

Gray ghosts of the pioneers in a partnership that at present imperils anything good in government haunt the half-world in which a "Big Jim" Colosimo once was king. Life is cheap—even their own lives—to the gunmen who fight their foolish vendettas out on crowded streets and enshroud their motives in silence as sinister as the shadows in which death always lurks.

Seen in Dever Administration.

With hardly four months of a four-year administration gone by Mayor Dever has found the reptiles raising their heads in his administration and already the rallying cry that he will "ruin the party" is resounding through the rank and file of the democracy which was to be "delivered" by the powerful few who rule by fear and "patronage." Numerically they are a minority discredited and distrusted by the decent element of the party which escaped the corrupting influences of eight years, but come to power by combinations and conspiracies that cannot stand the light of day.

Fortunate it is for Chicago that a man is at the head of the house who has determined to destroy a paralyzing partnership between politics and crime

and realizes there must be no turn back in a war once begun which must win! And if he fights the fight for decency and fails, what then?

Gunmen will play their grim game blindman's buff with the police, robbers will roam the streets of the city with whip of winter driving them on to desperate deeds, boy bandits will car about Cook county in stolen automobiles carrying potential murder in their hands and hearts, and the crime wave will be on again with fearsome fury. Unless the calendars of the Criminal Code can be kept cleared, the police pushed into enforcement of all law and protected by the mayor and a public opinion that is not permitted to die down against reprisals.

Criminals, curiously enough, are more sensitive to an aroused public sentiment than are either police or politicians. They are quickest to fly to cover when "the town's on a riot." Shrewd students of psychology, they have "the feel things" that tells them that no professional politician or set of them can come out into the sunlight and admit alliances with the very men they have "fronted" for in court. "The boys" whom they provide alibis, habeas corpus writs, character witnesses, prepare for probation, pardons and paroles.

Incubators of Crime.

ARTICLE V.

The system of spoils politics, subsidized by professional crime, could never outlive its infancy were it not for those incubators of infamy in which we have been breeding the boy bandit, the baby burglar, the youthful embezzler, bootlegger, gunman, gangster, blackmailer and bawd. With it goes the damnable doctrine that the city must not be "defamed" by crying out against the businesses that break hearts, minds and bodies and are the cradles of crimes against public health, morals and decency.

Conceivably one could keep cool and judicial even though confronted by civic sores that have festered for the last few years, if he were certain that there is only one opinion in the community as to the necessity of cleaning out the city cesspools. But when we find that commercialized vice, open gambling and conditions contributing to juvenile delinquency have their public defenders as well as political protectors a public official

who could keep calmly quiet and craven.

In the consideration of crime causes and effects it is difficult to shock whose daily diet for several years has been the destructive and degenerate fruits to be found in the results of recruiting to ranks of crime and scarlet sisterhood. It has been more difficult to shock the complacency of a community into a realization underneath the surface of a public policy of "The less-said-the-better" there were "rats at the foundation" and revolting rottenness.

Any analysis of the cause of crime which ignores the shielding of the public against unpleasant subjects such as protected prostitution, the dens of the worst elements of white and black race mingle, degraded dance halls, law-breaking saloons is as stupid as a policy of law enforcement indifference to these things. Yet where there has been impatience there was indifference to things that make criminals faster than they can be caught.

Gambling, Second Biggest Cause.

Gambling—next to poverty, the principal crime cause—has grown gigantic as a business which produces nothing but grafters, embezzlers, forgers, confidence men, pickpockets, burglars and bandits. In a cosmopolitan city like Chicago hand-book betting in saloons and cigar stores, crap games and slot machines in pool rooms are recruiting stations for the bigger games. The roulette-wheel players, the "big roll" players and backers of dice and faro games in the city and in the roadhouses of Cook county are graduates of these smaller games. Countless crimes are committed every day, protected gambling games are permitted to run by losers to get the money necessary to woo fortune again and again.

The index to the incubators of crime can be read in the replies Criminal court defendants have been making for two years to my questions in cases where pleas of guilty were entered and applications for admittance to probation made in my court. As chief justice I had exceptional opportunity at the arraignment of all indicted prisoners to propound to a great percentage of defendants questions concerning "where the money went" and "what made you turn robber, burglar, con man, pick-pocket?"

Invariably it was impressed upon me that where gambling was not the prompter to the particular crime charged, the proceeds of the offense committed for money, went to the gamblers, the "sporting houses," the cabarets or for liquor. The greed for getting something for nothing is the great incentive to gamble albeit having once "gotten by" without working the youthful player of baseball pools, shooter of craps or handbook better is ruined for anything but "a racket," the same being any occupation not classifying as "steady" and requiring keen wits, slippery fingers, a big fist, a "gun," a way with the women of the street and a willingness to "take chances." And the appalling aspect of a situation such as is seen through the Criminal court spectrum is the tendency to juvenile criminality and the increase in the number of defendants of youthful years.

Licentiousness Linked to Loot.

For the same reason that professional crime could not continue as an industry without the protection of corrupt politics, neither could it flourish without a domain in which degradation of boys and girls as well as men and women is made to pay profits to an enormous

degree. An underworld in which licentiousness is linked to loot is necessary to the nauseating liaison of crime and politics.

Incubation of crime and criminals goes with gambling and grafting in that underworld—which is not now confined to the comparatively small "tenderloin" that once was the "red light" district of Chicago's south side. It is idle to wage war on criminals in the courts, in the press and from public platforms and yet tolerate by silent sanction such a shameful situation as was pictured to the public for months during last winter's vice investigation.

Prohibition Contributing Condition.

Prohibition is not a primary crime cause, although there have been wanton murders in which the only motive was "moonshine," but in its insincerities and inequalities the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment has strengthened the system of spoils politics in its partnership with crime and in providing greater sources of graft. As a contributing condition it has made much mischief.

There were in Chicago some 6,000 saloons at the beginning of the era of "enforcement" of the Volstead act. There were until Mayor Dever began his recent cleanup, 3,702 barrooms, furnished and equipped as formerly, self-styled "soft drink" establishments, but which have not only survived a state search and seizure act more drastic than the federal statute in its terms and provisions, but have actually thrived under the corrupt conditions that paralyze any prohibition enforcement by state authorities, city police or federal agents.

As a contributing phase the "moonshine" parlors, lawbreaking cabarets and bootleggers have aided in the incubation of crime, chiefly by inciting the adolescents of both sexes to degrading acts.

Begins with Moral Letdown.

The making of juvenile criminals is usually found to have begun through a complete let-down of the lines of resistance to moral depravity in some such surroundings as the saloon backroom, the "honk-a-tonk" cabaret or dance hall or the house of ill fame. This is preaching, but it is the practical preachment of one who makes no claim to moral leadership in the community and it arises out of the insight into the incubators of crime which has come as a result of two grand jury investigations

of commercialized vice which were ordered by me last winter.

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

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

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

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

Vicious Resort Hit by Dever.

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

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

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

A City Ashamed:

ARTICLE VI.

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

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