

CHAPTER VIII
THE POLICE (in Chicago)

By
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CONTENTS OF CHAPTER VIII

	<i>Page</i>
1. Foreword	357
2. Political Factors	358
3. Police Personnel	360
4. Civil Service Examinations	361
5. Police Training	363
6. Divisional Organization	365
7. Staff Organization	365
8. Same: Commercialized Crime and Politics, as Affecting Staff Organization	366
9. Same: Traffic Control.	367
10. Signal Methods	368
11. Records, Reports, and Statistics	369
12. State Bureau of Police, for Co-operation	370
13. Recommendations	372

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLICE

(IN CHICAGO)

I. *Foreword. [By the
Chairman of the
Survey Committee.]*

One of the most important problems confronting the Survey Committee at the outset of the survey of the administration of criminal justice in Illinois was the police department of the City of Chicago. The department has for years been a storm center around which has raged conflict after conflict, precipitated by the efforts of politicians to control the police for their own nefarious purposes. That the department has been used as a political pawn through successive municipal administrations, with few exceptions, for a number of years is well established by the report on *Organized Crime*.

On April 15, 1927, when the survey was launched, a new municipal administration had just been inaugurated. Mayor William Hale Thompson had succeeded William E. Dever, and a new chief of police, Michael E. Hughes, was appointed on April 14, 1927.

Shortly thereafter a complete reorganization of the department occurred. Numerous transfers were made and the usual number of officers sent to the "sticks." Captain Stege, Captain Murphy, and others, who had splendid records of distinguished service over a long period in the department, were tried by the Civil Service Commission upon charges, some of which were exceedingly flimsy, and all of these officers were dismissed from the force.

Chief Hughes then reorganized the department by reviving the old commissioner system, which had been discarded years before. This was recognized as a move to centralize control of the department and, judging from past experiences, it was at once concluded that there was deep significance to be attached to the move, in view of the fact that Mayor Thompson had been elected upon a "wide-open" platform; that liquor manufacturers and purveyors, and professional gamblers had rushed back into Chicago from the outlying parts of Cook County where they had been forced to go during the Dever administration, and had established syndicated liquor running and open gambling in many parts of the city.

There were many evidences that the department was demoralized; that there were distinct and well known alliances between the police and underworld celebrities; that gambling and liquor running were not to be interfered with, and that it was risky for any police official to exercise any initiative on his beat or in his district without specific orders from headquarters. There was the closest political alliance between the prosecutor, the sheriff, the police, the mayor, and many of the judges of the courts, and they, together, completely dominated the political affairs of the city and county. It was demonstrated early in the survey that the office of state's attorney was being used extensively for political purposes and many habitual offenders and dangerous criminals were being released with little or no punishment.

Illinois Crime Survey

In view of these rather obvious surface indications, the committee was confronted with the question of whether the ordinary survey of police organization and methods would be of any practical value, but recognized the necessity for expert counsel before making this preliminary decision. The committee then sought the advice of August Vollmer, chief of police of Berkeley, California, who by reason of his enlightened and scientific methods of police administration in his own city and his work in reorganizing the police departments of the cities of Los Angeles and Detroit, and of Havana, Cuba, as well as his writings and addresses upon the subject, is probably the most highly rated police administrator in this country. He has, in fact, an international reputation.

Chief Vollmer came to Chicago in February, 1928, and spent some time looking over the situation. In the end he wrote a report setting out his conclusions and making certain suggestions as to what had to be done before any relief could be expected. This report was not, at the time, published. Since it was submitted, Chief Hughes has been deposed and two elections have demonstrated conclusively the determination of the people of Cook County to repudiate all of the politicians responsible for intolerable conditions of crime and laxity in law enforcement. Captain Stege was brought back and reinstated by the new chief, Russell, and there are many other evidences that an effort is being made to rid the department of the factors which, in 1927 and the first half of 1928, were responsible for its demoralization.

Chief Vollmer's comments and conclusions are interesting in the light of subsequent events, and we take pleasure in presenting them.

2. *Political Factors.* Some of the conclusions regarding the police department contained in the final report of the (Chicago) civil service commission police investigation of 1911-1912, are as follows:

"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 bipartisan 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."

From the foregoing it is clear that the factors which have contributed to the demoralization and inefficiency of the police force of Chicago have been of long standing. The efforts made at that time to better conditions, as well as later sporadic attempts, have done little to ameliorate the deplorable situation mentioned in the Civil Service Commission's report. It would be a simple matter at this time to satisfy the people supporting the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice by suggesting remedies for some of the police organization defects, but we would be remiss in our duty and would

The Police (in Chicago)

only be dealing with symptoms and not with the fundamental causes of police inefficiency.

It has been made known to the public, through the columns of the press and through previous investigations, that the factors responsible for a demoralized force lie without the department. Until these factors are removed it would be farcical to undertake the selection and training of personnel, force organization and distribution, equipment, records, and statistics. Moreover, attempts to clean up a police department by brass band tactics and clamor for a new police executive are nothing more or less than the tools of crafty politicians and mere gestures, which do not strike at the root of the evil or contribute one whit to better police service; in fact, such tactics serve further to demoralize the force.

It is commonly known that demoralization is traceable to the low standard of entrance requirements, inadequate preliminary training and absence of training for sergeants, detectives, and commanding officers. The force is further demoralized by the constant changing of department policies in regard to law enforcement; also the brief tenure of office of the chief executive, and the constant shifting of line and administrative officials. The men in the ranks know that if they perform their duties properly during one administration, the next administration will penalize them for such zeal and initiative by transfer to the "sticks" or demotion. Lack of support by prosecuting officers and the courts also adds to the demoralization and creates in the minds of policemen the attitude of "what's the use?" Especially when they view the successful operations of the professional bondsman and crooked attorneys who appear for guilty defendants.

But, the chief cause of demoralization is the corrupt political influence exercised by administrative officials and corrupt politicians. Even the ward leaders exercise a baneful influence and have the power to compel precinct captains to do their bidding. Zeal, initiative, confidence in their brother officers, enthusiasm for their work, devotion to duty are all destroyed, and even the habits and moral character of some of the members are affected by the measures and agencies previously mentioned.

There is no denying the fact that the great majority of the members of the police force of Chicago would prefer to render efficient service if they were permitted to do so, and among their ranks may be found some of the most skillful, intelligent men in the police service in this country.

To overcome the forces which are organized to break down the administration of justice, it is imperative that the unity existing between vice and crime be destroyed. This may in a short time be accomplished by setting up separate forces for combatting each of these well organized groups. Links that connect the gambler, bootlegger, prostitute, criminal, bond broker, crooked lawyer and politician must be broken and each link in the chain given individual attention and individually attacked. The old parable of the bundle of sticks illustrates this point admirably. Separately, they are easily broken, but when bound together they defy a giant's strength. A comparatively few men, with sufficient under-cover allowance, directed by a forceful and incorruptible leader, can overwhelm the allied army of the gamblers, bootleggers, prostitutes, drug fiends, and their leaders and supporters, pro-

Illinois Crime Survey

vided, of course, that they have the moral support and backing of the community and administration leaders. Incidentally, responsibility can then be easily traced when this particular unit of the government fails to wage a successful campaign against these social parasites. A properly organized, trained, and equipped police department, charged with the responsibility of preserving the peace and protecting lives and property, unhampered by traffic and vice duties and commanded by competent police executives, can drive the criminals out of the city or force them to engage in more honorable occupations; moreover, the renewed demoralization of the force, previously mentioned, would not be easy and the officials could not fail to command the respect of the people they serve.

A survey should comprehend a thorough investigation of each of the separate organizations—their various political affiliations, their contacts with other branches of the municipal and county governments, their contacts with the invisible government, and every other element that contributes either directly or indirectly to defective administration. Such an investigation should be so thorough as to insure the detection and elimination of the incompetent and dishonest members of the several branches; otherwise, the results will be negative.

Any proposed reorganization plan would be useless so long as the police administrators are not free from the dominating influence of corrupt politicians. Chicago police officials are victims of a political system and as long as the system remains their inefficiency will continue; it cannot be otherwise.

3. *Police Personnel.* Trained and intelligent policemen of good character give courage to law-abiding citizens and furnish a nucleus around which they may rally to control the lawless element. A comparatively small body of such men is a strong deterrent against lawlessness and effectively curtails the efforts of antisocial individuals who have a distorted conception of their responsibility to the group.

Weakness of a police organization, improperly recruited, contributes greatly to the indifference and apathy of the public and frequently encourages potential offenders to become habitual criminals. Higher standards of physical and entrance requirements of police must be established. Whatever may be achieved in remedying police defects must be done through enlisting the services of intelligent men of excellent character, who are sufficiently educated to perform the duties of a policeman.

As a first step in any plan to ameliorate conditions, it is necessary to keep out, rather than weed out, undesirable persons. Preventive measures are vastly cheaper and more effective than the installation of complicated machinery to correct personnel defects. Besides, an unsatisfactory policeman weakens the moral fiber of his associates and destroys public confidence in the police. The police organization suffers in reputation and society pays the bill when policemen are dishonest, brutal, stupid, or physically or temperamentally unsuited. Arbitrary, unnecessary exercise of police powers, harshness, and cruelty produce crime, anarchy, and kindred social and political ills.

Examinations by psychiatrists would assist in stopping these unsatisfactory persons at the recruiting vestibule. Mental peculiarities or abnormal-

The Police (in Chicago)

ities, either inherent or acquired, should be detected through the preliminary examination and the possessors thereof rejected. These specialists will otherwise contribute to successful police administration through their understanding of the traits of character, motives, interests, aptitudes, dispositions, attitudes, ideals, limitations, and potentialities of the persons who are finally selected. Indeed, careless procedure in promotional examinations has resulted disastrously in the past. Deserving officials have been overlooked in the search for leaders and experts, while unsatisfactory men were placed in responsible positions, and through their incompetency brought discredit on the entire organization. Each individual differs from every other in mental make-up and in training. Capitalization of these variations of human qualities is essential in order that men may be placed where they will find pleasure in their work and are afforded an opportunity to give the community the best that is in them. Shrewd experts are required to conduct the affairs of business concerns. To an even greater degree do police departments demand a higher grade of intelligence and experts. Oftentimes the technical and important task of policing a city is placed in the hands of incompetents, who are unable to respond to the numerous calls made upon them for efficient service and common sense interpretation of the laws. Their stupidity, helplessness, and frequent lack of moral courage contribute to the contempt in which police departments are held by the average citizen. No mental measure scheme has been perfected; nevertheless, the result obtained in the army during the late war, and in educational and industrial institutions, justifies the use of mental tests to determine whether or not applicants for positions on the force are mentally endowed adequately to discharge their duties.

4. *Civil Service* Undoubtedly, the present civil service examinations have had a tendency to weed out some of the mentally unfit. But it is necessary to supplement the educational examination by the use of tests to determine the mental fitness of the candidates. When we consider that there are many unintelligent and uneducated men employed in occupations involving no risk of occupation or life, with less arduous and more regular hours of employment, who receive nearly twice as much compensation and enjoy many more opportunities for advancement, and when we further take into consideration the hypercritical and unsympathetic attitude of the public toward policemen, and the widespread unwillingness to cooperate with them or lend a willing hand in their endeavors to enforce the law, we can understand some of the reasons why some of the better class of men hesitate to enter the police service. Even supposing that an equitable basis of pay were possible and that other obstacles are overcome, the present method of selecting police is not conducive to an efficient administration of police affairs, and as long as candidates are thus selected, police departments and their members will continue to be criticized.

Where is there a business concern that compels applicants for various vacancies in the organization to submit to the same physical and mental examination in which the janitor, clerk, salesman, engineer, superintendent, and manager are all compelled to answer the same questions, measure up to the same physical standards of health, height, age, sex, and all commence

Illinois Crime Survey

their employment at the same occupational level and at exactly the same pay? Where is there a concern that limits the selection of men to fill technical positions to employes holding inferior positions in the same establishment? What are some of the qualities that some of the candidates ought to possess to successfully perform police duties?

Dr. Hans Gross, an Austrian magistrate, in his work entitled "Criminal Investigation," says, "The services of the investigating officer are great and his labors are full of interest, but rarely, even among specialists, is full credit given to the difficulties of the position. An investigating officer must possess health, vigor of youth, energy, alertness, and extensive acquaintance with all branches of the law. He ought to know men, proceed skilfully and possess liveliness and vigilance. Tact is indispensable; true courage is required in many situations; and he must be always ready in an emergency to risk health and life. He must be able, moreover, to solve problems relating to every conceivable branch of human knowledge." Dr. Gross has partially described the qualities of a successful, modern policeman. Today a very superior quality of intelligence is an absolute requirement. A policeman's perceptions must be very keen; nothing should escape his attention; and a lively imagination, excellent memory, and accurate reasoning and judgment are demanded at all times. His fidelity and loyalty to the department and the city he serves must be great enough to resist the constant temptations that beset him. Truthfulness, honesty, and definiteness of purpose are demanded in all of his dealings with the public. No matter how tantalizing or abusive the individual or crowd may be, the policeman, under all circumstances must have complete control of his emotions and never lose his temper. To command the respect of others the officers must be mentally, morally, and physically clean at all times; neat in dress and general appearance; with an inherent desire for what is good, for truth and candor, and abhorring everything that he would resent in an accusation made by another; never tolerating in his own inner consciousness what he would fear or blush to have known by friends or foes; adding dignity to his profession by the pride he takes in doing his work without hope of reward other than the satisfaction of doing his duty whenever and wherever demanded. Many discouragements are met with in the attempts of policemen to settle differences between people. Constant interference by ignorant or misguided citizens, with their plans for public betterment, and the numerous failures attending their efforts to solve all kinds of problems and surmount obstacles of every description, indicate the need for a vast amount of perseverance and patience. Without these virtues a policeman is a vocational misfit.

The World War taught us many lessons; one of which was the necessity for obtaining men fit to fight on the other side of the waters. Guided by wise counsel and profiting by the experience of our Allies, army and navy leaders enlisted the services of the greatest minds in the fields of medicine and psychology, who, after holding numerous consultations with the officials and spending days and nights studying the problem in the field and laboratory, finally submitted a plan for the examination of conscripted men and officers. Suffice to say, the plan had a two-fold purpose: First, the elimination of the unstable and the unsatisfactory; second, the recognition of desirable material for service in the army and navy. Men were required to run

The Police (in Chicago)

the gauntlet of medical specialists; all parts and processes of the body were examined and tested for defects and diseases; specialists in mental and nervous disorders rejected those with apparent faults and held for further examination those with latent symptoms of deficiencies. The intelligence of the embryo soldier was tested by special intelligence group tests. A card with all information as to the previous occupations of each soldier accompanied his service record in any transfers from one branch of the army or navy to another. Thus, each commander knew what each man under his command could do, from polishing a diamond to caring for horses, without calling the man to headquarters.

If a similar method of selection was adopted by civil service examiners, it would be reasonable to believe that such misfits as the stupid, hot-headed, sullen, cranky, lazy, slovenly, and unreliable would seldom, if ever, receive police appointments; moreover, technical examinations should be held to determine the fitness of candidates for special positions in the department and the physical requirements might be modified in these cases. No examination should be so inflexible as to prevent utilizing to the best advantage a policeman's knowledge, interest and special abilities. It is a well recognized fact in the police service that the civil service paper examinations can never absolutely determine the fitness of the candidate for promotion. In the last analysis it is the world's tests that actually count.

Therefore, there should be established in the police department a merit file for each member and a monthly record kept of his performances from the day he enters the service until he severs his connection therewith. In this file should be kept letters of commendation from outside sources and from superior officers. Credit should be given for meritorious and faithful service. The merit file should also contain the rating score of the individual. This rating would be the opinion of the superior officers who have had an opportunity to observe his conduct while attached to their command. The rating scale should be similar in character to the one employed by the United States Army during the war, which was a man to man comparison. Detroit has improved on this rating scale somewhat, and Dr. O'Rourke, of the United States Civil Service Commission, has also prepared a valuable rating scale.

5. *Police Training.* A glaring defect in the police system is a neglect to promptly prepare recruits for police service. The recruit after a brief month's training becomes a full-fledged policeman; so his real education is acquired only in the school of hard knocks. If he is not killed, sent to jail, or discharged in the first ten years, he may develop into a passable policeman. This method of preparing policemen for service is so faulty nothing further need be said here concerning it.

A police department should maintain an up-to-date school for training policemen authorized and empowered to enforce laws and ordinances intended for the public protection. Dealing with all types of behavior problems and confronted, as they frequently are, with every conceivable difficulty, policemen should have knowledge of the fundamental principles underlying human actions, more especially those conduct disorders which are designated as criminal or contrary to law and order. Considering the many subjects to be mastered, a minimum of three months' training is required, and if possible, this should be extended to six months.

Illinois Crime Survey

Training should consist in instruction in police procedure, which would include the police rules and regulations and general orders of the department; how to patrol their posts and perform the duties incident to beat patrol; instructions as to how various thieves work, including house, room, store, office, and loft thieves; how to make brief notes and the general use of a policeman's notebook; how to establish police and fire lines and how to act at parades during traffic congestion. They should be taught what action they are required to take at the scene of an accident or riot, and how to conduct themselves in all emergencies. Instruction should cover the functional duties of each branch of the police service, also how to assist these functional units and how to cooperate with other law enforcement branches of the government. All tricks of the wrestler and boxer should be taught, in order that the policeman may know how to handcuff the offender and protect himself against the criminal. This ought to include special instruction with regard to disarming the prisoner and his subjugation without too much violence. Since the policeman is called upon frequently to assist in rendering aid to the injured, a thorough course in first aid is required, including antidotes for poisons and temporary bandaging of the seriously injured. Rules of evidence, the laws of arrest, and all criminal acts should be specially stressed, and at the same time the court procedure should be sufficiently dwelt upon in order that the recruit may know what his rights and duties are as an officer of the court. He should receive instruction in how to direct others; how to restore order where there is confusion; and how to make investigations and report thereon; what evidence to preserve and the method of marking evidence so that it may be introduced into court. He should also be instructed how to take dying statements and statements of witnesses; how to develop and preserve latent finger-prints; and how to describe the general characteristics of the individuals so that they may be promptly identified; in other words, considerable information should be transmitted to the individual concerning modern identification methods. This would also include not only the individual but his method of operation. The use of firearms, military exercises, police administration, criminal identification, and drills, including calisthenics, should be a part of every recruit's education.

Promotional courses should be established and schools for sergeants and commanding officers should be constantly maintained. If possible, a university extension curriculum should be developed with a view, first, to a broad preparation for police work, and second, to provide for specializations in the divisions of the police service. Sociology, abnormal psychology, police administration, advanced law, military science, statistics, forensic ballistics, advanced criminal identification and investigation, and, in fact, all sciences that are related to police service must be incorporated in the curriculum. Technical courses should be given by experts in the police service, and should include the *modus operandi* of the racketeers, gunmen, safe-blowers, burglars, auto thieves, pickpockets, bunco men, and other well known types of criminals. Without advanced training the commanders are unable to render satisfactory service to the people they serve. Frequently they become nothing more than additional patrolmen and parade around the streets in conversation with the men they are supposed to direct. The same holds true of the admin-

The Police (in Chicago)

istrative executives. In many cases the men are willing to do, but are without the knowledge to perform their duties in a satisfactory manner.

Finally, it should be mentioned that more time should be given to the development of police morale. Training in morale should begin in the recruiting school and continue throughout the officer's career as a member of the department.

6. *Divisional Organization.* No plan for organization can be constructed to meet the need of every city. Actual crime conditions and police hazards existing within individual units must be known. Accurate studies must be made of crime; charts, graphs, tables, and maps showing the who, what, when, where, and why must be carefully prepared. Guided by such information a solid foundation may be erected for effective police organization.

Territorial units, however, should not be too large in area or population. The officers, to serve their sections effectively, must be intimately acquainted with and responsible for conditions existing within the district assigned to them for protection; moreover, these men must establish friendly connections with the respectable and law-abiding members and have close acquaintance with the criminal element and potential offenders residing within the boundaries of their respective divisions. Responsibility cannot be fixed where the territory or the police problem is too large for division commanders to control. When the numerical strength of a police division becomes unwieldy, discipline is difficult to maintain, morale declines, corruption flourishes, vice and crime gain a strong foothold, and efficiency is impaired. Again, in police units that are too large in area the time consumed in transmitting messages and emergency calls to policemen on beats increases in proportion to the number of officers that are on duty and available for service. Since speed is essential if criminals are to be apprehended and crime reduced, a department's ability to accomplish the purpose for which it was organized is in inverse proportion to the time and distance that station houses are removed from the people they serve.

Of course, division lines in many cases must be irregular, due to local conditions; such, for example, as differences in racial, industrial, and social conditions. Certain neighborhoods have peculiar problems, which require men of special ability and training, as well as a lifelong acquaintance with people residing in the section. Obviously, it is better to continue in command of such a section one who has knowledge of police methods that have been successfully employed for keeping the peace and protecting the lives and property of the inhabitants.

7. *Staff Organization.* The many duties imposed upon the police have compelled department heads to allocate to certain groups of individuals highly specialized duties, with the result there are now a number of very important functional divisions in the police department, including, by way of illustration, the detective, traffic, vice, record, and identification units. The territorial divisions, functional divisions, and administrative branches of the department cannot function efficiently unless the members of the administrative staff attached to a police executive's office are well trained and are specialists in their particular fields. The staff

Illinois Crime Survey

officers are, in fact, the heart of the organization and if they are weak, corrupt, or unfitted for their positions, department morale rapidly declines.

The police department, however, as at present organized must of a necessity fail. Assuming that it were possible to induce men of superior intelligence and training to accept police positions and that these men were perfectly organized and equipped, the police department would always be inefficient as a crime preventive agency as long as it was burdened with the duties incident to traffic control and regulation, and the responsibilities associated with the suppression of vice. Protecting lives and property and preserving the peace of a community is a huge task. Apparently it is believed to be an unimportant and small responsibility, and the legislative bodies continue to heap innumerable duties upon the police, until they are loaded to the breaking point.

Traffic and vice regulation and control hamper progressive police executives. Traffic should be handled by a separately organized body of men, whose whole time and thought will be given to the solution of that problem; and the control of vice should be placed in the hands of a distinct organization, with power to enforce all laws relating to prostitution, gambling, and the use, possession, or sale of narcotics or intoxicating beverages. Notwithstanding arguments to the contrary, the control of traffic, vice, and crime presents entirely different types of situations even though they appear to be closely related, and until vice and traffic are operated apart from the regular crime control organization, we may expect a continuance of police inefficiency.

8. *Same: Commercialized
Crime and Politics, as
Affecting Staff Organization.*

There is always an indolent, unscrupulous and parasitic group in every community, which desires to live comfortably without effort, including

thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, bootleggers, narcotic users and peddlers, professional bondsmen and shyster lawyers. Their ranks are further strengthened by the "down and outers" and those who are physically or mentally incapable of competing with others for an honest existence. This so-called underworld, though comparatively small, wields a powerful influence in every election, through willingness on the part of those who derive profit from vice, either directly or indirectly, to pay enormous sums of money for protection of their questionable interests. A political leader who has their confidence and financial and political support occupies a strategic position in the fight for political control. The better class of citizens, divided on political issues, which frequently are political smoke-screens, has its attention focused on the issues and overlooks the character of the political leader. After a successful campaign has been waged by these political crooks, it is a common practice to appoint a new chief of police. Press reports and photographs fill the columns of newspapers with stories and pictures concerning the marvelous improvements that are to follow in social conditions; big police shake-ups are widely advertised, until the news gatherers run out of boost material. Meanwhile, gamblers, prostitutes, and criminals of every description, far and near, learn through their subterranean channels that everything is all "fixed" and stampede to the city for the purpose of harvesting an easy crop. Honest policemen discover that the machinery is against them and demoralization of the department begins. Worthy or efficient

The Police (in Chicago)

officers are placed in inferior posts or they may be assigned to time consuming, but unimportant, tasks. Weak or corrupt officers are transferred to vice districts, or given command of vice controlling units with power to select their subordinates. Conscientious officers are framed, demoted, discharged, or, as is the common practice, are sent out to the "sticks." Factional fights take place within the department and this, coupled with general disrespect for the police executive, prevents the police department from functioning properly. When the police morale is shattered, the city is at the mercy of the crooks. Respectable police officials hate vice assignments and detest duty in a vice infested district even when the conditions are favorable to the enforcement of laws relating to vice; but when the city is controlled by crooked politicians, the situation becomes intolerable.

Protecting life and property and preserving the peace are the primary duties of the police and the less they are burdened with vice and traffic control, the more successfully will they perform these duties. This is one reason, at least, why vice and traffic control should be detached and new departments created to deal with these subjects. Another cause for such a divorce is the corrupt influence that vice control has upon the police. Finally, and most important, the power to dominate police departments, now exercised by the political crooks, will be considerably curtailed because responsibility for non-enforcement of vice repression laws can be definitely traced to an individual or a group; at any rate, and in all cases, upon an individual in connection with a regular police branch of the government.

Traffic control is now regarded as a separate and distinct type of service and the men who are assigned to duty with the traffic division are seldom, if ever, called upon to perform other police duties. There are never enough men in the traffic division to satisfy the public, with the result that not only are patrolmen taken off their beats and placed on fixed traffic posts, but every patrolman is commanded to give attention to traffic violations. Despite the efforts of the police to promote safety on the public highways and regulate the flow of traffic on the highways, accidents appear to increase in proportion to traffic volume. The many thousands of arrests that have been made by the traffic officers for unimportant violations of the traffic laws have accomplished little except to cause endless trouble for police executives. Vehicle operators resent having their names placed upon the public arrest book. They are opposed to the many regulations. Occasionally, because they have been arrested for trifling traffic law violations, some of the community's best citizens become actual enemies of the police organization and hinder these officials in their efforts to prosecute criminals or prevent crime. A large share of the executive's time is consumed listening to the excuses of traffic offenders with whom he may be acquainted, and to the entreaties of well-intentioned and influential persons, to say nothing of the time consumed in listening to the complaints of the merchants in the various sections of the community. Failure to square traffic tags results in loss of support for the police, for the reason that the persons who supply them with information, if they and their friends are not excused from appearing in court, refuse to assist in the future. Excusing offenders results in a contempt for all traffic offenses, with consequent disrespect for all other laws. In fact, through

Illinois Crime Survey

lack of scientific training the average police executive cannot cope with the traffic situation intelligently; and what is more important, the subject occupies so much of his thought and attention that he is unable to do justice to his other work.

Detaching vice and traffic functions from the regular police organization and setting them up as separate and distinct governmental units is not without precedent. The federal branch of the government has one division for narcotics and another for prohibition enforcement. The Treasury Department has its secret service agents; the Post Office Department, its post office inspectors; the Department of Justice, its agents; all having separate duties and all performing their duties satisfactorily. The government does not require the secret service agents, the post office inspector, or department of justice agents to enforce the provisions of the Harrison or Volstead Acts or, in fact, to have anything to do with the enforcement of these laws. If it did, these excellent and profoundly respected law enforcing officials would soon lose caste with the people and ultimately become corrupted and demoralized.

Accordingly, it is recommended that as a first step in an organization plan, vice and traffic control be separated from the police department and that heads of these units be under the direction and control of the mayor, either directly or indirectly, through separate commissions. The executive head of the department charged with the responsibility of suppressing crime in the community, should be appointed for an indefinite period and not be removed from office without cause and only after a public hearing.

10. Signal Methods.

Even though the personnel of the organization is composed of the right type of officers and the organization plan is as near perfect as circumstances will permit, if the policemen are to serve effectively, they must be equipped with the tools of their profession. This important item has apparently been overlooked. First in importance for the protection of a community is an up-to-date signal system. Speed is essential in these days of rapid transportation and especially in view of the fact that the most dangerous type of criminal always operates in automobiles and a minute lost in responding to an alarm means that the police are miles behind the crook in his race for liberty; moreover, calls for police aid demand immediate attention or a life may be lost or valuable property gone forever.

A modern signal system provides the means whereby police stations may be kept in constant touch with police on the streets. The signaling devices that are now being offered are comparatively inexpensive and are so constructed that it is possible at any time of the day or night to call one man, or a group, or the entire force. Signal lights or horns should be located at equi-distant points, about a mile or a quarter of a mile apart in residential sections, and at every street corner in congested areas. Police alarm boxes permit the officer to respond promptly to the commanding officer's call for assistance. The teletype is a marked improvement in the communication work in the police department, and alarms are rapidly dispatched to the different police stations; but here they end for the reason that the desk sergeant or commanding officer of the station has no means at the present

The Police (in Chicago)

time of communicating with the man on the beat. Without signaling devices a department is sorely handicapped.

Foot patrolmen experience difficulty in responding to alarms in residential sections, even where they do observe signals intended for them. Patrol beats are large, and by the time the foot patrolman reaches the box in response to the signal, he would be too weak to do effective work; hence the automobile patrol is rapidly displacing foot patrol in residential and semi-residential sections in the more advanced cities. In fact, in New York, the automobile patrolman is used in the downtown sections to a very large extent. Experience in automobile patrol has proved that one man in an automobile can do more effective work than two foot patrolmen, and in emergencies, especially where automobiles are used in connection with the commission of serious crimes, the auto patrolman is worth a dozen foot patrolmen. Rapid communication with and rapid transportation of officials is a primary requisite in modern police organization.

II. *Records, Reports and Statistics.* Before energy is expended to improve police procedure, it will first be necessary to collect reliable statistical data. We hear on all sides that crime of one type or another has increased; that cities are overrun with gunmen; that delinquency has reached such enormous proportions that national safety is in danger. The police are the sole possessors of such facts as are available concerning crime conditions in this country, but these facts have never been intelligently compiled, prepared, evaluated, or interpreted. Correct figures concerning the actual amount of crime committed can be obtained only from police records and this involves: (1) willingness and ability on the part of police officials to supply the data; (2) the use of standard crime complaint forms; (3) the use of standard officers' report forms; (4) the use of standard classification of crimes; (5) compilation of standard police statistics.

Commitments to institutions are a false index to crime conditions, because they may be variously interpreted. The number of arrests made by police officials is also subject to the same criticism. Consequently, the only dependable data upon which safe conclusions may be based are the actual number and kind of complaints received by law enforcement officials. Some departments now publish reports containing tables showing the number of major crimes reported during the year; some include comparative tables; and one department shows the number of cases cleared up during the year. Here, it will be observed, is a nucleus around which may be built a standard annual police report form, which may be valuable in determining what the actual crime situation is.

With regard to the use of complaint and record forms, it is certain that difficulties will be encountered at the beginning, but with care, patience, and energy these may be overcome. Forms which have been used for years are not easily discarded, even though the officials would be willing to cooperate. Police officials having become used to one form do not accept changes kindly, and success in the use of forms depends very largely upon the man who handles the individual cases. Other obstacles encountered would be the necessity for readjustment of the office routine; clerks must devise new

Illinois Crime Survey

filing schemes and methods for compiling police information. Lastly, we must not forget the need of expert clerical help and thoroughly trained statisticians.

Generally speaking, the police reports do not show how many crimes against persons, property, morals, and public peace are committed; how many cases are cleared up; how, when, why, and with what means they are committed; or what the relation of arrests is to these crimes. One arrest may clear ten to fifty records of robbery, while ten arrests may clear but one. How can we ever know whether the number of crimes is increasing or decreasing and whether or not there were more criminals operating in 1928 than in 1918, or any other period, until such time as police statistics are made uniform? At the 1922 Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the records committee submitted to the members attending the conference, a recommendation that standard forms prepared by them be adopted; their report received the unanimous endorsement of the delegates present. With the use of these forms, the administrative branch of the police department would receive daily, monthly, and annual reports, also graphs, charts, and maps showing actual conditions within the city. With correct information before them the executives are enabled to direct men under their command more intelligently than has been done in the past; strategic points may be protected and officers may be detailed for duty during the hours their services are most needed. Without such information the police executives are helpless.

12. *State Bureau
of Police, for
Coöperation.*

Police executives have learned, since the advent of the automobile, and perhaps long before then, that no department is sufficient in itself and that every department is more or less dependent upon the other.

Professional criminals do not always remain in the same community and where they move about from place to place, their apprehension and conviction is indeed uncertain. Effectiveness of the police is impaired through lack of coordination; each unit being obliged to operate independently of others without the aid and experience of their fellow workers. Executives discover, often too late, that the professional migratory crook has outwitted the officials of an entire state. Investigating crime and apprehending criminals is no longer a local matter, because the criminals of today, and especially the more dangerous type, do not confine their activities to a particular city, county, or state, and this is especially true in these days of rapid transportation. No one city or county can afford to maintain the equipment and personnel necessary for a complete supervision of crime, nor would it be possible for the separate political units to conduct a complete coordinated system for criminal identification, because it is practically impossible for cities and counties to duplicate criminal records in sufficient numbers to furnish each of the several departments with copies of their local records.

This weakness in our police systems may be remedied by the creation of a State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, conducted by a sufficient number of trained employees to carry out the purposes of a state bureau.

Such purposes may be briefly outlined as follows:

The Police (in Chicago)

1. To assist peace officers in their efforts to suppress crime by furnishing to them information leading to the identification and apprehension of criminals.

2. The collection of information, reports, and data of and concerning complaints of crimes committed or suspected to have been committed, such data relating to such crimes to comprise the history of the case and the legal steps taken in connection therewith, and all proceedings ancillary thereto, from the inception of the complaint to the discharge of the defendant, either upon hearing or upon expiration of term of sentence.

3. Publication of a bulletin which would contain: (a) photographs, descriptions, *modus operandi*, handwriting, and other information helpful to police officials in curtailing the operations of murderers, bandits, burglars, and other antisocial members of society; (b) police news such as modern methods of police organization and administration, improvements in identification and record systems, approved standardized police record forms, interpretation of the laws, scientific discoveries valuable to police officials, criminal statistics, results of studies made of the causes of crime, modern methods devised for the prevention of crime.

4. Collection of data concerning the cost of crime; such information to include expenditures for equipment used by law enforcement officials, salaries, betterments and improvements, maintenance of penal or correctional institutions, losses of individuals and corporations by theft or damage through criminal acts, protection insurance, such for example as burglary, auto theft, hold-up, and forgery insurance; also cost of maintenance of private police service.

5. Install and operate approved systems of identification, including fingerprints, handwriting, photographs, special marks, *modus operandi*, and any other system of identification that may be subsequently discovered.

6. To keep a record of property stolen, lost, found, also pledged or pawned.

7. Maintain a scientific laboratory for the examination of material sent to the bureau by peace officers for the purpose of solving crimes or for the use as evidence in trials.

8. Prepare statistical reports for police officials and the daily press, detailing and interpreting the facts which are ascertained from the reports received at the bureau.

The California State Bureau and the Minnesota State Bureau may be cited as examples of the more modern type of central clearing-house for police records.

Even assuming that municipalities are willing to bear the expense, it would be impossible to maintain a complete pawnshop record file, for the reason that duplicate copies of the entire pawnshop record of the state would not be available. Filing such records and identifying stolen property is an important branch in the work of a state bureau. Through such records millions of dollars of stolen property have been restored to lawful owners during the past few years. Incidentally, descriptions of the individuals who sold or pledged the articles were obtained from the pawnshop and second-hand stores and clues thus obtained subsequently led to the arrest of the

Illinois Crime Survey

offenders. It must be noted that no municipality or county is able to care for the criminal records of a state, and even though they were, it would be necessary for every city and county to make records of each individual in sufficient numbers to supply separate bureaus. Professional criminals are but a very small part of the population of a state; their activities are not always confined to any particular locality. This migratory tendency of the modern criminal presents a serious problem to peace officers; however, when their *modus operandi* is forwarded to the state clearing-house their identities can quickly be established through the records that are on file in that bureau, and an alarm can then be sent to all departments with a result that apprehension can be made more certain. The state bureau serves the purpose of bringing together in one office information useful to every police official in the state, and provides the means for a homogeneous organization instead of isolated and poorly functioning police units.

Police executives are not unmindful of the difficulties that beset them in their fight against the crooks. They have at all times since the inception of their national police organization insisted that the various police departments of this country could not function properly unless supported by a state central clearing-house and a national clearing-house for the reception and dissemination of criminal information.

13. *Recommendations.* 1. *Divorce of Police from Corrupt Politics.* The fundamental cause of the demoralization of the police department is corrupt political influence, the department being dominated and controlled for years by such influence. Until this condition is removed, there is little hope for any substantial betterment.

2. *Reorganization as Related to Personnel of Force.*

(a) Rigid selection of personnel, with the present civil service examination supplemented by psychiatric tests to determine the mental fitness of the candidates.

(b) A police school for the recruits, with at least three and preferably six months instruction.

(c) A promotional course for officers eligible for promotion to higher rank.

(d) Advanced and specialized training for division commanders.

(e) Maintenance of a merit record for individual officers and training in morale.

3. *Reorganization as Related to Administrative Changes.*

(a) A chief of police to be appointed for an indefinite period, and removable only for cause after a public hearing.

(b) Small divisional areas.

(c) Separation of vice and traffic duties from the police force.

(d) Establishment of a signal system.

(e) More extensive use of the automobile patrol.

(f) Collection and compilation of reliable statistical data.

(g) A state bureau of identification and investigation.