to conduct or be domiciled in a house of prostitution or to loiter about the premises. Males evidently subsisting on the income of inmates will be arrested as vagrants.

7. Soliciting in any form shall not be permitted, either on the streets, from doorways, from windows or in saloons.

8. Signs, Lights, Colors or Devices, significant or conspicuous, indicative of the character of any premises occupied by a house of ill-repute, shall not be permitted.

9. Obscene Exhibitions or Pictures shall not be permitted.

10. Restricted Districts—No house of ill-fame shall be permitted outside of certain restricted districts, or to be established within two blocks of any school, church, hospital or public institution, or upon any street car line.

11. Doors—No swinging doors that permit of easy access or a view of the interior from the street shall be permitted. All resorts shall be provided with double doors which shall be kept closed.

12. Liquor—On and after May 1, 1910, no liquor will be permitted to be sold, carried in stock or given away in connection with any immoral place.

The foregoing rules shall govern throughout the city. These regulations are permanent and commanding officers will hold all responsible to rigid accountability for their enforcement.

Order in Effect.

Chief of Police McWeeny, upon his first examination by the Commission, stated that this rule was in full force and effect and in no way modified or amended, with the exception of adding to the same an order eliminating houses of prostitution already established on street car lines. It also appears very clearly from the testimony that shortly after your
Honor's inauguration you called in the Chief of Police and the commanding officers of the divisions, districts and precincts in which houses of prostitution were generally known to exist, and that you directed that this order be strictly enforced.

With one exception, every commanding officer in command of territorial divisions where houses of prostitution were known to exist, testified he was familiar with the order, and that the same was being enforced to the best of his ability. The one exception, in command of a precinct where many houses of this character existed, denied ever having heard of the order.

Vice Districts.

The precincts in which open, public houses of prostitution existed in considerable numbers at the time the investigation began, whether dwelling houses or flats, were substantially as follows:

- South Side—3d, 4th, 5th and 15th precincts.
- West Side—27th and 28th precincts.
- North Side—38th precinct.

Aside from the regular houses of prostitution, so-called “assignation” or “transient” hotels and assignation houses and flats existed in great numbers in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th precincts on the South Side, in the 27th and 28th precincts on the West Side, and in the 38th and 39th precincts on the North Side.

Sale of Liquor.

With reference to houses of prostitution, the order above referred to prohibits the sale of liquor in such places. In the segregated district on the South Side the great majority of the houses of prostitution have government licenses, and from the first day of May until about December 15, 1911, sold liquor in defiance of this rule, openly and notoriously. Such sale continues clandestinely to known customers or men of supposed sporting proclivities. Government licenses are not so numerous in the vice districts in other parts of the city, but there were enough on the West and North Sides to indicate, without any other evidence, that from the sale of liquor comes quite a large portion of the revenue of these houses.

Up to the time the investigation started, liquor could be bought openly and with no questions asked, in practically all of the houses of prostitution and assignation in the city, with some exceptions in the 15th precinct, or South Chicago, where it would appear that in the houses other than those connected directly with saloons, the sale was more or less closely watched and prohibited. That such sale of liquor could continue openly without the knowledge of the police again meant but one of two things—inefficiency or culpability. In fact, it is certain that it
went on with the direct knowledge and connivance of responsible officers and the men under their command.

The customary excuse given on the witness stand by plain clothes men charged with the supervision of prostitution for failing to stop the sale of liquor in houses, is that they were so well known that they could not secure evidence, though morally certain that state laws, city ordinances and police orders were being violated. The question might naturally be asked, why then were they placed in citizen’s dress and given a duty which they admit they cannot perform?

For an estimate of the number of houses illegally selling liquor see Appendix “A.”

Soliciting from Houses.

The order further prohibits soliciting from the doors or windows of houses of prostitution. The testimony of commanding officers of the vice districts in this connection was that such soliciting was sporadic and practically impossible of detection, and that every effort was being made to prevent it. Much complaint was made that the judges of the Municipal Court assessed too low fines to make the rule entirely enforceable. The facts, borne out by the investigation, are that in certain districts and along certain streets no concerted effort was made by the police to stop this form of solicitation. Our investigators secured the number after star number of uniformed patrolmen who stood idly by in a position where the could have prevented it easily, and an investigation of the police reports invariably has shown that the men in question were on duty at the time and place charged.

The statements of others bear out the truth of this charge against the Department. It might be pertinently asked, Why were charges not preferred against these men? In answer it may be said that the Commission is satisfied that the fault does not lie with the uniformed patrolmen, but with the commanding officers and the system. The matter of prostitution and prostitutes in each district was under the direct control of two or more plain clothes men who reported to no one but the inspector, captain or lieutenant who might be in command of the precinct. In police circles they were known as the commanding officers’ “confidential” men. They made no reports in writing. No order was given by any one in authority, but the uniformed patrolmen and the plain clothes men knew that they must keep their hands off where prostitutes were concerned, or expect a transfer.

Since the preliminary report was issued, evidence has accumulated showing beyond question that in the sections of the city where prostitution prevails, it has been commercialized, with the police as active agents of those in control. On no other theory can the pleas of confession
and avoidance of the forty plain clothes men under charges before the
Commission be explained. Until within a recent period they received no
orders to correct conditions, raid and close places violating police regula-
tions, even though the Mayor himself had issued specific orders that this
be done. The responsible commanding officers failed to act. How then
can the subordinates be blamed?

Ownership of Houses by Men.

No attempt to enforce this section of the rule appears to have been
made, and here again the connection between the tough saloon and
prostitution is clearly shown. In the 22nd street and South Chicago
districts this is most apparent and instances of each are as follows:

  Bob Gray, owner of the saloon at 2106 Dearborn
  street, owns the resort known as “Bob Gray’s” at 2107 and
  2109 Armour avenue, in partnership with a well-known
  “pimp” called “The Jew Kid.”

  Charles Wilson, alias Willard, owns the resort at 2034
  Dearborn street, run by him jointly with his wife Zoe.
  Both convicted in the Federal Court for violation of the
  Mann or “White Slave” Act.

This list can be continued indefinitely in the 22nd street district.
In South Chicago the police “record” of houses shows among others
the following:

  9038; The Strand, saloon, Joe Defrier; sporting house,
  Daisy Defrier.
  9060 Harbor Ave., saloon, Ben Quill; sporting house,
  Mary Quill.
  9062 Harbor Ave., saloon, S. G. Mott; sporting house.
  Dott Mott.
  9214 Harbor Ave., saloon, Joe Boller; sporting house,
  Gussie Boller. (Real owner, “Mike the Pike.”)

In most instances the reputed wife of the proprietor acts as the
“madame” and poses as the owner, but many instances have come to
the Commission’s attention of the ease with which a new “madame” and
a new “wife” are obtained at the same time. In fact, some owners of
several houses are conveniently provided with several “wives.”

No failing back on the alleged faults of the vagrancy law of the
state can satisfactorily explain this situation. These men are not vagrants.
As to the “pimps,” who live in idleness on the earnings of one or more
prostitutes, the advisability of securing a more stringent vagrancy law
may well be considered. The names, habits and haunts of these men
are well known to the police.

Houses on Street Car Lines.

An attempt was made to show that that part of Section 10 of the
vice order of April 28, 1910, prohibiting houses of prostitution along
street car lines, was intended to cover only the establishment of new places, and that those in existence at the time the order went into effect were to be permitted to remain until such time as they might be closed by police order or the march of time. That this was not the interpretation of your Honor, clearly appears, and any such interpretation would simply mean the perpetuation of an intolerable condition.

The vice in itself is bad enough without being flaunted in the faces of hundreds of thousands of decent and law-abiding men and women who are compelled to daily patronize the car lines on the streets where these places have existed. Madison street in particular, from Halsted street to Hoyne avenue, was lined with them; practically the entire street, the main artery of the West Side, for fully a mile and a half was given up to the traffic and the tough saloon. In all, the records of the Commission show that there were 779 such houses on street car lines, practically all of which have been abated since the investigation started.

Show Places.

The vice order prohibits short skirts, transparent gowns and other improper attire in public rooms, and also prohibits obscene exhibitions or pictures. Both of these rules were habitually violated in the South Side district and in other parts of the city, and the so-called "entertainments" were too vile for description, in practically every instance including some act of perversion subject to a heavy penalty under the criminal laws of the state. That this should be tolerated under any sort of police administration seems incredible, yet the evidence is conclusive that it has been going on for years without the slightest police restriction. Again the excuse is that the "copper" cannot stop it because of his bulk and his acquaintance.

Street Soliciting.

In the matter of street soliciting there has been such a marked improvement since the Commission's preliminary report that a repetition of details is unnecessary. The Department has shown, during the past two months, that open, notorious and brazen street soliciting by prostitutes can be suppressed and kept to a minimum by a little police activity.

The suggestion is made again, however, that no discretion be vested in the courts as to the fine to be imposed in the cases of confirmed street walkers, and that the ordinances in regard thereto be amended so as to provide for a gradually increasing penalty for each consecutive offense until the maximum is reached. The reasons for advocating such a change in present methods are these:

1. The street solicitor is a most prolific source of the spread of venereal disease.
2. They work singly or in pairs with no protection.
political or otherwise, (unless they are "tied" to certain saloons or transient hotels) and for this reason are particularly the easy victims of police exaction, thereby tending to demoralize discipline.

3. Street soliciting is the worst possible advertising a city can have, and on its face shows lax discipline in the Police Department and a lax administration generally.

Nickel Theaters.

Police activity in driving prostitutes from the streets has resulted in their extending their haunts to nickel theaters, and the amount of soliciting therein is increasing alarmingly, particularly in those districts where street walking was common. The fact that these places are in the main frequented by young people makes it imperative that there be a close and constant supervision over them and the frequenting of such places by prostitutes be prevented.

Saloon Soliciting.

The order of April 28, 1910, prohibits unescorted women entering saloons. One of the judges of the Municipal Court has held that portion of the order unenforceable, even as applicable to disorderly saloons. Unescorted women do not congregate in the rear rooms of saloons or in rooms above with a bar in connection, for any moral purpose. Any court in Chicago might properly take judicial notice of the fact, which every man knows, that women congregate in these places for the purpose of solicitation, either of the purchase of drinks or prostitution, or both.

The city of Chicago, under its charter, is clothed with police power to regulate saloons and to abate disorderly houses and places of all kinds. There can be nothing much more disorderly, dissolute or disreputable than the saloons that cater to prostitutes who daily and nightly ply their trade therein with the connivance and encouragement of the proprietors and employees thereof. We would respectfully suggest that the matter of the legality of that part of the order prohibiting unescorted women in saloons be submitted to the Corporation Counsel for an opinion and for suggestions as to remedial legislation.

There can be no doubt of the validity of that portion of the order which prohibits soliciting in saloons, nor can any reasonable man see the slightest excuse for the failure of the police to enforce it. Yet, in certain parts of the city such saloons have been and are now being permitted to run in open and notorious violation of the order, with the full knowledge of the police and, up to a very recent period, without any attempt at regulation.

Again the excuse is that neither the uniformed nor the plain clothes
men can detect and suppress such soliciting, because they are known to the proprietors, employees, inmates and habitues, and that no violations occur while these men are in the place or in the vicinity; and so, what every man knows, and many women as well, goes on unchecked because the police are unable to perform their sworn duty.

Many commanding officers denied on the witness stand that such saloons existed in their precincts; others shifted the blame to the men on the beat and those in plain clothes. These in turn very promptly passed back the responsibility to the commanding officers and the sergeants.

Schedule “A” shows that there are nearly 250 saloons that cater to the trade of prostitutes, and evidence shows that the proprietors have protected their regular “hustlers” when in trouble, and in turn have secured protection from police interference either through direct payments or political influence. These saloons frequently have a close working agreement with a transient or assignation hotel so that the combination is nothing more or less than a “Siamese-twin” house of prostitution where the “roping” is done in one place, the act of prostitution performed in the other, and the profits of each equitably divided.

In many instances the saloonkeeper controls both the saloon and the hotel. Simon Tuckhorn, operating the notorious No. 23 Quincy street (the number should be 24 under the new numbering ordinance but the change was not made until recently), also operates the Pfister Hotel at 505 South Fifth avenue. Under his “house rules” the women “tied” to his saloon, i. e., permitted to regularly solicit therein, must take their men to the Pfister and are timed in and out of both places with the exactness of a well-conducted commercial institution. In addition they are generally required to room at the hotel at the prescribed rate per week, but are permitted, as a recompense, to share their quarters with their “pimps” free of extra charge after one o’clock a. m., provided the “pimp” is not changed to exceed once each week.

Outside of the 22nd street district and the so-called “Black Belt” along State street from 22nd to 39th street, the precincts where the greatest number of saloons depending upon the prostitute trade for existence are the 27th and 38th. Schedule “A” shows the numbers in each during the period preceding October 1, 1911. There has been a decided improvement in conditions in all parts of the city since that time.

As a natural adjunct, either closely allied or abounding in the neighborhood, are the assignation hotels and flats which are treated later.

**Connection Between Saloons and Assignation Houses.**

Police rules prohibit direct inside connection between saloons and
assignation houses or transient hotels above. The rules in this respect have not been faithfully and impartially enforced.

Music and Entertainments in Saloons.

The Commission renews its recommendation that there should be issued a well-defined order governing the matter of music and entertainments in saloons and rooms in direct connection therewith. There is no uniformity of police administration in this respect, resulting in the natural suspicion that some saloon and restaurant keepers are favored for ulterior reasons.

Transient Hotels and Assignation Houses.

A natural adjunct to soliciting by prostitutes on the streets and in saloons is found in the so-called transient hotels and assignation houses and flats. Where the soliciting is most prevalent, there such places are the most numerous. Three typical districts may be taken: the South Side as far south as 39th street; the North Side to North avenue; the West Side, particularly along Madison street, as far west as Hoyne avenue.

The North Side was probably the best illustration of the necessary connection between the peripatetic prostitute and the assignation house. In the 38th precinct, where street walking and saloon "hustling" were probably greater than in any other district in Chicago, the responsible commanding officers admitted the existence of approximately fifty such transient hotels and flats in an area of less than half a square mile, on their "police lists," while our investigators located and reported practically one hundred, and then probably failed to exhaust the list.

Many of these places have sold liquor without a city license, openly and notoriously, but seldom without securing a Federal retail license. The responsible officers in each instance failed to offer anything except the time-honored and well-worn excuse that their men, while honest and faithful, by reason of their physique, general characteristics and neighborhood acquaintance, could never "get the goods."

Since the investigation started, and particularly since January 15, 1912, there has been a decided improvement in all parts of the city, and particularly in the loop, the 2nd and 38th precincts; many so-called hotels have ceased catering to transient trade, and many assignation houses and flats have ceased operations entirely, due to police activity.

Booking Inmates.

The police method of keeping track of known prostitutes is a farce. The General Superintendent of Police testified that in every precinct where these people were, a card index was a part of the station record, and that this index gave all the information necessary. Every com-
manding officer of such a precinct testified that no such record was kept, and that there was no official record in any precinct except the 38th. This was incomplete and its inaccuracy admitted. Plain clothes men assigned to this duty keep individual pocket memorandum books that are not even intelligible and are based upon no uniform system.

The Commission renews its suggestion that if this vice is to be recognized and to be subject to police regulation and restriction, a uniform method of keeping official records should be installed and its completeness and accuracy guaranteed.

**Restricted Districts.**

The order of April 28, 1910, provides that no house of ill-fame shall be permitted outside of certain restricted districts or upon any street car lines. The Commission has been unable to learn that there is more than one restricted district in Chicago, and that one by sufferance only, namely, the 22nd street district lying west of State, north of 22nd, south of 18th streets and east of the Lake Shore and Rock Island tracks.

This paragraph of the order can only be meaningless and unenforceable until the "restricted districts" are clearly defined. As a matter of fact, houses of ill-fame existed on all three sides of the city, in direct violation of this paragraph of this order, and did so exist for years. On the South Side on Indiana avenue, Cottage Grove avenue, Michigan avenue, Wabash avenue, State street and cross streets between; on the West Side on Monroe, Madison, Randolph and Lake streets and cross streets between; on the North Side on Michigan, Illinois, Erie, Schiller, La Salle, Wells and Clark streets.

Since the investigation began public houses of prostitution, by police activity, have been largely driven from the West and North Sides, and some of the landladies and many of the inmates have sought refuge in the South Side segregated district.

**Call Houses.**

One of the worst features of the prostitution problem in Chicago is the existence of numerous "call houses." These are usually flats occupied by one woman who upon demand calls in girls or women by telephone for the purpose of prostitution. Among the women "on call" at these flats are many of apparently good family, employs in down town stores and offices, who devote certain nights a week in increasing a meagre wage by prostitution. This practice is not confined to flats alone, but includes so-called "transient" hotels of the more elaborate type. The "call houses" are ordinarily in residential sections of the North or South Sides, and the sale of liquor therein was common and unrestricted until the investigation was appreciated as sincere.
White Slavery.

The Commission has not attempted any investigation regarding pandering or white slavery, except as it might be incidental to police administration. Through its investigators, however, it has procured and turned over evidence resulting in a sentence for pandering of one year in the House of Correction and a three hundred dollar fine. Other information that has come to it has been forwarded to the agencies charged with this duty.

Medical Examination.

The system of medical examination of prostitutes and the issuance of certificates of alleged freedom from venereal diseases is a species of graft that should be eliminated. Investigation on this line shows the following:

1. That certain physicians catering to this class of patients make such examinations and issue certificates many of which they know to be false, and divide the profits with the landladies.
2. That in many cases certificates are issued weekly, without examination.
3. That the police in certain districts have been in collusion with those guilty of these practices.

DANCE HALLS.

The Juvenile Protective Association, through the kindness of Mrs. Louise DeKoven Bowen, its president, allowed the Commission access to its very complete index of approximately 300 public dance halls in this city. From this such data as was deemed essential was taken and added to the Commission's record of dance halls already under way. A systematic canvass was then started of all places in any manner deemed suspicious.

In all, 113 dance halls were visited and reports thereon obtained, not only from the regular investigators but from members of the directing staff as well. Those deemed most deserving of observation were investigated several times on varying dates by different persons.

An attempt to classify any except the universally vicious type under any permanent heading is impossible because of the varying character of the membership or directing head of the association or club renting the hall. It is not believed that there are to exceed ten vicious dance halls, either in continuous operation nightly, or on certain nights in the week, now being conducted in the city of Chicago. This does not include the so-called halls in the segregated district on the South Side, which are mere adjuncts of prostitution, where female patrons, or more properly, inmates, are professional prostitutes "tied" to the place.
There is no excuse, from a police or any other standpoint, for the existence of any of these places, and a proper application of correctional measures cannot help but wipe them out.

As to the type of hall frequently termed "tough," no one visit can determine its status. For instance, some marked "fair" or "excellent" on the Juvenile Protective Association's records, when visited turned out to be on that night from "tough" to "vicious"; and those marked "tough" on the nights when visited turned out to be orderly and well-conducted. The same hall visited by the same investigators on two or more occasions often showed a complete reversal of form.

The rough dance hall is more difficult of classification than any other. Viewed by a person of culture and refinement, of little experience outside his own immediate environment, and based upon his standards of propriety, it would quickly be placed in the tough or even vicious class. Viewed from the standard of propriety of the people attending them, there is perhaps not as much immorality connected with or growing out of these places as from the most exclusive society dance where drinks are served freely.

The whole dance hall question centers around the special bar permit. Sections 1546, 1547 and 1548 empower the Mayor of Chicago, upon written application and bond and the payment of a small fee, to issue a special bar permit for the retail sale of vinous and malt liquors to be dispensed at any gathering or entertainment held by fraternal, educational or charitable organizations. Proof to the satisfaction of the Mayor of the good character and reputable standing of the society and as to the respectability of the gathering must be furnished, and nothing in the ordinance is to be "construed to authorize the issuance of bar permits to persons or alleged pleasure clubs or corporations for the sale of intoxicating liquors at dance halls were disreputable persons gather and young boys and girls are lured to vice and crime." The ordinance further permits the sale of liquor to continue until three a.m.

This ordinance places upon your Honor the entire responsibility for dance hall conditions in the city of Chicago where the sale of liquor is permitted. It is manifestly impossible for your Honor personally to satisfy yourself as to the good character and reputable standing of the society, or respectability of the gathering, or whether or not the association is or is not "an alleged pleasure club," or that the place is one "where disreputable persons gather and young boys and girls are lured to vice and crime."

Other sections of the City Code place upon the General Superintendent of Police the duty of censoring and prohibiting immoral moving picture shows and other improper exhibitions, and there is no good
reason why the burden should not be lifted from your shoulders and placed where it properly belongs—in the Police Department, under proper supervision. The assigning of a patrolman for this duty, without regard to his qualifications and capabilities, is improper. The men selected should be of unquestioned moral character, sober, firm and gentlemanly. In addition, it might be well to suggest that there be created a body of women inspectors who should be assigned to all such halls. The license fee now paid is exceedingly small in view of the admitted moral danger surrounding halls where liquor is sold, either on the floor where the dance is held or in the wine rooms below, and an added fee sufficient to meet the expense of such inspectors could be charged.

**COCAINÉ, OPIUM AND OTHER DRUGS.**

That the Police Department has made but little intelligent or concerted effort to suppress the open sale of cocaine, opium and other drugs of like nature, in violation of law, the Commission deems has been clearly settled by the results of its activities. In substantially one month's time, in connection with its other work and with its regular force, aside from the occasional assistance of habitual users, as will be hereafter explained, it investigated approximately fifty places on the three sides of the city where it was reasonable to suppose that these drugs were being sold unlawfully, secured conclusive evidence against thirty-five such places, and caused the arrest of over one hundred persons. Of this number eighty were booked under disorderly charges as inmates or prospective purchasers arrested during raids, and nineteen held under state charges as sellers of cocaine or other drugs in violation of the statutes.

The aggregate fines imposed on disorderly and state counts were over $3,000. The total months of imprisonment inflicted were thirty-three.

The Commission secured evidence in other cases which are now pending or have not yet been prosecuted, and turned over the same to the State Board of Pharmacy. In this work the Board, through Mr. Christensen, a member, and Mr. Mahaffy, its agent, has given the Commission every encouragement and assistance within its power, but the Commission now desires to call attention to the following situation:

The state law forbids the sale of cocaine and its compounds or derivatives, except upon the written prescription of a duly registered physician, which shall be filled but once. It further provides that cocaine may be lawfully sold at wholesale upon the written order of a licensed pharmacist or licensed druggist, duly registered physician, licensed veterinarian or a licensed dentist, under certain restrictions as to label, etc., and as to the record of such sales. There is nothing in the law which prohibits a retail druggist from filling a physician's prescription for any
amount of cocaine, nor is there anything in the statutes prohibiting a wholesale druggist from selling to a physician or other authorized person any quantity, provided the provisions of the statute are followed.

There is nothing in the statutes which directly places upon the State Board of Pharmacy any duty regarding the enforcement of the law. The extreme penalty is a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or both; provided, however, that if the person offending shall have a license as a physician, dentist or pharmacist, such license may be revoked. There is no penalty in the law for an unauthorized person having in his possession cocaine undoubtedly held for sale. There is no provision in the United States statutes which in any way regulates the interstate traffic in cocaine.

From its investigation the Commission has come to the conclusion that the state law regarding cocaine is weak in the following particulars:

(a) In that it does not provide for a larger minimum penalty. Fines which have heretofore been imposed upon notorious and continuous sellers of cocaine, of from $25 to $200, will not stamp out this damnable traffic.

(b) In that it does not provide a penalty for a person not a licensed physician, pharmacist or druggist having in his possession more than an extremely limited quantity of the drug.

(c) In that it does not restrict the quantity that may be sold to any licensed physician during a given period.

(d) In that it does not more clearly define or limit the quantities which can be sold by retail pharmacists upon prescription of a licensed physician.

(e) In that it does not limit the quantities that may be sold by wholesalers to licensed physicians.

In addition, the law should place upon the State Board of Pharmacy the duty of constantly investigating unlawful sales in all parts of the state, and the state legislature should by means of liberal appropriation enable the Board to make such investigations and aid in prosecutions.

The records of a wholesale druggist in Chicago show that during the year 1911 he sold to a retail druggist just across the state line in Indiana, 150 ounces of cocaine, a good portion of which found its way back into this city to supply the needs of illicit sellers. These records further show excessive sales to retailers in this city against whom no direct evidence of improper sales was obtained.

In this connection it must not be inferred that the present State Board of Pharmacy is in any way open to criticism in the matter of its assumed duties with regard to this traffic, but it is hampered and its actions made practically impossible owing to an extremely meager appro-
priation. It has no funds with which to hire investigators, and what work it can do must be done by its members and its few employees.

The reason for the conclusions above given may be more clearly shown by the citation of a few typical instances discovered by the Commission.

In the search of the house of one of the largest illicit sellers of cocaine, (neither a pharmacist, physician, dentist or veterinary surgeon) were found over thirty ounces of cocaine, and no penalty attached thereto. It was seized and held but with probable doubtful legality.

A licensed physician arrested red-handed in the sale of two ounces of cocaine to a degenerate negro retailer of the drug, admitted the purchase from reputable wholesale and retail druggists of over thirty ounces in one month. These drug dealers acted entirely within the letter of the law, yet the requirements of a reputable physician or surgeon would scarcely be one-eighth of an ounce during that period. Inquiries made of large and leading retail drug stores in the city indicate that the requirements for ordinary prescription purposes are seldom in excess of one ounce in six months.

A marked disparity in the state law appears from the fact that an itinerant peddler of cocaine upon the sale of four grains or less of the drug is subject to a penalty of one year's imprisonment and one thousand dollars fine, while an illicit wholesaler who smuggles the drug across the state border and sells it in $500 lots can receive no greater penalty.

With respect to the connection of the Police Department with the sale of cocaine, it may be said that the Commission has substantially proved that in at least one case an illicit dealer has for seven years paid the police for alleged protection, according to his sworn statement, as high as $3,000 per annum. Not a single instance was brought to the attention of the Commission of any fine imposed upon this person through the direct efforts of the police, though they were in and out of the place daily. In each instance where he was fined, it was through the activities of outside organizations.

For example, a civic organization procured evidence of a sale of cocaine by this person and reported the same to the General Superintendent, who in turn directed the commanding officer of the precinct to investigate and take such steps as might be necessary to suppress the sale of cocaine at this place. In July, 1917, this officer reported that the night before his subordinates had secured evidence to warrant them in arresting this person and that he had been fined $25. This dealer stated upon the witness stand that he frequently sold as many as 500 persons in one day, with gross daily sales as high as $200, of which $160 was profit. This fine of $25 was the only step taken by this officer to suppress the sale of
cocaine by this man, and he continued to sell unmolested, aside from one
case of $100, due to the efforts of the State Board of Pharmacy, until
this Commission put him out of business. This man, after contesting
two cases before juries and being convicted in each, entered a plea of
guilty on an additional count, and was sentenced to six months in the
House of Correction and assessed fines aggregating $800.

Until this Commission began its work in connection with this traffic
not a single sentence of imprisonment under the state statute had ever
been imposed since the passage of the Cocaine Act.

Leaving aside the question of police protection, the explanation of
police officials regarding their failure to suppress the traffic was, first,
the lightness of the fines, and second, the inability to secure evidence
because they were allowed no money with which to hire "stools" or habitual
users and they could not get the evidence in no other way.

It is clear that the courts will impose jail sentences when warranted
when cases are properly presented, and a cocaine "fiend" under arrest
under a vagrancy charge will gladly make the purchases for a little
leniency, as this Commission early learned. The cost of securing the
evidence is slight. This merely goes to emphasize the contention that
the system of secret service in the Department is upon an imperfect basis.

If this Commission, by the employment for only a part of their
time of never to exceed four investigators, for thirty days at a total cost
of not to exceed $1,000, can secure the evidence resulting in the con-
victions above listed, it is time that the Police Department should be
furnished with a secret service that is not only secret but effective as well.

The use of cocaine destroys the body, the mind and the soul of the
victim. It makes degenerates, liars, thieves, vagrants and parrers of
otherwise useful citizens, and casts upon the community a burden which
is constantly increasing. Acquired by association more generally than
any other drug habit, there is an ever increasing circle of users. The
present ease of purchase and the alluring profits (fully 500 per cent), will
continue to tempt the unscrupulous to violate the law, especially with the
slight danger of adequate penalty, as has been the case heretofore. Con-
stant and vigilant effort should be maintained to reduce the traffic to
the minimum.

Attention is called to the fact that aside from the Bridewell, there
is no hospital or dispensary in the city where free treatment for the co-
caine habit can be had and no place where such treatment can be had at
a price within the means of the average person indulging in the habit.

SALOONS.

Eliminating the saloons which cater to women for the purposes of
prostitution and the solicitations for the sale of liquor, the chief viola-
tion of laws and ordinances has been the disregard of the one o’clock ordinance. Others are the rendezvous of thieves of various kinds. They will be treated separately.

All-Night Saloons.

By this is meant the saloons that habitually keep open between the hours of one and five a.m. in violation of city ordinances. As a general rule, saloons that cater to men alone close promptly at one o’clock, unless there is gambling in connection. Violations by saloons that cater to men alone and where gambling is not common, are occasional only—due to the desire of the proprietor to be a “good fellow” with a convivial crowd that is willing to spend an hour or two and some money. This, while a violation of the ordinances, is not in itself particularly subversive of morals. The all-night saloon that keeps open to cater to the prostitute and her male companions, and to the “skin” gambler and his victim, is the one to be placed under the ban.

No man of ordinary city experience can argue for a moment that such places can keep open without the knowledge and tacit consent of the police. The usual method is to close the public bar promptly at one, turn out the lights and give the impression from a casual view from the street that the place is closed. Through the medium of a back room, rooms above the saloon, a convenient restaurant or chop suey place, or the assignation hotel or flat run in connection, a new source of supply is opened and the sale of liquor goes on as long as there are purchasers. This has been the common practice in connection with saloons in all parts of the city catering to the trade of prostitutes or their following. The police seemed to have an idea that if the bar was closed, the sale of liquor in so-called restaurants or chop suey joints, with or without food, was no violation of the ordinances.

The Commission would respectfully suggest the amendment of the present rules, or the promulgation of further rules that will clearly show to the members of the Department that the ordinance governing the sale of liquor between the hours of one and five a.m., applies to every spot in the city not covered by a special bar permit.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION.

At the commencement of the investigation, the personnel of the Police Department consisted of one inspector for each police division, one captain for each police district, and such numbers of lieutenants, sergeants and patrolmen and other employees as might be appropriated for by the City Council from time to time. In all, the active force comprised one general superintendent, one assistant general superintendent, eight inspectors, eighteen captains, seventy-one
lieutenants, three hundred and eighty sergeants, and substantially four thousand patrolmen, all, with the exception of the general superintendent in the classified civil service.

For purposes of police jurisdiction, the city was divided into eight divisions, each in charge of an inspector, and each division was again subdivided into two or more districts in command of a captain. These were again divided into two or more police precincts; each theoretically in command of a lieutenant or lieutenants, each precinct having in addition its complement of sergeants, patrolmen, operators and other employees. Theoretically, under the rules, the lieutenant on duty was responsible for conditions in the precinct, the captain for conditions in the district, the inspector for conditions in the division.

The general investigation had proceeded but a little way when it became apparent that the office of inspector, originally created as a supervisory one, as the title implies, and intended to provide the general superintendent with the counsel and assistance of trained police officers of long experience on broad questions of administration, had deteriorated to such an extent that in most instances it was little more than that of a precinct commander. So apparent did this become, as a direct result of the investigation, that the office became extinct by failure of the City Council (without a dissenting vote) to appropriate for it in the annual budget of 1912.

The reasons leading to the Commission's conclusion that the office of Inspector be abolished are set forth in its preliminary report and need not be further considered.

As a result of abolishing the office of Inspector, ten additional positions of Captain were created and the inspectors then remaining were on January 22, 1912, demoted to that rank, bringing the total number of captains appropriated for in 1912 to twenty-eight.

Districts and Precincts.

On January 22, 1912, the divisions were abolished and, by order of the General Superintendent, the city was divided into twenty-two police districts. The lines of the more important precincts and districts are identical, but other districts contain from two to three precincts. A map of the districts and precincts is attached hereto as Appendix "B." It will be seen that in order to provide the necessary complement of captains to command these districts, twenty-two are required. In addition, one captain is detailed to the Detective Bureau and one in command of the Mounted Squad.

The Commission does not believe that the work of reorganization has gone far enough with merely abolishing the inspection divisions and the creation of new districts, but is of the opinion that such action is a
make-shift. The same difficulties of administration and of fixing the responsibility of captains for precincts in which they are not stationed will undoubtedly arise, and the practice of having a captain and three lieutenants in one precinct and one in another, in the same district, will leave the same faults which occurred under the old plan of territorial division.

The Commission adheres to its original suggestion that the districts, as well as divisions, be abolished, and that the responsibility for conditions in each precinct be placed upon one officer who will report directly to general headquarters. In the more important precincts there should be a captain and three lieutenants; in the unimportant, from a police standpoint, but one lieutenant until such time as a greater complement may be warranted, but with distinct territorial responsibility to a central authority.

First District.

A marked example of the difficulty in ascertaining personal responsibility of commanding officers occurred in the former Central Division which included the so-called downtown or Loop district, extending from the River on the north and west, the Lake on the east, and Van Buren street on the south. This was an inspector's division, a captain's district and a lieutenant's precinct rolled into one, with a mounted traffic squad under command of an independent captain. In the district was the headquarters of the Detective Bureau. The captain of the district was provided with a very small complement of plain clothes men on the theory that the Detective Bureau would take care of vice conditions.

The question as to what officer was responsible for a given class of work was a matter of acrimonious dispute before the Commission. The inspector sought to show that the responsibility for gambling and other vice conditions lay with the captain nominally in command of the district, and with the captain in charge of the Detective Bureau. They, in turn, disclaimed all responsibility for such conditions, the captain of the district claiming that he was responsible for traffic conditions in the main, and the captain of the Detective Bureau taking the position that his Bureau was intended to take care of the criminal work in all parts of the city to which it might be specifically assigned by the General Superintendent. The result was a puzzle which no one could satisfactorily solve. The late Inspector, reduced to captain, was discharged from the force, but the situation is still unsettled.

This district is the most important in the city because of congested traffic conditions and being the heart of the business interests of Chicago. In it are practically all of the office buildings, most of the prominent hotels and theaters, all of the important banks, financial institutions, retail and wholesale houses, as well as the Federal Building, City Hall and
County Building. Also in this district, or within not to exceed a few
blocks, are all of the passenger terminals of the twenty-five railroads
entering Chicago. If there is a district in the city requiring perfect
police organization, this is the one; and yet it is in the most chaotic
condition.

The traffic squad has certain duties, the mounted squad much the
same but under a separate commanding officer; the regular patrol detail
has still other duties, and as to certain forms of vice the Detective Bureau
is now held responsible.

In the opinion of the Commission, there should be a division of au-
thority in the first district based upon character of duties. The handling
of traffic is a specialty and men on foot as well as mounted are required,
but the control should be identical. In other words, there should be a
traffic squad, both foot and mounted, under one responsible head, an-
swerable for that duty alone. There is no necessity for confining the
jurisdiction, so far as command and direction are concerned, to any ter-
ritorial division. It is a duty totally apart from the preservation of
peace and the apprehension of criminals in the ordinary sense of the
word and is confined to the daylight hours. There need be no conflict
of jurisdiction, as is clearly shown by methods in use in other cities.

The required patrol and plain clothes work can best be done under
a separate commanding officer charged with the same duties of preserv-
ing the peace and preventing and detecting crime as are imposed upon
commanding officers of districts where the volume of traffic is not such
as to require a considerable special detail for that purpose.

The Detective Bureau should be completely divorced from any duty
that is a matter of ordinary police routine and no responsibility should
be placed upon it as to vice conditions in any particular territorial
division.

Reports and Correspondence.

The methods in vogue in the Police Department, with regard to
reports, orders and correspondence, are loose in the extreme and in many
particulars do not conform to the rules.

Rule 29, of the Rules and Regulations, provides that there shall be
kept at each station twenty-eight varieties of records and reports. Care-
ful consideration should be given to the matter of simplifying the record
system and reducing the number of records. The record system is an
inheritance from the time when the Department was comparatively small
and no systematic effort toward simplification has been made. New
bureaus have been created and new forms adopted from time to time,
without due consideration of the value thereof or the additional work
entailed. The result is a cumbersome system with many useless entries
as well as duplication of work, and much valuable information which should be kept easily available is lost in the mass of routine stuff.

No criticism is made as to the records kept in the office of the Secretary, the Bureau of Identification or the Bureau of Records. In these offices the systems adopted show thought and progressiveness and a commendable desire to serve the best interests of the Department; but each is handicapped in that there is not that co-ordination and broad principles of consolidation that the service requires.

There is no satisfactory reason why the station daily reports should be filed with the Chief Operator who is not equipped to handle the same and whose office should not be a place of record. A consolidated report should be prepared daily, showing at a glance the disposition of the force and the character of work assigned.

In the matter of orders, the Commission finds from the testimony that the great majority of orders are given by telephone and that no record thereof is kept. The same is true to a less degree in the matter of reports. A system should be devised whereby, with the least amount of effort, every order and report sent over the telephone would be recorded.

None of the stations is supplied with typewriters, all reports being in long hand. The move inaugurated in the 1912 budget looking towards the gradual replacement of patrolmen acting as commanding officers secretaries by civilian clerks and stenographers should result in an improvement in correspondence methods if proper instruction is given.

The rules specifically provide that in all official communications, titles and not names shall be used wherever practicable. The meaning of this is that a communication should be addressed not to "Lieutenant Jones, Commanding 5th Precinct," but to "The Commanding Officer, 5th Precinct," so that when a communication is received it will be opened by the sergeant who is in command at that time. The evidence shows that important communications needing immediate attention, which were addressed by name and not title, had not received the attention required.

The rules also specifically provide that communications must be signed personally by the officer from whom they purport to come. The Commission has in its possession a mass of communications from inspectors, captains and lieutenants, not one of which is signed by the officer in person, but by some patrolman acting as his secretary. As a matter of fact, the inspector’s daily reports which followed the same language and the same verbiage day after day, were frequently not even brought to the attention of these officers.

Section 10 of Rule 7 provides for the keeping by desk sergeants of cards bearing the precinct and post number, on which shall be briefly
stated all special orders, instructions, complaints, etc., relating to each post as they occur from day to day, and providing for the signature of the patrolman on the post from time to time, to indicate that he is fully familiar with all complaints and special orders regarding his post. With this rule conscientiously enforced, without hampering influence from the station, the patrolman on post can clean up all questionable situations with ease and accuracy. This rule, however, is practically ignored.

The Commission has heard testimony and has received communications in vast number that complaints, either in writing, by telephone or by word of mouth, when they effect gambling, street walking, disorderly houses, all-night saloons and similar violations, receive but scant courtesy at the station in precincts where these conditions abound. Some complaint has also been made that the same rule applies to petty thievery, activities of pickpockets, and even of burglaries and robberies.

The method in vogue of desk sergeants writing verbal complaints on slips of paper, placing them on a spindle and tearing them up when an officer reports thereon, needs no comment.

The matter of running out and reporting on all complaints is of such vital importance to the individual citizen that the common expression by the citizen that it is of no use to make complaint should never be heard in the city of Chicago.

Staff Organization.

The position of General Superintendent of Police is analogous to that of the commander of an army. Experience of centuries has shown the absolute necessity of providing such a commander with an adequate and intelligent staff, properly equipped to perform the duties involved in the administration of such an organization. The same rule holds good in any large business enterprise.

There are more than 5,000 employees in the Department of Police, and the appropriation for running that department for the year 1912 is $6,714,647.80. In addition to the performance of police duty there devolves upon the Department the custody and care of city property of great value, both fixed and movable, the purchase and distribution of supplies and material of all kinds, and the preparation and preservation of voluminous and valuable records. The Department is also charged with the supervision of many questions of morals, and its duties and obligations with regard thereto should be extended and enlarged.

The organization of the Department as it now exists is ill suited to a proper handling of the different functions with which it is charged, and too much direct personal responsibility and too many questions of detail
are placed upon the General Superintendent. In a large measure this is due to the lack of a proper staff organization.

Briefly considered, the functions of the Department may be said to be four, as follows:

1. Actual police work, which can be sub-divided into:
   (a) The detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals.
   (b) The preservation of peace by means of a patrolling force.
   (c) The handling and control of traffic.
   (d) The enforcement of city ordinances.

2. The care, custody and maintenance of city property and the expenditure of materials and supplies.

3. The preparation and preservation of departmental records.

4. The supervision of moral conditions.

For the purposes of administration, functions 2 and 3 might well be combined.

The Commission believes that the time has arrived when careful and painstaking consideration should be given to a complete reorganization of the Department of Police along logical and scientific lines, which will give the city of Chicago and its inhabitants the best type of police administration divorced from and unhampereyed by political considerations. It therefore submits for consideration and discussion the following:

That the executive direction of the Department be placed in the hands of a Commissioner of Police, and the above functions of administration be divided among three Deputy Commissioners, as below set forth.

The Deputy Commissioners, while charged with actual command, relieving the Commissioner of minor details of administration and giving him better opportunity for the settlement of broad questions of administration and a study of the best interests of the Department and the individuals composing the same, will, as well, act as a general staff or advisory board to the Commissioner.

Attached hereto as Appendix “C” is a chart of the suggested organization, showing the functions and lines of authority. In this plan the duties and responsibilities of the respective Deputy Commissioners are as follows:

**Deputy Commissioner No. 1.**

1. The enforcement of laws and ordinances.
2. The prevention of crime and the apprehension of criminals.
3. The assignment and distribution of the active force.
4. The regulation of traffic.
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER NO. 2.

1. The ascertaining and recording of efficiency, individual and grouped.
2. The care and custody of city property and the expenditure of same.
3. The inspection of the personnel, stations, equipment and departmental property.
4. The instruction of officers and men.
5. The supervision of departmental records.
6. The receipt and investigation of all complaints of citizens.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER NO. 3.

1. The supervision of all questions of public morals, such as prostitution and the sale of cocaine, opium and other drugs.
2. The supervision of saloons, cafes, restaurants, transient hotels, dance halls and summer parks.
3. The supervision of the ambulance service.
4. The supervision of police matrons.
5. The censoring of moving pictures and performances of all kinds.

The aim in having the functions divided as shown above is that under such an arrangement the activities of the respective Deputy Commissioners would be a check one against the other and would result in furnishing the Police Commissioner, and through him the Mayor, independent information as to conditions in the Department and in the city.

It will be noted from the chart that the active force reports to Deputy Commissioner No. 1; that officers and employees concerned with their respective functional duties report to Deputy Commissioners 2 and 3.

Each Commissioner should in addition be provided with such a working staff as might be found necessary.

The Deputy Commissioner charged with the handling of the active force should of necessity be drawn from that branch of the civil service and the position filled as heretofore by promotion. The other two Deputy Commissioners, in the opinion of this Commission should not be members of the police service, but should be selected by competitive examination. The staffs of each of the Deputy Commissioners should be drawn from the most appropriate civil list.

As soon as practicable, all of the executive offices of the Department should be consolidated in a suitable building constructed and arranged with a view to making the administration, from a physical standpoint, easy, expeditious and economical.
The arguments in favor of this plan, briefly summarized, are:

1. It relieves the Commissioner of Police from the many matters of detail and routine that now seriously impair the efficiency of that officer and leaves him free to consider and pass upon broad principles of administration.

2. It provides that officer with a much needed staff with well defined lines of duty, and creates an expert board capable of assisting and advising him on matters of police administration.

3. It is in no sense radical or revolutionary in that it does not alter the present working organization of the active force.

4. It centralizes the business management of the Department under one head, provides means for uniformity and economy of operation, and takes this duty out of the hands of men whose education and training have not been along these lines.

5. It meets the oft repeated demands for a Commission of Morals, or a permanent Vice Commission, and leaves the question of moral supervision where it belongs—in the Department of Police, under expert supervision and with clearly defined responsibility.

6. It provides two separate checks upon each of the three activities of the Department.

7. The tenure of office of the Deputy Commissioners being permanent during efficient service, makes possible the removal of the Department from the harmful influence of politics.

The Commission does not make the claim that this is the only or the ideal plan of organization, but merely submits it for consideration and discussion as being along lines that it believes will tend to eliminate the faults of the present system.

The Commission had under consideration forms of the commission plan of organization adopted in other cities, but unanimously rejected all such plans as tending to a diffusion rather than a centralization of authority and responsibility.

Departmental Records—Consolidation.

The records of the Department are kept in the following places:

- General Superintendent of Police........... 5th floor, City Hall
- Assistant General Superintendent of Police... 3rd floor, City Hall
- Secretary's office ......................... 10th floor, City Hall
- Bureau of Records ......................... 10th floor, City Hall
- Custodian of Lost and Stolen Property....... 3rd floor, City Hall
- Bureau of Identification ................... Clark street station
- Bureau of Ambulance Service ............... 6th floor, City Hall
- Detective Bureau ......................... 169 N. La Salle street
Superintendent of Horses .............. 10th floor, City Hall
Vehicle Bureau .......................... 3rd floor, City Hall
Bureau of Moving Pictures ............ 3rd floor, City Hall
Bureau of Transportation ............... 10th floor, City Hall
Special Police ......................... 3rd and 10th floors, City Hall
Chief Operator ......................... 3½ floor, City Hall
Photographer ......................... 3rd floor, City Hall
Drillmaster ............................. 5th floor, City Hall
Debts, Buttons and Specifications ...... 3rd floor, City Hall

The following plan for consolidation of offices and records is submitted:

1. In the secretary’s office should be consolidated every office record kept except those of the respective stations, the Secret Service and the Bureau of Identification; and from that office should be eliminated the care of the city property and the issuance of supplies.

2. The Bureau of Identification should be in close proximity to the Secret Service, if not a part thereof.

3. The Bureau of Records should be abolished and its records turned over to the Secretary. The same should be done as to the records now kept in the Bureau of Transportation, the Vehicle Bureau, etc.

4. The Custodian of Lost and Stolen Property should become Property Clerk in the office of Deputy Commissioner No. 1.

5. The Bureau of Moving Pictures should be an adjunct to the office of Deputy Commissioner No. 3.

6. The Chief Operator should report to the Superintendent of properties.

7. Aside from the station records and those of the Secret Service and Bureau of Identification, no office other than the Secretary’s should keep anything more than the simplest records. The information received and collected by them should be transmitted at once to the Secretary’s office, and this office should be contiguous to and of easy access from the offices of the Commissioner and his Deputies.

Property Recovered.

The ordinances of the city and rules of the Department provide that property recovered, whether lost or stolen, shall be forwarded to the police custodian without delay. They further provide that all such property shall be inventoried at once. In neither respect is the spirit of this rule complied with. Recovered stolen property of great value, particularly jewelry, is frequently kept at the stations for weeks and even months, leading to loss, either through negligence or criminal intent. As an example of the loose methods in vogue the following cases are cited:
A raid was made upon the house of a man suspected of being a receiver of stolen property, and a large quantity of property of various kinds and of considerable value was taken to the Esplaines street station. There no inventory of anything was made except of a stolen automobile turned over to its owner, nor was any report made to the custodian. The station records show nothing regarding it and all the property other than the automobile was subsequently turned back as unclaimed and no official receipts taken therefor.

A subsequent raid was made at the same place and among other things taken were jewelry and watches and nine cans of opium. One of the detectives making the raid stored the opium in the vault of a wine merchant for "safe keeping" and when the federal authorities demanded it under the United States laws, three cans valued at approximately $250 were missing. Not the slightest imputation rests upon the merchant. The jewelry and other property were not turned over to the custodian nor any report made to him for substantially a month.

The Custodian of Lost and Stolen Property is a responsible city officer, under heavy bond, with ample facilities for safely keeping and recording such property; therefore the rule should be strictly enforced and should be made more definite and drastic, and a severe penalty should be provided for failure to comply with the same. A strict compliance with this rule will remove an admitted temptation from the rank and file of the Department.

Discipline.

The necessity for strict discipline in a body such as the Police Department needs no argument. The Commission does not wish to be understood as favoring the rigid, hard-and-fast rules of discipline in vogue in the regular army, but if individual efficiency is to be attained in the Police Department, a system approaching the military system must be installed.

Great improvements have been made in the matter of the appearance of the members of the Department. The men are better uniformed, their uniforms are kept in better condition, and complaints which were rife a few years ago of the "slippery" appearance of members of the Department, of men appearing on the street with coats unbuttoned, shields, badges and buttons unpolished and shoes unblacked, no longer prevail. As a whole, the uniformed men at all times present a creditable appearance, but in the other matters of discipline the Department is vitally lacking.

Nothing can be more subversive of discipline than a patrolman calling his commanding officer by his first name, to be on terms of intimacy with his sergeants, or to be seen in public places eating and drinking, and particularly the latter, with his superiors. The converse is true.
when commanding officers habitually refer to the men under them by
their first names and are generally on terms of equality with them.

The very theory of rank in the Police Department means a break-
ing away from equality. The placing of one man in a position of official
superiority above a number of others, in order to make his control bring
forth the best results, means to a certain extent the elimination of
equality.

If there is one great fault in the Police Department of Chicago it
is the fact that to a large extent the sergeants do not exercise that de-
gree of authority and responsibility which their title and increased pay
demands. By virtue of the very equality common in the Department,
fee of the patrol sergeants secure from the men under them that strict
attention to duty and constant effort in the performance of police work
which the position of patrolman requires. The Commission has, without
any particular effort to do so, secured reports in a comparatively short
space of time of approximately 200 uniformed patrolmen violating de-
partmental rules by loafing and lounging about saloons and other places
when their duties required them to be on beat.

Commanding officers interviewed from time to time were united
in the statement that they did not get the right sort of work out of the
patrol sergeants, and that few if any complaints of breaches of depart-
mental discipline on the part of uniformed patrolmen were received from
them. Any patrol sergeant who goes through a year of service without
making a single complaint against a uniformed patrolman is certainly not
performing his duty; yet the investigation has shown that but few patrol
sergeants make any such reports. The whole question of the perform-
ance of patrol duty on the part of patrolman centers around the patrol
sergeants.

Since the investigation became a well-established fact and its sin-
cerity was no longer questioned, there was a marked change in the char-
acter of cases heard by the trial board. The activity of commanding
officers and patrol sergeants in securing evidence against patrolmen for
violations of rules and regulations increased, while cases arising out of
complaints from citizens largely decreased, with the result that the aver-
age number of cases heard on the weekly trial day was not materially
changed. Had the precinct commanders and patrol sergeants exercised
the same vigilance prior to the investigation, the number of cases would
have been more than doubled.

It must not be understood that the Commission favors the species
of espionage universally referred to in the Department as “piperizing,”
but unless the patrolmen can be made to perform their duties and patrol
their posts faithfully, through the efforts of the patrol sergeants, some
system of checks upon their actions must be had. The patrolman who habitually loaf in saloons, cigar stores, restaurants, basements of apartment houses and other places, between the pulls of the box, must either be eliminated from the force or be made to perform his duty.

Section 14 of Rule 9 provides that patrolmen must not walk together on the boundaries of their respective posts while on duty, or stand conversing with each other or with persons whom they meet unless it be necessary on matters relating to police business. Any citizen knows that this section of the rules is constantly ignored.

The rules further prohibit and fix a penalty for entering saloons while on duty not in the line of duty, as well as drinking intoxicating liquors therein. Uniformed patrolmen are constantly seen drinking in saloons. For years the record of the trial board shows that a very large percentage of the cases tried by it are attributable to the use of intoxicating liquors. Many of the complaints as to uniformed patrolmen being seen in saloons, when run down and verified from the records, show that the men complained of were not then or duty in the strict sense of the word. In other words, their eight-hour shift had not begun, or was completed; but the rules provide that although certain hours are allotted for the performance of ordinary duties, every member of the force will be considered as being always on duty.

There is nothing more subversive of the respect of the public for members of the Police Department than to see officers and men drinking in public places.

Another great fault of the Department is the frequenting of places of this kind by members of the force of differing ranks. Evidence of the common practice of lieutenants and sergeants entering saloons and drinking with patrolmen has been repeatedly brought to the attention of the Commission. The same may be said regarding eating in public restaurants.

Another fact tending to show lack of discipline and departmental demoralization is the practice of officers and men accepting free drinks, cigars and meals from the keepers of saloons and restaurants, many of which are constant violators of the law. If a patrolman is in the habit of accepting free accommodations of this character, he will be most apt to be lax in the performance of his duty when the person who has favored him is guilty of an infraction of the law.

Wearing Uniforms.

Section 4, Rule 2, of the Rules and Regulations, provides that, "except when the character of the work otherwise requires, or when permitted by the General Superintendent, all members of the Active Force on duty will appear in full uniform." The reason for this rule is self-
evident and it should be rigidly enforced. The wearing of the uniform is and should be an honor and a privilege, and not a matter to be avoided on every possible occasion, as is the case among a large percentage of the active force of the rank of sergeant and above.

Inspections.

One glaring fault in the Department developed by the investigation was the almost complete disregard of every provision of the Book of Rules regarding inspections. The commanding officer of a large body of men can have no true conception of how police duty is being performed unless he is in constant touch, through reliable officers, with the manner in which work is being done; yet the evidence shows that from the inspectors down to the lieutenants the rules in this regard have in the past been deliberately ignored.

Inspectors were required to make weekly inspections of every station in their respective divisions. The evidence fails to show that any one of them strictly obeyed this order. The rule required written reports of such inspections, but the General Superintendent of Police, without any amendment of the rules, saw fit to make this provision in effect inoperative, saying on the witness stand that he did not want a report except when there was something to report or some fault to be found. It therefore follows that he had no way of knowing, except by word of mouth, that any inspector had been out of his precinct at any time for the purposes of inspection, unless a specific report had been sent in, and these were seldom made. No inspector interrogated on the stand could state at what particular date he went to any particular station in his division other than the one which he used as headquarters.

The abolition of the inspection divisions and the retention of districts containing more than one precinct, if adhered to, places upon some of the captains the responsibility for conditions in precincts other than those at which they make their headquarters. The rules and regulations of the Department, in that event, should be amended so as to place upon the captains the same obligation as to making weekly visits of inspection as were placed upon the inspectors.

Another provision of the Book of Rules which is ignored or given but scant attention is the one requiring lieutenants at each roll call to make a careful and complete inspection of each policeman and his equipment, to see that the same are in fit condition for service. The rules further provide that the equipment of sergeants and patrolmen shall consist of report book and pencil, official star and shield, revolver and ammunition for the same, a police whistle, fire key, patrol box key, regulation belt and club or baton, all of which shall be carried while on duty.

From its investigation, the Commission is convinced that in but very
few precinct stations in the city, at any time, is there such a careful inspection of the equipment as is provided for by the rules. So long as the revolver is a part of the official equipment, it should be carefully inspected every day and the men required to change ammunition with enough frequency to prevent misfires. The present practice of a general inspection once a year is neither carrying out the letter nor the spirit of the rule.

Special Assignments.

In its preliminary report the Commission in commenting upon the large number of patrolmen assigned to special duty, stated that out of 3,800 patrolmen on duty, about 300 are ordinarily carried in citizen’s dress, 350 on wagons and ambulances, 300 on street crossings, railroad crossings and bridges, and about 1,200 on “special duty.” The official report of October 21, 1911, shows among others the following carried on special duty:

- Aid and Humane Societies ........................................... 12
- Amusements and exhibitions ....................................... 14
- C. Roe (white slavery) .............................................. 3
- Citizen’s dress ..................................................... 94
  (Note—This is in addition to men ordinarily carried in citizen’s dress.)
- City Hall and city offices ......................................... 24
- Clerical ......................................................................... 42
- Commanding officers’ drivers ....................................... 19
- County offices and buildings ....................................... 20
- Crippled children’s busses .......................................... 7
- Detective agency ...................................................... 1
- Docks, depots and “L” roads ......................................... 24
- Detective duty .......................................................... 52
- Elevator operators .................................................... 2
- Fire attorney’s office ................................................ 6
- Health Department ..................................................... 8
- Juvenile work ........................................................... 33
- Licenses ................................................................. 95
- Mechanics, printers, etc. ............................................ 7
- Miscellaneous ......................................................... 61
- Newspapers ............................................................. 10
- Reform training school ................................................ 7
- Secretaries to commanding officers ............................... 20
- Street Department .................................................... 6

Total ........................................................................ 578

The Commission further stated that the assignment of patrolmen to duties that could be performed more efficiently and at a lower salary by other types of employees, is an injustice to the tax payers and a financial injury to the city.

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A start towards correcting this evil in the Department was made in the budget for 1912. In that, appropriation was made for 55 positions formerly filled by patrolmen on detail, as follows:

10 junior clerks at .......................$840 per annum
5 junior stenographers at .................840 per annum
32 police drivers and chauffeurs at ......900 per annum
8 police messengers at ....................900 per annum

This shows an annual saving of $24,000 in salaries of these positions, as against that of an equal number of first-class patrolmen at $1,320 per annum.

The Commission has not and does not advocate an immediate and radical change in methods in vogue for years, but does believe that an adherence to this policy from year to year will result in the placing of more patrolmen on the street when most needed, without a corresponding increase in appropriation.

Assignments of Sergeants.

In the matter of the assignment of sergeants, both desk and patrol, no consideration whatever is given by the Department to the number of men under command. The eight-hour shift is taken literally, regardless of the amount of work to be performed, and every station is furnished, as far as possible, with at least three desk and three patrol sergeants. The deficiency in this number, if any, is made up by the special assignment of acting sergeants.

The utter absurdity of the system and its application is shown by a comparison between the 1st and 16th precincts, as shown by daily reports of October 18, 1911. In the 1st there were two regularly assigned desk sergeants and seven patrol sergeants, with a total force of over 400 on duty—an average of substantially one sergeant to every forty men; in the 16th, three desk sergeants and two patrol sergeants, with a total force of thirty-six men on duty, or an average of one sergeant to every seven men.

It is even worse in the newly created 9th precinct, where the report shows one lieutenant and five sergeants, with six men on patrol duty. In any suburban town of like size and equal population the same work would have been done by one sergeant and not to exceed six men.

In the 7th precinct, on the day shift, one sergeant supervises the work of two patrolmen.

Whether the eight-hour shift stands or falls, regardless of the work to be performed, there can be no excuse for the assignment of patrol sergeants to the supervision of the work of two or three, or even six men. They would better be replaced by patrolmen and leave the supervision to the lieutenant in command, or the desk sergeants.
be no use in such a station for that number of sergeants if a day's work is to be given for a day's pay.

**Secret Service.**

Reports show that approximately 800 men in the Department are doing so-called detective duty, made up substantially as follows:

- Regular plain clothes men at stations: 500
- Special plain clothes men at stations: 130
- Detective Bureau: 170

**Total**: 800

In other words, almost one-fifth of the combined force of sergeants and patrolmen at the command of superiors or by virtue of "pull," have shed their uniforms and become "detectives."

The absurdity of the proposition in the concrete is best shown by the statements and testimony of commanding officers and of the plain clothes men themselves. With scarcely a dissenting opinion on the part of plain clothes men on the witness stand, it was admitted or used as an excuse for failure to suppress various forges of vice, the following:

1. That they cannot prevent gambling because they are too well known in their respective precincts, or of too great a bulk.
2. That they cannot prevent street, saloon or house soliciting, for the same reasons.
3. That they cannot detect the illegal sale of liquor in houses of prostitution, for the same reasons.
4. That they cannot procure evidence against assignation houses, transient hotels and like places, for the same reasons.
5. That they cannot suppress the illegal sale of cocaine and other drugs because of the fact that they themselves cannot secure evidence and are not provided with a fund with which to secure it.

The number of men assigned to this duty is out of all proportion to the work accomplished, and a critical analysis of the work done by plain clothes men at stations should be made with a view of returning to patrol duty as many men as possible. The character of the work to which the plain clothes men are assigned is, to a large extent, such as could better be performed by a man in uniform. The presence of a man in uniform is a most corrective aid against crime, vice and disorder, and the all-important function of a police department is the prevention of crime and disorder and not to make a record for arrests. The detection of criminals is of minor importance if crime is prevented by the presence of an ample uniformed force.

The Commission does not wish to be understood that it believes that
there are no plain clothes men fit for the duty to which they are assigned. On the contrary, it is convinced that there are many in the service well equipped by training and experience to perform this work; but it is also convinced, from the evidence it has secured, that the entire system of detective and plain clothes detail is faulty and inadequate to perform the work assigned to it.

One great evil is the method used in selecting plain clothes men. Personal or political influence, rather than fitness and efficiency, appears to be the governing factor in many cases, and due consideration has not been given to the ability and personality of the plain clothes men. It is a well-known fact that not only the crook, but the ordinary citizen, can tell the average plain clothes man as far as he can see him. This is accentuated by the time-honored and childishly absurd plan of universally traveling in pairs, regardless of the character of duty to be performed. If Detective Jones is conspicuous, Detective Jones and his partner are doubly so.

Under the rules of the Police Department and the Civil Service Commission, these men must be selected from the active force, and with the exception of the commanding officers assigned to this duty, they are selected from the force of sergeants and patrolmen.

By the rules of the Civil Service Commission, adopted at the request of the Police Department, the minimum height of candidates for patrolman is fixed at five feet eight inches, with proportionate physical requirements. The average height is in excess of this figure. Secret service work is, as a rule, best accomplished by small and inconspicuous men, and brawn and physical perfection are not essential qualifications, but on the contrary are generally a handicap.

The Detective Bureau costs the city of Chicago approximately a quarter of a million dollars annually. The salaries paid to the remaining men doing plain clothes work is more than three-quarters of a million more.

During the month of January, 1912, with an average force of 180 men, the Detective Bureau made 95 arrests and picked up 16 fugitives from justice. The remainder of the work done by it was of a negligible character.

What the people of Chicago are entitled to and pay for is a secret service that can actually detect crime and bring criminals to punishment.

In any plan of reorganization of the Department of Police, careful consideration would be given and study made of the whole question of detective, plain clothes and secret service work of the Department, with a view of remedying the admitted faults of the present system. The Commission would therefore suggest that arrangements be made to study
secret service methods in vogue in the various departments of the United States government and in other cities of the United States and abroad, with a view of creating a detective or secret service force that will be up to date, progressive and useful.

Bureau of Identification.

The records of the Bureau of Identification are of incalculable value and should be made absolutely secure against loss or damage by fire. At present they are kept in a non-fireproof building ill suited to the purpose and not as accessible as they should be.

Transfer System.

It is universally conceded that the transfer system in vogue tends to deter the men of the Department from the performance of their duties and to permit the use of favoritism.

Transfers are made for three reasons:

1st. At the request of the person transferred, in which case political influence is frequently used.

2nd. As a matter of discipline.

3rd. Because of some act done by the person transferred which is objected to by some person of influence, political or otherwise, against whom the act is directed.

Transfers as a matter of discipline may not in themselves be objectionable, but as a rule it would be far better to punish the offender by reprimand or fine, suspension or discharge, than to pass him on to some other officer who will again transfer him for any breach of discipline.

The third form is most demoralizing. Ample proof has been introduced that this kind of transfer is the most deterrent of all influences against the proper performance of police duty, both by officers and subordinates, by reason of the fact that it is in most instances political. In the preliminary report the Commission said that such was the fact but that no member of the force would come out in the open and testify thereto. Since that time a score or more have so testified without any attempt at contradiction. If a patrolman reports a violation to his superior and no action is taken or the superior officer says "I will attend to it" and does not, the inferior is not expected thereafter to again report the facts or to take any individual action. If he persists, he knows that he will be transferred to "the prairies," or as one witness testified, would need to "have his head examined." This species of transfer must be entirely eliminated if the patrolmen and sergeants are to be held personally accountable for vice conditions.

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Pickpockets, Etc.

The rules provide that all members of the police force, from the
patrolmen up, are required to keep track of and report on the move-
ments, haunts and habits of all persons of well-known bad character.
The evidence shows that this is not done except in the most haphazard
manner and with no uniform system in the various precinct stations.

It is of the utmost importance that these people be kept track of.
This could be done at an expense small in comparison with the benefits
derived. A card index system could be installed at each station giving
the names, residences, description, habits, and friends or relatives of all
such persons, which could be kept constantly up to date in the same
manner as the records are kept of well known criminals.

Many commanding officers have complained vigorously of the vag-
grancy ordinances as applied to the class of persons known as “pimps.”
It applies as well to pickpockets and other thieves. It is shown by the
evidence that pickpockets and hold-up men have regular haunts, usually
in saloons, and it seems clear that they have no occupation other than
that of crime; yet these saloons, known to the police, are permitted to
harbor such persons without restraint, and many of them have the reputa-
tion at least of being “fences” for stolen goods.

The Commission has received more or less evidence that pickpockets
and hold-up men are under police protection and pay for the same. A
good deal of this payment is made to the plain clothes men and not to
commanding officers. The Commission is convinced that an honest en-
deavor on the part of the Police Department to rid the city of persons of
this character would prevent the yearly recurrence of “the wave of
crime.”

Superannuation and Incapacity.

It is admitted on all sides that the Department is carrying on the
active list many men who by reason of age, habits or physical condition,
are not fitted to perform police duties. Many of these men are eligible
for retirement, but through favoritism or the system are kept on the force
for the simple reason that they prefer to draw full pay rather than the
pension allowance. Efforts have been made to secure the retirement of
these men but without much actual success.

The Pension Law permits the retirement of any member of the force
after twenty years of service, regardless of age. The law should be
amended so as to provide for compulsory retirement upon reaching a
certain age limit. This might be graded for the character of the ser-
vice, but it would probably answer the purpose better if it were the same
age for all—say sixty years.

There should be established in the Department an annual or bien-
nial medical and physical examination of all members of the department, in order:

1. To check disease in its inception and to force men to keep in good physical and medical condition.
2. Thereby to protect the pension fund.
3. To rid the Department of men not able to perform their duties.

The Police Department should not be run upon sentiment, but as a purely business proposition. The pension allowance is liberal in the extreme and there should be no reasonable complaint on the part of members of the department if a compulsory retirement for age or disability were strictly adhered to.

In considering the monetary value of a position in the Police Department, there must be taken into consideration the deferred salary in the shape of the pension provided by law. A patrolman entering the service at the minimum age, namely, twenty-four, may retire at the age of forty-four, engage in other work and draw a pension of $650 per annum for the balance of his life. His expectation of life-based upon standard mortality tables, is twenty-five and one-half years. The result would be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 year active service, at $900</td>
<td>$900.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year active service, at 1,000</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 years active service, at 1,320</td>
<td>23,760.00</td>
<td>$25,660.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25½ years retired, at 660</td>
<td>$16,830.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less amount contributed to pension fund (1½%)</td>
<td>384.90</td>
<td>16,445.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total pay for 20 years of actual service $42,105.00

Average pay for each year of actual service $2,105.00

This does not take into consideration the benefit to his widow or minor children in the case of death.

Attention is called to the constantly increasing annual burden upon the city of Chicago due to the pension fund. The total receipts for the eleven months ending June 30, 1911, were $537,000, only $59,000 of which was contributed by members. The total number of pensioners on that date was 829, and the amount paid out $432,826. A constant increase in the number of pensioners must be expected, with a constantly increasing burden upon the city.

Examinations.

The standard of examination, particularly for promotion to positions above the rank of sergeant, should be raised greatly. While there has been some improvement in this regard, still the type of examination
is not such as to secure the selection of men in all respects well qualified to fill the higher positions.

The commanding officers should be men of experience, good judgment and executive ability, and should have something more than a mere knowledge of police duty. The system of efficiency markings and weights given them in examinations, plus the seniority allowance, tends to pass men who are deficient in other matters of examination. For instance, under the present rules the subjects and weights are as follows:

Physical

\{
Tests of agility and muscular strength, and
physical condition.
\}

................. 1

Educational

\{
Spelling .......... \frac{1}{2}
Penmanship .......... \frac{1}{2}
Arithmetic .......... 1
\}

................. 2

Duties

........................................... 5

Efficiency

........................................... 2

Seniority—as provided by Sec. 6, Rule VI.

A man may get 65 per cent in physical, 65 in educational, 60 in duties, and if given an efficiency mark of 90, with a seniority credit of 10 years' service in the next lower rank, will pass a promotion examination.

The method in vogue in the past of fixing the efficiency marks by rule of thumb, based entirely upon individual judgment of one or more persons, is unfair to the bulk of the members of the department and to the tax-payers of the city. An effort should be made to install in the department a system of efficiency records that will be as nearly automatic as possible, and which will not be subject to change at the whim of any individual.

A start in this regard was made under Rule 31 of the Rules and Regulations, providing for the keeping of a service record card of each member of the active force. These cards have been prepared and filled in but nothing further has been done regarding the matter and the rule is a dead letter.

Promotions

The Civil Service Law required the certification of the three highest on an eligible list and gives the appointing power the right to select one of the three so certified. Commissions past and present have realized the abuse to which this provision of the law may be put, but this Commission does not believe that any Commission since the law went into effect has known that positions have been paid for.

Such, however, is unquestionably the fact. The practice has been for persons claiming the power to influence the selection to collect money
from as many as possible of those likely to be certified, keep the amount paid by the successful ones, and repay those not selected, with the explanation that counter influence was too strong. The Commission is convinced that this has been done frequently without the knowledge of the appointing power.

The fact that the title of the person securing promotion in this way is doubtful, makes the securing of positive evidence in individual cases practically impossible.

Your Honor's order to select the top of the list hereafter, unless there are specific reasons against so doing, will eliminate this evil entirely.

Instruction.

The rules provide that the lieutenants shall establish and conduct a general school of instruction at least once each week. This rule is ignored in ninety per cent of the precincts of this city; yet the ignorance of officers and men of the provisions of the Book of Rules, the orders of the department and the elementary law necessary to good police work is admitted on all sides. The rules also provide for the establishment and conduct of a school of instruction for recruits. Such a school was established in the fall of 1910 and operated for some months with unqualified success.

You cannot create a carpenter by giving an absolutely untrained man a hammer and a saw, nor can you make a safe and efficient patrolman by placing on a raw recruit the star and uniform of authority and giving him a club and high-powered revolver which he does not know how to use. Experience at the school of instruction showed that practically none of the recruits had any appreciable knowledge of elementary criminal law, departmental rules and regulations, first aid to the injured, the procuring of evidence or what to procure, or the preparation of reports. Fifty per cent had never shot a revolver and fully ninety per cent has never shot a high-powered gun. One untrained recruit plus a 38 Colt can do more damage than a hundred untrained carpenters.

The school of instruction for recruits showed its value in its first months' existence, and its value constantly increased; it stood for progressiveness and showed a departmental desire to improve; its abandonment clearly shows the reverse. This school should be re-established without further delay.

There should be established a school for officers and sergeants, where, in addition to advanced instruction, there can be an exchange of ideas on police duty, pending cases, new laws and ordinances and other matters of interest.

An effort should be made to induce one or more of our universities
or training schools to install elementary and advanced courses in police work. Tentative suggestions along this line have been met more than half way.

The police profession is a necessary, if not generally considered an honorable one, and the one thing necessary to make it honorable is education and training. The pay plus the pension is far above the average in the callings from which the force is recruited; it is certain during good behavior, and in spite of commonly accepted ideas the occupation is not extra hazardous as statistics show. The Commission believes that there are many men in the department who would gladly devote part of their time when off duty in an effort to qualify for advanced positions in the department.

The United Police of Chicago.

The organization composed of members of the Police Department and known as the United Police of Chicago, is inimical to the best interests of discipline as the same is now conducted. Its original purpose, namely, to protect members of the department from suits for damages arising out of the performance of police duty, was in itself harmless, but there should be no necessity for such an organization. The City of Chicago should take care of such suits and hold members of the department harmless, unless it clearly appears that the policeman sued has been guilty of the improper use of his power, or the abuse of his authority.

The purposes of the organization, however, have been greatly enlarged, and now it defends its members at trials for breaches of departmental rules and regulations, collects and disburses funds to influence legislation and has been charged with a conspiracy to secure salary advances by means of bribery.

The scandal arising over the appropriation bill for 1911 in connection with the increase of salaries asked for members of the Department, is sufficient in itself to call for the dissolution of the organization or the placing of the same under material restrictions. Discipline cannot be enforced if the organization defends men for disorderly conduct, drunkenness, sleeping on posts, maltreatment of prisoners and abuse of citizens and the numerous other cases brought before the trial board.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

As a result of this Commission’s investigation, it has arrived at certain conclusions and desires to make its final suggestions for your consideration.
Conclusions.

From the evidence obtained by it the Commission reiterates the conclusions arrived at in its preliminary report, with added conclusions as follows:

(a) That there is and for years has been a connection between the Police Department and the various criminal classes in the City of Chicago.

(b) That a bi-partisan political combination or ring exists, by and through which the connection between the Police Department and the criminal classes above referred to is fostered and maintained.

(c) That to such connection may be charged a great part of the inefficiency—disorganization and lack of discipline existing in the Department.

(d) That aside from such connection, inefficiency also arises through faults of organization and administration.

(e) That the Police Department, as now numerically constituted, can enforce any reasonable regulation in regard to gambling, crime and other forms of vice, if honestly and efficiently administered, as well as perform all other routine police duties.

(f) That with the Department as now organized, efficient administration cannot be expected nor secured.

(g) That amendments to the laws and ordinances are also necessary to a higher degree of efficiency.

Recommendations.

The Commission finally makes the following recommendations:

1. That steps be taken at once looking towards the complete reorganization of the Department of Police along logical and scientific lines, retaining everything of value, remedying existing faults and removing the service as far as possible from the influence of politics.

2. That in such reorganization due consideration be given to the creation of an efficient staff of carefully selected men to assist the executive head in the administration of the Department.

3. That steps be taken to merge offices of record and to simplify and modernize the record, report and correspondence systems.

4. That as soon as possible the executive officers of the Department be consolidated in a centrally located and suitable building.

5. That a study be made of secret service methods in use in the Federal service and in other cities of the United States and abroad, with a view of creating a detective or secret service force in this city which will be up to date, progressive and useful.
6. That the control of traffic in the central portion of the city be placed in charge of a single commanding officer and that responsibility for all other police duty in the First Precinct be placed upon the precinct commander.

7. That a system of inspection be installed that will insure the proper performance of police duty on the part of officers and men.

8. That all assignments to "special duty" other than city police duty in the strictest sense, be discontinued, to the end that every available patrolman may be on beat.

9. That the method inaugurated in the budget for 1912 providing for the substitution of lesser paid employes for patrolmen assigned to various kinds of special duty be extended as occasion permits.

10. That the present method of assignment of sergeants be revised to secure, as far as possible, equality as to number of men supervised.

11. That transfers as a punishment or at the request of persons outside the Department be discontinued.

12. That the standard of promotion examinations be raised.

13. That a system for the ascertaining and recording of individual efficiency, as nearly automatic as possible, be installed and maintained, and that as a factor thereof annual or biennial medical examinations be held.

14. That in all promotions the person at the top of the list be taken unless some valid and substantial reason exists why he should not be promoted.

15. That an age limit be fixed for compulsory retirement of members of the Department.

16. That the school of instruction for recruits be re-established, that a system of station schools of instruction, uniform throughout the precincts, be devised and installed as contemplated by the rules, and that a school for officers and sergeants be established.

17. That an effort be made to secure the establishment of courses in police work in one or more of the City universities or training schools.

18. That the rules regarding vice be revised and amplified.

19. That the ordinances prohibiting street walking be amended so as to provide for a graded increase of fine for each offense, eliminating judicial discretion as far as possible.

20. That the laws regarding vagrants and persons of known bad character be studied with a view to a revision of such laws, and that the attention of the legislature be called to the faults in the cocaine law.

21. That a card index system be installed in every precinct station
that will show at all times, up to date, the name, description, character, haunts, habits, associates and relatives of every known person of bad character residing in or frequenting such precinct, including pickpockets, hold-up men, safe blowers, confidence men, "pimps," prostitutes and people who have operated gambling or gaming houses.

22. That immediate and stringent methods be taken to either disband the organization or restrict the activities of the United Police, and to prevent the creation of any organization whose influence and tendency are to break down departmental organization and efficiency.

Respectfully submitted,

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.
City of Chicago.

By
H. M. CAMPBELL,
JOHN J. FLYNN,
ELTON LOWER,
Commissioners.

Approved:

W. W. WHEELOCK, Special Counsel.
JAMES MILES, Examiner in Charge of Efficiency.
APPENDIX "A"

Table Showing Numbers of
VIOLATIONS OF LAWS, ORDINANCES AND POLICE RULES
In the Forty-five Police Precincts in Chicago
During Period Beginning May 1, 1911, and Ending December 31,
1911, as Shown by the Reports of Investigators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st precinct</th>
<th>2nd precinct</th>
<th>3rd precinct</th>
<th>4th precinct</th>
<th>5th precinct</th>
<th>6th precinct</th>
<th>7th precinct</th>
<th>8th precinct</th>
<th>29th precinct</th>
<th>30th precinct</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gambling Houses, Handbooks and Poolrooms (including Forty-four Chinese Games, 2nd Fet.)</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>301(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Houses of Prostitution on Street Car Lines (including massage parlors)</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Houses of Prostitution Having Government Licenses</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) <strong>Houses of Prostitution Selling Liquor, not including those with Government Licenses</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5(c)</td>
<td>8(d)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) <strong>Saloons Habitually Open After Hours</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saloons Where Prostitutes Solicit</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assortation Houses and Flats and Call Flats</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disorderly Dance Halls</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policemen Seen Violating Departmental Rules</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Places Illegally Selling Cocaine, Quinin, Etc.</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Violations</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>132</strong></td>
<td><strong>227</strong></td>
<td><strong>271</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>247</strong></td>
<td><strong>450</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,027</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX "C"
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
(Number One)
Charged with

(1) The enforcement of the laws and ordinances.
(2) The prevention of crime and the apprehension of criminals.
(3) The assignment and distribution of the active force.
(4) The regulation of traffic.

TO WHOM WILL REPORT
(1) All patrol commanders.
(2) Chief of the Secret Service.
(3) Chief of the Traffic Division.
(4) Motor Cycle, Marine and Gambling Squads.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
(Number Two)
Charged with

(1) The ascertaining and recording of efficiency, individual and grouped.
(2) The care and custody of city property and the expenditures of the same.
(3) The inspection of the personnel, stations, equipment and departmental property.
(4) The instruction of officers and men.
(5) The supervision of departmental records.
(6) The receipt and investigation of all complaints of citizens.

TO WHOM WILL REPORT
(1) Secretary of the Department.
(2) Superintendent of Properties.
(3) Ferry Master.
(4) Director of Schools of Instruction.
(5) Inspectors of Personnel and Properties.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
(Number Three)
Charged with

(1) The supervision of all questions of public morals, such as prostitution, the sale of narcotics, opium and other drugs.
(2) The supervision of saloons, cafes, restaurants, transient hotels, dance halls and summer parks.
(3) The supervision of the ambulance service.
(4) The supervision of Police Matrons.
(5) The censoring of moving pictures and performances of all kinds.

TO WHOM WILL REPORT
(1) Inspectors of Moral Conditions.
(2) The Chief of the Ambulance Service.
(3) Chief Matron.