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U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

REPORT
ON
POLICE



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

JUNE 26, 1931.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I beg to transmit herewith a fourteenth report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, treating of Police.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours,

GEO. W. WICKERSHAM,
Chairman.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

POLICE

The general failure of the police to detect and arrest criminals guilty of the many murders, spectacular bank, pay-roll, and other hold-ups, and sensational robberies with guns, frequently resulting in the death of the robbed victim, has caused a loss of public confidence in the police of our country.

For a condition so general there must be some universal underlying causes to account for it.

The purpose of the investigation submitted with this report as a part of this commission's study of crime conditions was not to add to the abundance of published material already in existence on the subject, but to present in brief compass, in plain language, in official form, intelligible to every citizen wishing to be informed on the subject, the principal causes of the defects in police administration which too generally leave the citizen helpless in the hands of the criminal class.

1. The chief evil, in our opinion, lies in the insecure, short term of service of the chief or executive head of the police force and in his being subject while in office to the control by politicians in the discharge of his duties. A questionnaire was sent out under the authority of this commission to the officials of 745 cities, to ascertain the length of service of the head of the police force in each city, and replies received from 575 cities, ranging in population from 10,000 to those over 500,000, showed that the average term of service in any of the classifications is considerably less than five years. In nine cities having a population of from 300,000 to 500,000 the average service of the chief is but 3.62 years, while in 10 cities having a population of 500,000 and over the average service of the chief is a mere 2.41 years. In one of our great cities there were 14 chiefs of police in 30 years.

Such brief term of the chief is invariably followed, upon his dismissal or resignation, by a more or less general shake-up of the subordinates from captains and detectives to patrolmen.

It goes without saying that corporate business of any magnitude conducted on such short terms of service by its executive officials and responsible subordinates would have restless, worried and inefficient employees and the corporation would soon find itself bankrupt.

Success in police administration can not, therefore, be looked for while such short terms of service of the chief continue to be the rule.

The control which politicians have over the appointment and conduct in office of the chief is a well-known evil. The chief is usually appointed by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the city council or board of aldermen. Such appointment is, however, never a guaranty of competency for the place of the person appointed, but is simply an assurance that he is the personal appointee of the mayor and subject to his arbitrary control, or, more likely, that he is satisfactory to the party politicians whom the mayor felt obliged to consult before he dared risk confirmation of his nominee.

The chief knows perfectly well to whom he owes his appointment; he knows when he accepts office that he must in the administration of it yield the interest of the public in the prevention, detection, and prosecution of criminals with political alliances, to the powerful protection of his own patrons. The chief, being subject to arbitrary dismissal when by any action he displeases the mayor or politicians who put him in office, must, if he desires to retain office, necessarily be cautious, in the discharge of his duties, to heed the admonitions of his patrons and to follow their often brutal orders to go easy on this or that criminal or criminal gang who are in alliance with his patrons.

The public have long been sickened by the usual formula periodically issued from the mayor's office whenever there is a change in that office, that the new chief has received orders to heed no one in the discharge of his duties, but fearlessly to protect the public against the criminal. They know from experience that it is not true, and if the chief

were to follow such reputed directions his term would be very much shorter than two and forty-one hundredths years.

Not unfrequently the chief is wholly incompetent to discharge the onerous duties of his position. He may lack experience, executive ability, character, integrity, or the confidence of his force, or all of them put together. We have the classic instance shown in this study where the mayor of a large city announced publicly that he had appointed his tailor as chief of police because he had been his tailor for 20 years and he knew he was a good tailor and so necessarily would make a good chief of police.

X We have, therefore, as outstanding causes of inefficient police administration by the executive, the short and insecure term of office of the chief; his control by the politicians whether linked in alliance with the criminals or not in his appointment and conduct of the office; his lack of independence; and frequently his incompetence for the place.

Milwaukee is often cited as a city free from crime or where the criminal is speedily detected, arrested, and promptly tried and sent on his way to serve his time. No other city has such a record. The citizens there lay it to the fact that the city has had only two chiefs of police in 46 years and no control over the chief is even attempted by the politicians since the effort was made many years ago to remove a chief who claimed the right to act independently, freed from the dictation of politicians.

X 2. The second outstanding evil of such poor police administration is the lack of competent, efficient, and honest patrolmen and subordinate officers. The latter are with rare exceptions selected or promoted from the rank and file of the patrolmen, possibly by reason of seniority, but more likely by direction of politicians whose private interests are to be subserved. Even where there are civil service examinations, the hand of the politician is all too plainly visible in such promotions.

As the patrolmen are directly selected by favoritism because of their partisan political activities or by civil serv-

ice examinations, which can only remotely make certain of their qualifications for the discharge of their duties, since they have had no practical experience, have as a rule had nothing more than elementary schooling, are usually without cultural background and without an adequate sense of the qualifications for the discharge of their duties, it follows that a large part of them are not likely to be and are not competent patrolmen. They all have political backing to get their positions and look to it for retention and promotion in the service. And from that source must come the commanding officers and nearly always the chief. Inefficient, dishonest, incompetent patrolmen and those incapacitated by age are too often, by reason of the foregoing conditions, retained on the force, to its prejudice and that of the public to be served.

No pains are taken, so far as we can learn from these studies, to educate, train, and discipline for a year or two the prospective patrolmen and to eliminate from their number such as are shown to be incompetent for their prospective duties.

That is only to say that the personnel of the police force at its inception and in its continuance has not the character and qualifications which its responsible duties require.

X 3. The third great defect of our police administration is the lack of efficient communication systems whereby intelligence of the commission of a crime and descriptions of the criminals may be quickly spread over a wide territory and as part of that, the necessary equipment in motors to pursue traces of the criminals making their escape.

By imitating modern business in its adoption of every mechanical contrivance which will save labor and secure profitable results with the least expenditure of time and money, the criminals have by association and combination amongst themselves become in their commission of crimes superior to the police in detecting, arresting, and prosecuting them.

It has been well said that "To serve the community effectively the policeman should be fully equipped with the tools of his profession." To that it should be added that the tools for the detection, pursuit, and arrest of the criminal should

be better than the equipment of the criminal in his commission of the crime and escape from the scene of it.

The police have now most often to deal with highly organized gangs of criminals, often astutely led by unseen leaders who place at their disposal the most recent inventions and discoveries in the arts and sciences which can be effectively misapplied to criminal ends. The police are necessarily in the dark and are only enlightened when the crime has been committed and the criminals have escaped.

They must then take up the pursuit from such traces of the criminals as can quickly be gathered at the scene of the crime.

X Therefore, for the safety of society and to check this growing menace to life and property, the police must have not only competent men keen on the scent but the necessary equipment, both teletype and radio, to instantly spread the intelligence of the crime and descriptions of the criminals to long distances, giving their direction and method of escape, while at the same time having equipment for pursuit more than equal to those of the criminals used in making their escape.

Detroit's efficient use of the wireless is worthy of note. Out of 22,598 broadcasts in 1929 the police made 1,325 arrests at an average time of 1 minute 42 seconds, frequently getting the guilty person in the very act of committing his crime.

It is needless to say that our lawmakers and councilmen have not yet generally seen the necessity for such communications and equipment and hence the police are not equal in that respect to the criminals, who almost invariably outdistance them in the pursuit and are rarely apprehended.

We venture to state on the basis of this study that, with perhaps two exceptions, not a single police force of cities above 300,000 population has an adequate communication system and equipment essential in these days to meet the criminal on even equal terms.

X 4. The well-known and oft proven alliance between criminals and corrupt politicians which controls, in part, at least, where it does not wholly do so, the police force of our large

cities, might well be taken as a primary cause of police inefficiency, since it rules the head and every subordinate, and lays a paralyzing hand upon determined action against such major criminals. The latter are well known to the police, but, by reason of the sinister influence exerted by corrupt politicians over the chief and his force, are allowed to continue their criminal careers when but for such influence the police force would make a much better showing, defective as it is in the right personnel and in modern crime-detecting instrumentalities.

5. But the inefficiency of our police in failing to detect, arrest, and prosecute the gang criminals can not all be laid to insufficient equipment, incompetency, and corrupt politics.

The excessively rapid growth of our cities in the past half century, together with the incoming of so many millions of immigrants, ignorant of our language, laws and customs, and necessarily adhering in their racial segregations in large cities, to the language and customs of their native lands, has immensely increased the difficulties of the police in detecting crime among the foreign born in such localities and arresting the criminal. The inborn suspicion by the foreigner of all police officers and their unwillingness to expose a criminal of their race has made much more difficult, if not impossible, in our country than in cities abroad, the arrest and prosecution of a criminal and especially any notorious one of such race.

Raymond Fosdick, in his able work on American Police Administrations, writing on this point, says:

The police of an American city are faced with a task such as European organizations have no knowledge of. The Metropolitan Police of London, with all its splendid efficiency, would be overwhelmed in New York, and the Brigade de Sureté of Paris, with its ingenuity and mechanical equipment, would fall far below the level of its present achievement if it were confronted with the situation in Chicago.

These words, written 11 years ago, are no less true to-day.

In 1920 New York had a foreign-born population of 41 per cent and Chicago 29 per cent. We have not the census figures of 1930 before us for New York, but for Chicago,

by the census for that city just made public, the foreign born number 24.9 per cent, or in absolute numbers 842,057. Added to the difficulties concerning the foreign born, the influx of large numbers of Negroes to our northern cities has measurably added to the difficulties of police administration.

No attempt is being made in this report to give the facts as to criminality among foreign born and the Negroes distinct from natives and whites. Other reports by and studies for this commission deal in detail with those subjects.

There is here merely being pointed out that it requires a higher degree of executive ability, talent, and management of the police force and in the patrolmen than we have now, to grope with these great problems of lawlessness in our cities.

In view of the diversity of non-English speaking nationals resident in our large cities, it seems to us important to suggest that more police officers should be on each force who are of such races and familiar with their language, habits, customs, and cultural background.¹

The chief should have a secret force of officers, known only to the chief and reporting only to him, and be paid from a contingent fund in his hands for such service.

Without such a limited number of capable detectives, unknown to the public and the members of the police force, it is and will be practically impossible to secure the detection, arrest, and conviction of non-English speaking criminals or those associating with or protecting them in their criminal careers. Such a force might well be modeled upon that of the Secret Service of the United States, so effective against mail robbers and counterfeiters.

*6. There are too many duties cast upon each officer and patrolman. This is the outcome of the transition from rural or small-town policing to city communities.

As the urban population increased, no diversification was made in the duties of officers or patrolmen. Numbers were

¹ For an account of the number of first and second generation foreign-born in the personnel of the enforcement agencies in several American cities, see this Commission's Report on Crime and the Foreign Born, No. 14, pp. 188-187.

added to the force as the exigencies of the time required without changing the duty of the officer to watch for breaches of all laws and ordinances. This system is virtually in existence in all police forces. It was and is too much a burden upon the capacity of the individual officer and his superiors. It gives opportunity for graft and oppression which a different system, created and maintained in consonance with modern conditions and needs, would have avoided.

★ There should have been segregations of patrolmen under designated officers who would have charge of prevention and detection of specified crimes, the officer to report to the chief or his assistant on his activities. The same system which has made the Post Office and great business corporations a success can and may be effectively applied to each large police force.

The recent complete survey of the Chicago police, made by competent experts and published under a citizens' committee, has graphically set forth such a division of duties and coordinated responsibility to the chief. It is the only detailed, authoritative survey made of any large police force which we have in America. It is a volume of nearly 300 pages. It suggests a working outline of the organization, management, and control of a police force required under modern conditions in every good-sized city, and which, if substantially adopted, would make the police of such a city an efficient force.

A chapter of the following study is given to crime prevention by the police, which is becoming more and more a part of their manifold duties, but we make no comment upon that, referring to the chapter as to what has been and is being done in that regard.

The study was prepared by Mr. David G. Monroe and Mr. Earle W. Garrett, research assistants, department of political science, the University of Chicago, under the direction of Mr. August Vollmer. The latter writes from the abundance of practical experience, as he is now and has been since 1905 Chief of Police of Berkeley, Calif. He

reorganized the police department of San Diego in 1917 and of Los Angeles in 1923-24. He was police consultant of Habana, Cuba, and of Detroit in 1926, and one of the organizers of the Southern California Academy of Criminology.

We regret that we have been unable to include in this report a careful analysis of the important literature on the subject and an account of the most advanced methods employed in other countries. This literature, we may say, shows that police is rapidly becoming a scientific procedure, in which men are given professional education, are trained to use the latest resources of modern science and to employ trained intelligence as a substitute for that of mere force which is too often regarded as the chief reliance of the policeman. The lesson of this literature is distinctly hopeful both for the improvement of our police forces and for the efficiency of the police as an instrument for the restraint of crime. We have nevertheless felt that it would be helpful to suggest the more glaring evils of the present police systems in America and to indicate the lines along which immediate improvements, adapted to our own conditions, may be begun.

This commission has no authority to make recommendations to city officials as to how they shall reorganize or remodel their police forces to bring them into line with present day conditions of efficiency in the discharge of their duties to keep the peace and protect the lives and property of its citizens. It can but state the facts as they have been developed in many surveys and the study herewith submitted.

The facts largely speak for themselves. We do, however, commend to city officials and the intelligent public generally desirous of police betterment, the conclusions formulated by Mr. Vollmer, as a practical police administrator of many years' experience, and by Mr. David G. Monroe and Mr. Earle W. Garrett, his research assistants, for the remodeling of the police force to present day needs in detecting, arresting, and bringing to justice the gang and poli-

tician-protected criminals as well as the ordinary run of criminals, all so menacing to everyday life of the citizens.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, *Chairman.*

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ROSCOE POUND.

JUNE 26, 1931.

POLICE CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

A REPORT TO
THE NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

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PREFACE

This report directs attention to certain acute problems which police departments throughout the United States are facing to-day. With these difficulties solved, the component parts of the field of inquiry will assume entirely different proportions. That the emphasis upon needed correctives will then become a thing of minor importance in police administration we do not doubt. It is clear, then, that the most fruitful path of effort lies in a concerted attack upon these primary evils.

First among these is considered the interaction of sinister politics and the police services. The insecurity of tenure of the police executive and the far-reaching effects of this circumstance are portrayed. Lack of qualifications for executive position; absence of the qualities of true leadership; the enforcement of unpopular laws; the failure of the community to understand the chief's problems; the prostrating influence on the personnel of uncertainty accompanying frequent changes of leaders; the enervating status quo; unfamiliarity of the chief with the larger problems of the police; and the seamy conventions surrounding the appointment of police heads—upon these vital points are converged the reflections of long experience.

With regard to the highly important question of choice of recruits the aim has been to demonstrate that performance can not rise above the level of intelligence represented by the individuals composing the force. The effectiveness of systematic training depends largely upon this native capacity of the individual to profit by the example and precept of others. Disregard of these cardinal principles has resulted in the conditions pictured in the text.

The signal devices of a police department are the most important unifying mechanical element of the organization.

By this means the force can be advised of the commission of crime, details of the offender, and where to concentrate in the investigation. Failure to provide modern communication systems places the police at a serious disadvantage in carrying out their duties.

Records are revealed as the memory of the police. The investigation of individual cases as well as the formation of police strategy and expression of the policy of the department depend upon records. And in a larger sense we see the place of uniform records in the Nation's challenge to the criminal.

Prevention of crime as one of the newly recognized obligations of the policemen is discussed, especially with regard to its dependence upon cordial relations with public and private agencies which may be involved. The place of the woman police is presented in relation to its distinctive contribution to crime prevention. The problem of the juvenile delinquent is given appropriate space.

State bureaus, State police, and the sheriff-constable system are discussed in their relation to the control of crime and in their contacts with each other. The limitations as well as the inherent advantages of local police forces are recounted and emphasis is laid upon the need for a State and National clearing house for police information. Finally, weight is given to the value of education as the keystone of a democracy in which crime is controlled instead of being in virtual command.

Thanks are due Prof. L. D. White, of the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, for valuable suggestions in connection with the preparation of this report.

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CHAPTER I

THE POLICE EXECUTIVE

The police were organized to suppress crime, protect life and property, and preserve the peace. Where they have commanded the respect and receive the support of the people they have had little difficulty in carrying out their duties. Under our form of Government and, more especially, due to the attitude of the American people generally, law enforcement agencies are usually held in contempt and law enforcement is one of our national jokes. Crime, despite the magnitude of the problem, is but one of the many difficulties confronting the police.

Approximately 12,000 homicides were reported last year in the United States and many of these deaths were charged to vehicle operators. This is an astounding record of reckless disregard for life and is unparalleled in the history of the world. Nowhere, at any time, has a civilized country shown so little respect for human life as there is to be found in this country in this age, and yet this country is alleged to be one of the progressive countries of the world. Compare these 12,000 deaths with the traffic accident record submitted by the National Safety Council and the number of murders almost sink into insignificance. According to the figures given out by this national organization, we learn that 32,500 people met their death on the public highways of America and that approximately 1,000,000 people were injured in automobile accidents. That this number will increase in proportion to the number of vehicles in use on the highways and the number of miles traveled can not be doubted by any person who has studied traffic statistics. From present indications there is reason to believe that there will be greater use of streets in the future with a constant increase in the death curve. Some method of reducing this enormous toll must be found. A traffic expert

recently advanced the opinion that nearly all traffic accidents are avoidable. This opinion was based by him on a study made of a typical corner in a typical city. Whether his statement is correct is of little moment. Important, however, is the fact that the responsibility for the solution of traffic problems, including the safety of people using the highway, is in every instance placed with the police department and, try as they will to change this condition, responsibility is more than likely to remain with them indefinitely.

*Therefore, police will find it increasingly necessary to approach this problem, first, through the principles of engineering, then education and finally, without too much emphasis, appropriate enforcement methods. Traffic problems have increased so rapidly that most of the executives' time and all of the time of a very large proportion of the force is used to keep the traffic moving smoothly and without too much congestion along the city streets. As a result, large sections of a community are without police patrol, and in three of the large cities surveys have shown that there were no policemen on sections outside of the business districts between the hours of 8 a. m. and 4 p. m. To some extent this condition prevails throughout the United States.

Hand in hand with crime and traffic are to be found the vice difficulties of a city and these problems require executive capacity of an unusual degree. The original purposes of the police organizations were difficult enough, but superimposed upon these difficulties are these modern problems which aggravate the situation and complicate it enormously. All other governmental activities are dwarfed in comparison. *Every other line of human endeavor is simple when placed alongside of the problem that is presented to the police for solution and yet, despite its complexities and difficulties, the people of the communities served by police pay little or no attention to the efforts of their servants to give honest and efficient service and place all of their reliance upon the political organization in their cities or in political crooks. Executive capacity of the very highest degree should be demanded and universities should vie with each other in turning out from their institutions men adequately trained to serve their country as efficient police leaders.

The police head of Vienna, one of the most outstanding men in that country, after serving as Vice Chancellor, chose to return to his original capacity as head of the police. More recently, England placed in control of the Metropolitan Police Department of London, one of her most distinguished soldiers, Lord Byng. European countries recognize the difficulties of the position and make it one of great honor and dignity and pay the heads of the departments salaries commensurate with the responsibilities.

Health officers must be trained experts, preferably with experience; city engineers, even in the smallest communities, must be skilled in engineering. The head of the fire department, even though he be a political appointee, is usually a man who has spent most of his life fighting fires. When the task of selecting and appointing a police executive is presented, the appointing officials, for various reasons, throw common sense to the winds and rarely if ever place weight upon the practical experience of trained policemen.

Far more than to any other factor the irrational development of American police organization is due to inadequate leadership. To the lack of trained and intelligent administrators, obtaining and holding office on favorable conditions, much of the confusion and maladjustment of our police machinery is ascribable. The crude political conceptions which have allowed such specialized community functions as police and health to be managed by a periodically shifting body of unskilled, unfit, unprofessional executives, have wrought almost irremediable injury not only to our forms of organization but to the whole public life of America.¹

There can be no denial that policing the community is the most complex and most difficult task that confronts administrative officials. Particularly is this true in the United States where legislative bodies have heaped upon the police innumerable regulatory and inhibitory measures. Many of these are ill-advised and absolutely unenforceable. Quite aside from their unenforceability is the hostile attitude of the public, not only toward these regulations, but also toward the police. This attitude is a serious handicap to law enforcement and a great obstacle to good police administration. It also provides one of the important reasons for exercising more care in the selection of executives.

¹ Fosdick, American Police Systems, p. 215.

More automobiles mean more complications to the crime problem. New and dangerous types of crimes, new methods used in approach and escape from the scenes of their crimes, all add to the duties confronting police executives. Even gamblers, prostitutes, bootleggers, and narcotic peddlers now operate automobiles on a large scale in their business.

How many men are needed for patrol duty during the different periods of the day? What factors determine the size of a beat? How many persons are required for traffic control and regulation and how many are needed for investigative purposes? What should be the size of the clerical and executive branches of the service? These questions and many others concerning the distribution of personnel must be answered by executives because taxpayers demand an accounting of the tax money spent for operating police departments.

The fact that there is a wide variation in the per capita cost of police departments is sufficient alone to raise a suspicion that our departments are not organized on a scientific basis. An increasing number of communities are instituting vigorous inquiries for the purpose of ascertaining the truth concerning police departments.

Are cities which spend the most money for police protection overpoliced? Are the cities which spend the least undermanned? Many factors enter to influence the cost of every branch of government and more particularly the police department, but it is questionable whether there are justifiable reasons for the wide difference in cost of police protection to be found in this country.

Much time will be required to eradicate from the minds of the people the many popular misconceptions concerning police and police chiefs. Among these is the belief generally held that any person who has average intelligence and is honest can satisfactorily discharge the duties of a police executive. As an illustration, a few years ago the mayor of Indianapolis was called upon to introduce the police chief of that city to an assemblage of police chiefs during one of their conferences. In the course of his introductory remarks the mayor said, "I know that my man is

going to be a good chief because he has been my tailor for 20 years. He knows how to make good clothes; he ought to be a good chief." This may seem to be an overdrawn case, but many mayors share the same delusion. Every occupation and profession has been drawn upon to produce a Moses to lead the police out of the wilderness. One of our late ex-Presidents made little or no impression during the several years he served as commissioner of one of our large police departments. A well-known general's experience in another large city is familiar to newspaper readers. Editors, lawyers, doctors, all have been tried; all have failed, with but few exceptions.

Under the complex conditions of modern days, it is essential that the man who directs the administrative policy of the department have some expert knowledge, and the more expert knowledge he possesses the better he will be able to perform the duties of his position. * * * To become an expert, such as the head of any organization ought to be, takes several years, so that it is frequently the case that it takes the police commissioner his entire term of office to learn the details of the business, and then when he is an expert he is turned out of office.²

* That the office of the police head is a sinecure is another common fallacy. No other branch of the governmental service is as exacting in its demands. The leader's time is never his own. He is on duty morning, noon, and night. Every major offense is an occasion for newspaper reporters to call him up on the telephone regardless of the hour. Citizens, one and all, believe that they are entitled to personal attention and never hesitate to enter the sacred precincts of his home to tell him their troubles and demand immediate relief.

* Improper recruiting methods over which he has no control impose insuperable personnel problems which keep the executive busy trying to run a department smoothly and effectively with incompetent, dishonest, or "flat-wheeled" subordinates. Absolute inability to dispose of one major problem before another equally large or larger is presented may keep the executive on the jump and keyed to a high pitch. Consequently, unless he is the possessor of an un-

² Fuld, Police Administration, p. 440.

usual physical constitution it is more than likely that his nervous system will be torn to tatters.

One might view with humor the popular opinion that the solution of police problems is simple were it not for such tragic consequences. "Let the punishment fit the crime," said Beccaria nearly two centuries ago, since which time the imagination of the average citizen has been lulled to sleep by this panacea for antisocial behavior. With this simple prescription for the solution of a complicated problem there is nothing further to do than to arrest and put in jail every violator of the law. When crime continues despite the fact that the jail population is constantly increasing, the cause for the so-called crime wave is laid at the door of the police head and insistent demands made for his removal. This accomplished, the people return to their homes quite satisfied for a short time when another crime wave appears and the same performance is repeated. This approach to the crime problem seems to be an easy escape from profound thinking. No serious thought is required, and there is no occasion to be concerned with the real factors that underlie delinquency.

According to the theorist, if the police wished they could easily stop bootlegging, gambling and prostitution. But is this true? How does it happen that repressive moral legislation is unenforceable where education has not preceded the legal enactment, regardless of the country in which this repressive legislation has been initiated? Severe penalties may be imposed for peddling opium in China but opium continues to be peddled. Does the famous English bobbie cope with minor gambling regulations in London? Has the repression of prostitution succeeded in those communities where the police are not supported by a strong public sentiment?

One requires a broad perspective, an historical background, and a scientific knowledge of human behavior to understand the difficulties that the police encounter in their efforts to repress vice in its various forms. Moreover, students of this problem know that the police never have and probably never will be able to prevent prostitution, gam-

bling, and bootlegging by repressive measures alone. Biological, social, economic, and other factors produce these situations and the police as at present constituted exercise little or no influence whatever upon the factors responsible for these social evils. True, an honest enforcement of law is possible, but even with honest enforcement of law the truth must be recognized that the absolute elimination of vice in its multiplicity of forms is beyond the power of law enforcement officials.

Vehicle operators and pedestrians alike are convinced that traffic regulation and control is easy, providing the head of the department has courage enough to do his duty. Hundreds of scientific men have been studying traffic for years and disagree as to the solution of this perplexing problem.

The Hoover Conference on Traffic, composed of experts from every activity touching the automotive and transportation field, is still struggling along hoping to find an answer for some of the many difficulties presented by increased congestion on streets and highways, due to the ever increasing use of automobiles. To the average person, congestion, parking, and safety problems may be disposed of by rigid enforcement of regulations. Unquestionably enforcement plays its part, but it is not by any means the total answer. Enforcement without its twin sisters, engineering and education, is ineffective. Attempts to enforce traffic regulations are useless unless the great majority of people believe in and will support the traffic regulations.

Another exacting duty of the police is the handling of anarchistic or other antigovernment groups; this is always fraught with danger. Riots may be precipitated and innocent persons injured or killed, unless great care is exercised in dealing with these violent groups. Even sympathizers not connected with antigovernment organizations are quickly won over by them when police officials do not meet the situation intelligently, but resort to force or violence where the circumstances do not warrant such action. To some of the uninitiated it is believed that destruction of these undesirable organizations may be quickly accomplished by the application of stern measures and the imposi-

tion of long-term jail sentences. Attempts thus to suppress the I. W. W. free-speech campaign in Los Angeles met with defeat. Strong-arm methods caused supporters to rally to the side of the I. W. W. and they were able to continue the campaign in spite of clubbings and jail sentences. Fortunately an intelligent and courageous officer detailed to handle the critical situation was able, through tact, intelligence, perseverance, and courage, to win the battle for the people without further bloodshed, without clubbing any person and without arresting members of the I. W. W.

San Diego during one period in its history tried the foolish experiment of driving the so-called "Wobblies" out of their city with pick handles. Immediately word was passed on to members of this organization through their communication channels to entrain for San Diego. Hundreds of men quit their jobs and started to walk or ride to the western city. Force without intelligence produced a critical situation that cost San Diego many uneasy and unhappy days and huge sums of money.

Among some people the police executive is pictured as a two-fisted, brainless brute who finds pleasure in strangling the unwary. Others think of him as the individual who actually does sleuthing like Sherlock Holmes, whereas the executives in cities of 25,000 or more people have their hands quite full if they conduct the business affairs of the department on a sound administrative basis. They have so many executive duties to perform that they seldom, if ever, are permitted to leave the chair in their office. For every occasion when a chief of police may be required to use brawn or qualities that make a Sherlock Holmes, there are many occasions when he will be obliged to use business and political judgment of a very superior quality.

Among the public misconceptions is the idea that the police chief is to blame when professional criminals roam at large. Protected by the laws of this land every person is privileged to go about without interference by the police. Officers are without authority to make an arrest in misdemeanor cases unless the offense is actually committed in their

presence, and what constitutes an offense is definitely defined by the code of the State in which the offense may occur. In some jurisdictions, unless a felonious offense has actually been committed and the officer has reasonable cause to believe that a particular person has committed the offense, he is without authority to make an arrest, and if he does so it is at his own risk because the person so detained may sue him for damages. Assuming that he does arrest a professional crook there is no certainty that that individual will be detained for long. Immediately following his arrest he may be released on bond and when his case comes before the court, continuances may be granted for the slightest cause. If perchance they finally do get to trial, as in the case of several notorious Chicago gangsters, the jurors sometimes turn them loose to prey again upon the people.

Ordinarily when a police executive is appointed he enters upon his duties with a great deal of enthusiasm. All types of people seek to cultivate his acquaintance. Newspaper men hang around his door and anything that he says or does is an object of interest to the people and news. His enemies, however, immediately ridicule him, especially if he attempts to enforce the laws without fear and without favor. Usually these enemies have powerful connections. Bankers, newspapers, public organizations, labor organizations are frequently connected in some sort of a political combine and if any one of the group happens to be offended they all band together to make life miserable for the chief. For a period he suffers ridicule and everything he does is made light of in the enemies' newspapers. His attempts to curb major crimes are held to be futile and perhaps there will appear in the enemies' newspapers a long list of crimes that have been committed and have gone unpunished. The fact that hundreds of people may have been arrested and convicted during the year is not recorded. This is usually followed by a period of persecution. Every effort is used to make the position of the chief untenable, and occasionally other organizations, including ministerial associations, are enlisted in an effort to drive a police chief out of office. Should these people, who are usually associated with the underworld, fail

to carry out their purpose, they may then proceed to operate through the art of cajolery and try to win the chief over to their way of thinking with the hope that he may relax the pressure exerted to keep vice down to the minimum. Next they may resort to subtle corruption. Invitations to attend banquets, yachting parties, or elaborate affairs in his honor at some private home, all have a distinctive purpose and are aimed to lower the morale of a determined official. Failing in their objective their energies are then directed toward a change in the control of the government with the view of ousting the person responsible for the appointment of the chief. A combined attack may be made upon the administration and the chief of police finally ousted for no other reason than that he tried, as an honest official, to do his sworn duty.

Even under the most favorable circumstances the position of the chief executive of any city is an unhappy one. If he is not supple or sufficiently shrewd to follow all the turns and twists of public opinion he may be punished. He must bend like the willow and follow carefully the public attitude on every subject that captures and temporarily holds their interest. Almost overnight public opinion may change, and the chief who does not sense these changes may find himself in a precarious position and traveling in one direction while the public that he is sworn to serve is moving in another direction. Having innumerable problems to solve that are full of dangerous consequences he must be constantly on the alert.

Crime with all its ramifications is most complex and wholly different from what it was a few generations ago. Crime is better organized and better financed than in the pre-Volstead days. Racketeers are to be found in every city, large or small, operating successfully by intimidating business men and labor unions. Crime is big business and requires police executives of unusual ability to prevent it from destroying governmental foundations.

Most organizations, however small or large, are hostile to innovations, hence it is of great importance that police executives be retained in office long enough to win the con-

fidence and support of the employees for their plans. Too rapid changes are probably doomed to failure. The organization may seem to respond to them, but behind this seeming activity there is an absence of spirit or, expressing it differently, they fail to put their soul into the job. Where the policeman does just what he is told and no more there will be found police inefficiency. Cooperation of the kind that means success in police organization is that sort where the man gives the very best that is in him—something beyond that contained in manuals or orders issued by the chief of police. True cooperation is a free-will offering and means the giving of service without hope of reward, without remuneration or even the expectation of thanks. This type of service can never be commanded. It is the only kind of service, however, that is worthwhile, in policing a community. To win this type of support an executive must know the police business from beginning to end. He must have had long experience in various branches of the service, otherwise he may be doomed to failure.

Men with low-grade mentalities may be driven as they are in many of the occupations of life, but intelligent men can not be driven. They can only be guided and where most of our executives fail is in not recognizing their limitations. Attempting to impose their will upon others who are just as intelligent as they are and more familiar with the particular duties that they are performing breeds contempt and disloyalty. Moreover, the driving type of leader who constantly holds out the threat of dismissal or punishes men for failing to conform to minor regulations, is certain to destroy his power in the department. No subordinate can do his best so long as he may, without reason or explanation, be removed from one station and placed in another. Initiative is not encouraged under these circumstances. There are occasions when these transfers are necessary and a few must be made without explanations. But the huge shake-ups and transfers from one station to another break the spirit of the groups that are moved about and they soon develop an attitude of indifference. A competent leader will make it clear that no person will lose his job without just cause. The driver is constantly threatening to dismiss men

and often does get rid of them without justification. This risk of destitution compels police officers to give thought to the economic struggle, and their future activities are very carefully weighed with regard to their personal security. They know that unless the head of the organization is sympathetic and understands his business thoroughly, an arrest may result in bringing down upon them the fury of some political boss who will set the political machinery in motion to cause their removal.

CHAPTER II

THE EXECUTIVE—Continued

X In ascertaining the factors that determine the qualifications of a police executive we must give consideration to the extent of the executive's acquaintance with the individuals who comprise the community. Knowledge regarding relatives, friends, habits, and haunts of society's enemies, including the professional migratory crook as well as the local offenders, is an invaluable asset. While it should be said at the outset that this broad requirement is impossible in large cities, nevertheless, some acquaintance with the more serious violators is valuable, especially leaders of criminal gangs, so-called "bandit kings," racketeers, narcotic supply agents and peddlers, wholesale manufacturers and dispensers of intoxicating beverages, professional procurers and panders, sometimes called "vice lords," professional gamblers, more particularly operators and owners of gambling clubs and questionable places, leading anarchists and other antigovernment agitators, receivers of stolen property, political crooks, grafters, bondsmen, and attorneys. Without knowledge concerning evildoers, their friends, relatives, and haunts, the executive will be grossly deceived and find himself in the embarrassing position of giving aid and comfort to the antisocial, favoring legislation designed to give them protection or recommending grants of licenses and privileges which will be utilized for continuing illegal businesses. Racketeers and criminals are not always found in the underworld although a part of the underworld. One newspaper reporter receives an enormous salary for acting as publicity agent of the Taxi Drivers' Association. Using the power given to him by his position as a news collector he has been able to intimidate councilmen, judges, prosecutors, and policemen.

An executive unfamiliar with the crooked activities of this racketeer would find it difficult to counteract his influence; an alert chief, new in office, would obtain such information from his subordinates. The recent murder of a newspaper reporter in one city and the attempt of a reporter to extort \$75,000 from a political crook in another, are suggestive of the multitudinous types of unholy alliances and practices that are to be found in many large cities in this country. Moreover, continued ignorance of the activities of ward or party bosses and their frequent intimate relationship with the heads of vice rings is likely to prove disastrous to a conscientious executive. Unless he learns the wiles of these people and how they operate he will fail to recognize the connection between his antivice and crime crusades and public attacks upon him and the department that he commands, by editors, preachers, civil-service commissioners, police commissioners, councilmen, mayors, merchants and civic organizations. For example, the captain of the San Pedro police station in Los Angeles was assigned to take charge of the headquarters vice division and proceeded without delay to clean up a vice-infested city; then hoodlums belonging to a secret organization entered a dance hall in San Pedro where members of the I. W. W. and their families were having an evening of pleasure and proceeded to break up the party. Members of the I. W. W. were beaten, their women and children were manhandled and some of them were actually scalded with hot coffee. Agitators were placed in both groups, riots seemed imminent and business men became alarmed. A delegation called upon the chief and demanded that their former captain be returned to his post to restore quiet and order. An inexperienced executive might easily have complied with this request because he would not have known that the riots were staged with but one purpose in view, namely, to take the active antivice man out of the division where he was serving too effectively and to restore to that division an incompetent person not interested in cleaning up the city.

Constant vigilance and numerous experiences are absolutely necessary to prevent human parasites, who infest every community, from using chance acquaintance with the

chief to prey upon ill-informed, ignorant, and gullible persons. These leeches may visit the chief frequently, call him by his first name in the presence of others or when phoning in the presence of others, in order to impress these persons with the intimacy of the acquaintance. They will also try to be seen in public with the chief as often as circumstances will permit and otherwise do everything possible to prove that they are confidants and advisers of the police executive. Enormous sums of money are collected by this method and occasionally members of the police force are deceived by the clever tactics of these extortionists.

While it is important to learn who is who in the underworld and who the racketeers are, wherever they may be, an acquaintance with that large group of solid citizens who believe in law and order is most helpful. These men and women, who constitute the majority of every community, are willing to align themselves with honest law enforcement officials in their fight against the criminals. Without their support no chief of police can ever hope to succeed. With their support everything is possible. Whom to trust is all-important. Some good people are honest and capable, but talk too much; others in their eagerness overplay their part. A few individuals can always be found ready to rouse an apathetic public and stir them to action by appeals to patriotic, fraternal, and civic pride, especially when the department needs to be defended against unwarranted attacks. Others may be called upon to promote traffic safety education and still others may become interested in antivice or crime-prevention campaigns. Information concerning the honesty and ability of the citizens can only be acquired through long service and many experiences.

A chief must know not only personalities whose activities may complicate his problems, but must be aware that in his city different sections require individual and intensive study for the reason that no two sections of a community are exactly alike. One section may be filled with colored persons, the other populated by whites; sections housing rich or poor, cultured or uncultured, social or antisocial, foreign or native, migratory or old-resident type, differ in

their political and social ideals. The area may be either business or residence; apartment or one-family dwelling; retail or wholesale business; large down-town business or small community business; and each of these varies in its mode of thought, feeling, and acting. Hence, application of identical police practices among these widely divergent groups or areas is destined to be followed by poor results or absolute failure. A paternalistic attitude may be necessary in dealing with ignorant foreigners, who are unlearned and unfamiliar with our habits and institutions or laws. Similar treatment, however, would be greatly resented by the native, cultured residents. Rigid enforcement of traffic regulations may be warranted during certain hours of the day in the down-town business district, whereas this type of enforcement in the small community business sections would probably drive the purchasers away and be met with considerable resentment and condemnation by the suffering merchants. Police policies may be supported in one type of situation and violently opposed in others. Hence the sentiments and attitudes of the different units of a community must be known and given appropriate consideration in any action contemplated by a sympathetic and wise police executive. Foreigners, when they are assured of fair treatment, may become loyal supporters of the Government and the police department. On the other hand, where the policy of the police department alters with each change in the administration and the foreigners never know what to expect, they soon lose respect for law and the law enforcement officials.

Police morale is built on a foundation of honest, intelligent and continuous leadership. No single factor has contributed so greatly to police demoralization as has the practice of limiting the tenure of department heads. Not until this stupid practice is discontinued can we ever hope to make material progress in police procedure in this country. Regardless of ability, a department head can not hope to make an impression upon a large police department in the brief period that he is permitted to serve the people. It takes an executive many years to become acquainted with

the problems of crime, vice, and traffic, to say nothing of the political, social, and economic problems of the city he serves.

The new chief, as a rule, is handicapped because of his lack of acquaintance with the men that comprise the force. Is the detective who arrests a great number of pickpockets an efficient officer, or is he a crook working in combination with a shyster attorney and a crooked bondsman? Is the active antivice policeman fearlessly performing his duty or merely arresting people at a time and place agreed upon by his employers, the "vice lords"? Is the busy traffic-tagging policeman treating all violators the same, or is he selling privileges to a few for a definite consideration? Is the squad car crew with the biggest list of arrests to their credit an efficient group of hardworking policemen or just another squad of "smart coppers" who devote most of their time collecting from the liquor transporters? Did the recruit pay money to get on the force, or did he receive his appointment through political pull? Are the sergeants, lieutenants, and captains required to pay a fee for promotion? Is the smart and active captain in the district actually keeping down major crimes, or is he just another one of the "hold out" men who fail to chronicle all the events that transpire in his district but does keep a watchful eye upon the places from which he collects huge sums of money for allowing the owner to violate the law? The foregoing are but a few of the many thousands of questions concerning police personnel that must be correctly answered and properly handled if the head of a police department hopes to command the respect of the rank and file. Only long experiences in police affairs can save the police executive from being hoodwinked by the crooks in the department.

Though men may respect their leader because of his sincerity and honesty, they will desert him if he repeatedly fails to recognize and reward moral courage and efficiency. Faulty judgment in this regard is fatal. The news is quickly passed through the department when the head makes an unwise or undeserved promotion. Similarly, the department

will buzz with discontent for months if a capable or worthy officer is overlooked when advances are made in the department.

✕ Qualifications of the persons who comprise the force can never be ascertained in the short tenure usually allotted police heads. ✕ Consequently incompetents may be placed in important positions and create havoc before their incompetency is discovered. Meanwhile, irreparable damage may have been done and the reputation of an otherwise fine organization ruined by the action of this uninformed official. Occasionally a most capable official will be placed in a blind-alley job and will be completely forgotten. Again, high-class policemen may be assigned to perform unimportant but necessary routine duties that could be performed equally well by a less valuable person. For illustration, a ballistic expert of considerable ability was found assigned to call-car duty in one city; a chemical analyst was discovered patrolling a beat in an outlying section; a radio engineer of considerable fame patrolled a beat in another city. Similar illustrations, too numerous to mention, might be cited. Suffice to say that there is talent in every police organization, but it takes time for an executive to become acquainted with the department personnel and to discover who is good or worthless, weak or strong, talented or untalented. Recognition of conscientious police service, kindly and sympathetic interest in the men and their problems, prompt relief to policemen and their families when they are in need, injured, or sick, calls for personal touch with the members of the force. ✕ This intimate and sympathetic understanding of the men by the leader distinguishes the effective from the ineffective department, promotes morale in the organization and can only be fully accomplished where there is continuity of leadership. ✕

Constant leadership turnover is certain to produce demoralization. A "tilt the lid" policy by one head, followed shortly by a "close down" order issued by the next chief, and this in turn by a "wide open" policy order of the third chief, is quite enough to wreck any police organization. The policemen who obeyed the order of the

first chief will be punished by the second; those who obeyed the order of the second will certainly be punished by the third, and so on until the department is broken up into a series of cliques and these cliques spend most of their time fighting each other instead of fighting crooks. ✕ With nearly every change in the police head there follows the inevitable "police shake-up" with the result that the policemen who have become familiar with one district are transferred to another and all of the time devoted to the study of the beat, the section, or the district is entirely wasted. ✕ Transfers frequently engender ill feeling among policemen because they know the reason for the changes in the department. ✕ When transfers are unjustified, or are made for some sinister purpose, confidence in the administration is destroyed and police morale is shattered. ✕

✕ Stabilization can be achieved only when the executive's plans, purposes, and policies are carried out over an extended period. ✕ Rehabilitation of a large police department may comprehend the expenditure of millions of dollars. Obviously there will be objections on the part of the legislators and the people to an immediate outlay of large sums of money or proposals for improvements which may mean additional bonded indebtedness. Hence the necessity for a carefully worked out plan, which will provide for annual additions and betterments to be purchased out of current revenues until such time as the department is placed on a first-class footing. Changes in executive control during the progress of such a plan, spells the doom of the entire scheme and is certain to result in some lopsided, incomplete arrangement which displeases everyone and wastes the taxpayers' money.

✕ In the turmoil which usually follows changes in department heads there is always loss in police efficiency. Members of the force as a whole are mentally upset because as a result of past experiences they know that something is sure to happen and this state of expectancy and uncertainty continues until the usual amount of political fireworks has been exploded and the inevitable changes have been made. ✕

Frequently police activities which have considerable value are discontinued by the new executive for no reason other

than the fact that they were created by his immediate predecessor. The newly appointed chief usually works on the theory that anything his predecessor did must be wrong regardless of the amount of money invested in the activity or its administrative or organization value. The general rule followed by most new executives is to discard everything that their predecessor instituted and cast in the wastepile, along with other buried experiments, the result of his labors.

If we could gaze into the future and there view the evils that follow in the wake of continued changes in police leadership it is doubtful if the taxpayers would accept the situation so complacently. Rather would they find good cause for alarm. Crime is no longer the severely local affair that it was a quarter of a century ago. Its scope is large and no city can ever again be sufficient in itself or entirely independent of other communities. Rapid transportation and the advent of the automobile has completely changed the crime problem and broken down all the distance barriers that crippled and handicapped old-time criminals.

The modern crook is a migratory worker. He is a restless chap, sometimes because he is obliged to escape from the scene of his crimes. By accident or otherwise, he may discover that officers are on his trail, hence must leave for other parts or suffer the consequences. Occasionally he becomes too well known in some particular city as a result of the police "show-up" method and is unable to ply his nefarious trade successfully. Many of the more intelligent criminals realize that they are marked men once they have been arrested and convicted of a major offense, and as soon as they are released they leave for distant places where there is less likelihood that they will be identified by the policemen. Others, after working for a while in a given community, believe that they are being constantly watched by the detectives and seem to be impelled by some unseen force to escape from their all-seeing eyes. Not a few go to other communities because they are advised by fellow criminals that the "pickings are easy," while still others are moved to take up their residence elsewhere for no other reason than that they are victims of the wanderlust.

Stealing in one city and selling the loot in another is common practice; using one city for a rendezvous or a place to plan depredations and operating in another is now the rule rather than the exception. While this may not be a departure from old customs it is more commonly observed to-day. The crime committed in one city is frequently one of many committed by the same gang in numerous other cities. Accordingly, the closest type of coordination and cooperation is imperative. Information picked up on the Atlantic coast by a police officer may prove to be an important clue in a major crime committed in one of the Pacific States. Hickman, for illustration, stole an automobile in Kansas City, drove to Chicago and held up several persons. Returning to Kansas City he stole another automobile and drove to Los Angeles holding up several persons en route. In Los Angeles he kidnapped and murdered the daughter of a banker. From clues furnished by the Kansas City police, the western policemen were put on the right track and not long thereafter the fiend was run to earth.

Long years of service provide the opportunity to establish contacts with police executives and officials in other communities. Services rendered by one executive to another seeking help are usually well repaid when the opportunity to reciprocate comes his way. Such friendly relations prove invaluable assets to a community. Communities which are able to see beyond their petty local politics and retain in office competent executives are least likely to be attacked by professional crooks. Therefore, in determining the qualifications of a police executive no small weight can be placed upon the executive's experience and friendly contacts with the heads of other law enforcement agencies, including municipal, county, State, and Federal police units.

From the foregoing it might be assumed that leadership for a particular department must be found within that department, and where vacancies arise through death, retirement, or otherwise, the appointing powers should search for an executive within the ranks in the grades next below. This is most desirable but not absolutely necessary. Where

it has been impossible to secure leadership in a department due to factional fights within the department, absence of adequate leadership qualities in the membership of the force, or for any other reasons whatever, satisfactory results have been obtained in a few instances by selecting officers from other departments skilled in the science and art of police organization and administration.

In Great Britain there is no fixed system by which police executives may be trained and developed. Each city and county is free to adopt its own standards and select its own men. As a result, police executives are sometimes taken from the departments of other towns, or they are promoted from among the assistants in the same force, or, occasionally, they are drawn from the army or the Royal Irish Constabulary. In contrast with the continental officials there are few among them who have received a legal degree. Most of them are men who have made police work a distinct profession, entering the service as ordinary constables and rising from the ranks. Of the 128 borough police forces in England and Wales, the chief constables of all but 14 have come from the ranks, promoted gradually on the basis of merit, and often called from one city to another. In this respect, therefore, English and continental practice differ widely. In Germany, Austria, France, and Italy it would be impossible for a man who has served as a patrolman ever to become the chief of his force in his own or in any other city. The prevailing class distinctions and social lines forbid. Indeed, the idea appears never to have been considered on the Continent, and questions on this score elicit stares of amazement. It is only in democratic England that such a practice could prevail.¹

Particularly valuable among other desirable qualities for police executives, are experiences gained in solving, or, in many cases, not solving, the infinite varieties of police problems that inevitably become daily police routine. Every conceivable type of emergency or vexatious social or economic illness is likely to be presented for solution to an executive during his incumbency. Many times daily these situations call for instant decisions. Responsibility for decision is placed squarely upon the police chief's shoulders. However, it must always be remembered that the press, pulpit, and public have the second guess. Correct decisions, regardless of the number, are passed unnoticed, but woe

unto the executive who happens to make a faulty decision. Newspaper men and preachers will jump upon the executive, the public will become aroused, and again the city will pass through the throes of a change in police leadership with all of its attendant evils.

Familiarity with the duties of the office can not be acquired by reading the constitutional, charter or manual provisions defining the executive's duties. Of course these are important and can not be neglected. What is not known to the general public is that the great mass of executive duties are unwritten and are acquired tediously and slowly, often as the result of painful trials and errors, reasoning and judgment, deliberation and mental anguish, disappointments and successes, studies and investigations. Consequently, confronted with the necessity of policing a community with an undermanned force he must know how to conserve strength; where to apply pressure to produce the desired effect; when to take the offensive; how to take advantage of every favorable circumstance; why it is important not to move in advance of public opinion; and finally, how to win public support for his projects, bearing in mind that the public is fickle and will desert their police chief upon the slightest provocation.

Moreover, his duties extend far beyond the handling of law violators. Long police service gives an executive a knowledge of public attitudes, hence he becomes an invaluable advisor to legislators, more especially when they seek to learn whether or not a contemplated or proposed piece of legislation is or is not enforceable, or whether or not the masses believe it desirable. Again this same knowledge may be used to advantage to prevent neurotic individuals and irresponsible cranks from foisting their hobbies upon an uninformed legislative body.

Clogging courts with unimportant or ill-prepared cases is a common mistake of untrained executives, whereas the skilled expert in this field knows that the whole law enforcement machinery is quickly put out of order and rendered ineffective when court calendars become crowded.

Brass band tactics have never terrified professional crooks. Raids and drives mean nothing to them. Nothing

¹ Fosdick, *European Police Systems*, p. 159.

short of persistent and intelligent police efforts produce results. Relevant, competent and material evidence sufficient to convict, with a will to rid the city of undesirables, does intimidate habitual criminals.

The executive who knows his business is not deceived by a large record of arrests. As a matter of fact, many arrests with a few convictions is quickly recognized as possible evidence of inferior service and a sufficient cause for the executive to make careful inquiry into the character and competency of the commanding officer or officers responsible for depriving persons of their liberty illegally. In many minor cases the policeman on the beat is the first and perhaps the best judge since he has all of the facts immediately before him. If he is a just or wise judge, the matter will be disposed of with alacrity and with the least possible friction without taking up the time of the booking sergeant, prosecutor, commanding officer, or the court.

There is no more important duty assigned to the executive than to conduct a police department in such a manner that the citizens of the community are not deprived of their liberty without due process of law, and are not brutally manhandled when legally detained.

Equally important is the obligation to protect honest and conscientious subordinates from unscrupulous and conspiring politicians, evil-doers, and occasionally from the so-called better citizens. Times innumerable have ill-tempered persons suffering from wounded pride attempted to have competent policemen punished or removed from the force because they were cautioned for violating some regulation or law. Their prestige in the community, and not infrequently their political pull, is strong enough to make it miserable for the executive if he fails to do their bidding. These incidents generally are easily solved by the trained executive, painful though they may be for the moment.

Executive ability of a superior quality is tested when underworld characters frame or defame an incorruptible or efficient policeman. This may be accomplished at times by a series of complaints against the policeman charging him with violating every known police rule, or, again, it

may be a single serious charge filed with the aid of perjured testimony and "planted" evidence.

Protecting honest and efficient policemen is a difficult task; equally difficult is the work of obtaining evidence sufficient to prosecute dishonest and grafting policemen. Usually there is no witness to the corrupt deal. The person who offers or gives a bribe is guilty of a criminal offense, consequently no help can be expected from that source. To the untrained executive there would seem to be little that he could do to get rid of the "smart copper" or prosecute him for bribery. Nevertheless, this is accomplished regularly by seasonal executives.

From knowledge acquired concerning the underhanded methods of persons who purchase special favors or privileges by bribing public officials, from complaints made by citizens regarding the operation of businesses conducted in violation of the law or laws, from paid informers or under-cover agents, from crooks or underworld denizens who seek to curry favor with police officials, from other persons that have been given aid by the police and who have a friendly regard for the head of the department, from official police reports, and from other indicators too numerous to mention, familiar to police experts, the professional police executive soon learns who the grafters are in the police department and once they are located it is merely a matter of time until they are eliminated for one cause or another.

Recently, evidence presented to the grand jury seemed to indicate that grafting policemen operated successfully in one of the large cities through four successive police administrations. Evidently the untrained police heads never knew to what extent the department was corrupted nor the extent of vice in the community, and, what is more important, they never would have found out unless they had been permitted to retain their official position for a period longer than has been customary in the United States.

Criminals and underworld characters know that police leadership turnover works to their advantage. They leave nothing undone to encourage and make possible frequent changes. With the removal of police executives police departments pass through some form of upheaval and when

this occurs the policemen are more concerned with interior strife and politics than with the effects of criminal depredations. Changes, even though they may be for the better, are encouraging to crooks. Any change in leadership causes some form of demoralization of the force which is paid to protect the lives and property of society and always operates to the advantage of society's enemies. A disorganized, demoralized or discouraged body of men deprived of continuous professional leadership can not cope with crime as it is organized to-day. Instead of being condemned for failure, policemen should be lauded for the courageous fight that they have made in the past without capable commanding officers.

A deplorable situation exists in many cities in America as a result of the constant changes that have been made in police heads. Often competent and honest station commanders or division commanders refuse to accept promotion to the highest office on the force and prefer to serve in a subordinate position until retirement. They fear to take the chance of being discharged and disgraced in a comparatively short period. Too often indeed, have scurrilous and offensive allegations by underworld creatures been sufficient to blast the career of irreproachable and incorruptible executives or, who, because of their efforts to serve the people honestly and faithfully, incurred the enmity of powerful political forces and lost their positions. Whenever a competent chief is dismissed upon false and framed charges or for political expediency it is notice to the rest of the members of the force that they can expect to be penalized if they perform their sworn duties. Moreover, it is notice to them that they will be rewarded if they do not perform their duties. Accordingly initiative is destroyed in departments of police and instead of action there is substituted therefor the policy of "See nothing, hear nothing, and do nothing."

Strikes or riots call for prompt and forceful action at times. Whatever is done on these occasions is destined to bring down upon the department head condemnation from many quarters. His dismissal will be sought by the unionites if he interferes with attempts of strikers or sympa-

thizers to destroy property or intimidate strike breakers. Merchants and manufacturers or so-called capitalists will demand his immediate removal if he fails to take action to protect their property and their hired strike breakers. No matter which way he turns, the police executive is doomed because the political system fails to protect and give security in office to honest, competent, and courageous police executives. With few exceptions no protection is afforded to the police chiefs in this country, and to this neglect, more than to any other cause, may be attributed the alliance of politics, police and crime.

It is refreshing, however, to observe that politicians do not control the police department in the city of Milwaukee where the chief is amply protected by legal enactments which prevent his removal without just and sufficient cause. A former chief defied the politicians when they sought to destroy the morale of the police department of that city. Spoils seekers who were elected to office, as soon as their demands for special privileges were refused, proceeded to depose this incorruptible police executive. They soon found that the ordinances of Milwaukee and laws of Wisconsin were sufficient to withstand their well-planned attacks, and in the end, despite the vicious attempts of the spoilers, the courts returned the chief to his position in the department. Two chiefs of police in 46 years is Milwaukee's record and to this fact we may trace the fine record of that police department.

Admittedly there are innumerable factors which contribute to political control of the police. None, however, are more certain to make the police department the plaything of crooked politicians than the American practice of appointing police chiefs for a short definite period or an indefinite period without security of tenure. Witness the deplorable situation in the large cities of New York, Chicago, and others. Chicago has had 14 chiefs in 30 years.² How can a department function effectively when the head is not in office long enough to become acquainted with his duties or the police problems that require solution? In cities where the chief must be blindly obedient to orders

² See list at bottom of following page.

from the mayor and where that dignitary in some instances is the political creature of killers and crooks of every conceivable character, administration of police affairs must of necessity sink to the level of the controlling influences.

What does it matter if the rest of the force is protected by civil-service provisions if their leader is the tool of political crooks? Policemen are not likely to be misled under such circumstances. They know the forces that control the destinies of the city, they know what "sacred cows" are protected, they know what gambling houses, bootlegging joints, and houses of prostitution are not to be molested and they govern themselves accordingly. When the leader is controlled by underworld politicians, a first-class police department may be wrecked overnight. Commanding officers and men will be moved about so rapidly that they never get an opportunity to catch up with the criminals in the area assigned to them for protection. Ultimately under this scheme the higher type of commanding officer who zealously performs his duties is removed to the outskirts, or, in police parlance, to the "sticks." Moreover, *experts* in the department may be transferred to inferior positions or placed

CHIEFS OF POLICE OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Cyrus Bradley.....	1861-1863.	Joseph Kipley.....	Appointed Apr. 16,
William Tuttle.....	1864-1866.		1897.
Jacob Rehm.....	1866-1871.	Francis O'Neill.....	Appointed Apr. 30,
W. W. Kennedy.....	Appointed		1901.
	1871.	John M. Collins.....	Appointed July 26,
Elmer Washburn.....	Appointed		1905.
	1872.	George M. Shippy.....	Appointed Apr. 15,
Jacob Rehm.....	Appointed		1907.
	December, 1873.	LeRoy T. Stewart.....	Appointed Aug. 15,
Michael C. Hickey.....	Appointed		1909.
	1875.	John McWeeny.....	Appointed May 1,
Valrous A. Seavey.....	Appointed July 30,		1911.
	1878.	James Gleason.....	Appointed Nov. 3,
Simon O'Donnell.....	Appointed Dec. 15,		1913.
	1879.	Charles C. Healey.....	Appointed Apr. 26,
William J. McGarigle.....	Appointed Dec. 13,		1915.
	1880.	Hermann F. Schuettler.....	Appointed Jan. 11,
Austin J. Doyle.....	Appointed Nov. 13,		1917.
	1882.	John J. Garrity.....	Appointed Nov. 25,
Frederick Ebersold.....	Appointed Oct. 26,		1918.
	1885.	Charles C. Fitzmorris.....	Appointed Nov. 10,
George W. Hubbard.....	Appointed Apr. 17,		1920.
	1888.	Morgan A. Collins.....	Appointed Apr. 16,
Frederick H. Marsh.....	Appointed Jan. 1,		1923.
	1890.	Michael Hughes.....	Appointed Apr. 14,
Robert V. McClaghry.....	Appointed May 18,		1927.
	1891.	William F. Russell.....	Appointed Aug. 1,
Michael Brennan.....	Appointed Sept. 11,		1928.
	1893.	John A. Alcock (acting	1930-1931.
John J. Badenoch.....	Appointed Apr. 11,	commissioner).	
	1895.		

where their *expert* knowledge of crime and criminals and underworld denizens can not be used to advantage. When such a police head is selected word is quickly passed around throughout the entire police department to "lay low" which may be interpreted to mean that the interest of the public will suffer as long as the politically controlled department head conducts the affairs of the department. Some public administration experts say that this is the reason why there should be no security of tenure and the power should always be in the hands of an upright mayor to remove an incompetent or corrupt official. Incompetency and corruption should not be difficult to prove before a trial board where the burden of proof is placed upon the accused. The situation is vastly different from that which prevails in the courts of law in this country where the defendant is completely surrounded with all types of protecting technicalities. Where it is known that the chief will be amply protected by civil-service provisions much more care will be exercised in selecting him. Nearly all of the large cities suffer from an alliance between politicians and criminals. For example, Los Angeles was controlled by a few gamblers for a number of years. San Francisco suffered similarly some years ago and at one period in its history was so completely dominated by the gamblers that three prominent gamblers who were in control of the politics of the city and who quarreled about the appointment of the police chief settled their quarrel by shaking dice to determine who would name the chief for the first two years, who for the second two years, and who for the third.

Recently the gamblers were driven out of Detroit by the commissioner. These gamblers were strong enough politically to oust this commissioner from office despite the fact that he was recognized by police chiefs as one of the strongest and ablest police executives in America. For a number of years Kansas City, Mo., was controlled by a vice ring and no interference with their enterprises was tolerated. Chicago, despite its unenviable reputation, is but one of numerous cities where the people have frequently been betrayed by their elected officials.

To suggest that the head of a police department be protected by civil-service provisions would undoubtedly be met with violent objections by the professional politician because he knows that it would weaken his chances of controlling the police in the city and thus interfere seriously with financial collections from the underworld for campaign expenses. While there are many other sources from which the political bosses secure contributions, in the main the funds which really make successful campaigns possible, come from the owners and habitués of vice, gambling and bootlegging resorts. Accordingly, every effort is directed toward securing the appointment of a police executive favorable to their cause, one who will take orders without hesitancy.

Better by far under the present scheme of government to protect the department head by civil-service provisions than the other members of the force. With the right kind of executive at the head of an organization it would be safe to entrust the entire management and control to him without the limitations imposed by civil-service commissioners. With such an arrangement it would be possible for the executive to hire and discharge any person on the force. However, this statement should not be construed to mean that civil-service protection should be removed from the other members of the force. What we wish to emphasize is that all efforts to sever the tie that binds police to politics must fail unless the head is completely removed by suitable civil-service protection provisions from the power of political bosses.

Without security of tenure positively guaranteed for honest and intelligent service, executives find themselves unable to concentrate their attention upon the numerous police problems that arise in every community. They have constantly before them the lessons learned from deposed chiefs with the result that there is fear that every act of theirs may give colorable cause for removal. Hence, indecision is the rule instead of the exception.

There is every reason why the public should guard the chief against dismissal due to hysterical outbreaks following some vicious or revolting crime. A single crime is suffi-

cient to arouse the public and during these hysterical outbreaks reason is thrown to the winds and nothing short of the removal of the chief will suffice. These are the occasions when the chief should be surrounded with every possible device to insure his retention. When the populace calms down they quickly forget the events that disturbed them and the work of the department may then continue without serious interruption.

Not infrequently mayors or police commissioners, even though they be of good character, desire to select their own police chiefs in order that they may put into effect their policies. Their inexperience, coupled with the fact that they are frequently surrounded by designing politicians, induces them to make changes when a change in the executive control is detrimental to the welfare of the department.

There is no chemically-pure city. Vice in its various forms will be found in every large city and in most of the small cities. Therefore, it is not difficult for radical reformers to point out to an incoming mayor, speak-easies, houses of prostitution, and gambling places. When the names and addresses of these places are collectively presented the list looms large and appears to be concrete evidence that the police chief is either in league with the crooks or is an incompetent executive, whereas further study will show often that the courts or the prosecuting attorney may be the weak link in the enforcement machinery. Under such circumstances the head of the department should be entitled to a fair and impartial hearing. Evidence against the official should be presented at a public hearing before a trial board. If incompetency is shown he should be removed; otherwise he should be retained and the facts given wide publicity.

Often there is conflict where responsibility is divided between the police chief and police commissioners, where police commissioners exist, or where there is divided responsibility between the city manager and chief or the mayor and chief. Obviously in such instances there is necessity for protective legal machinery, until such time as the conflict can be amicably settled. Opposition to some pet hobby of a mayor,

police commissioner, or city manager is quite enough to make the position of the chief untenable. These hobbies frequently have an important bearing upon the morale of an entire force; and the inexperienced and unprofessional individual not acquainted with the intricacies of a department, knowing nothing of the small cliques and factional fights that are to be found in every organization, are likely to provoke a situation which would mean the ultimate ruin of the organization if not interrupted by the police head.

Where there is a clash between the chief and his immediate superiors he needs an opportunity to present his side of the case to an impartial trial group. Failure to extend a favor to some political pet may prove to be fatal in one case, whereas the prosecution of some influential citizen, even though the arrest and prosecution were warranted, may be his undoing in another. Misled or stampeded mayors, city managers, or commissioners may jump to incorrect conclusions and remove the chief without notice. Indirect propaganda may upset the equilibrium of these appointing officials; and not being skilled in the ways of the underworld workers, they may accept advice from the enemies of society to depose a capable executive.

Eradication of disgruntled agitators, incompetent policemen, police crooks, and grafters takes much time, since it is next to impossible to induce police officers to inform on one another. It is an unwritten law in police departments that police officers must never testify against their brother officer. Viewing it from the inside, it is soon found that as a general rule policemen believe that the average citizen is opposed to them and they must fight their battles together against their common enemy. Very often the charges preferred against policemen are unjust, often they are unfounded, and frequently they are filed merely to defame the character of some competent man. The police executive who hopes to correct this condition in the department must have had years of experience before he can, by the various processes known to the police, eliminate the undesirables and protect the innocent.

Here in the United States there has been a fair degree of continuity in the service of the rank and file, but our police administrators

arrive and depart with a rapidity which is kaleidoscopic in its effect. The development of police administration has thereby been greatly retarded. The present state of the science of police administration on the one hand, and that of the "policeman's art" on the other, are in such striking contrast as to carry their own lesson. Until there has been secured a fair degree of permanency in the tenure of the police administrator, the development of a science of police administration is going to lag far behind practical police methods.³

A law enforcement program requires time and a well-developed plan which must be conducted piecemeal. With the force at his command it is utterly impossible for any police chief in this country to completely eliminate vice and crime or even reduce the amount of vice or crime to any appreciable extent during the period of tenure of the average chief.

Jealous of their liberties, the American people have hesitated to place too much power in the hands of their police. Accordingly, every known political device has been experimented with in order to fix responsibility for police service without placing the head of the department and the members thereof beyond the pale of the people. All have the same common defect. Limiting the powers of the police executive by placing absolute control of police under the mayor, commissioners, or city manager has opened wide the door for every conceivable type of incompetency, political corruption, and organization demoralization. The theory that the mayor, representing the people, will exercise wisdom in conducting the business of the city and, being directly responsible to the electors, will do his utmost to protect the lives and property of inhabitants and preserve the peace, has been badly shattered, judging by the caliber of the police service which is to be found in the majority of the communities in this country.

Placing control of police under an elective official is also believed to provide the means whereby the taxpayers may quickly eliminate dishonest and corrupt police. This theory, too, has failed of success. Ridding the police department of a chief executive does not clean up the organization. Rather does it retard efforts to improve the moral

³ The Missouri Crime Survey, p. 58.

tone of the force. Claim is also made that control should be placed with the mayor, because it enables that official, or his commission, if there be such, to put into operation progressive policies and at the same time keep the police in harmony with modern trends. Studies of American police show that there is no merit in this claim. There is a preponderant amount of evidence that mayors and commissioners have more often than not prevented the adoption of progressive methods and have seriously impaired the efficiency of active police organizations. Fear of political oppression is the reason given for introducing and maintaining the system which gives the mayor power to remove the police executive. Every other system, it is argued, would have a tendency to build up police autocrats. There is no charge in Milwaukee, where permanency of tenure is assured by legislative action, that the head of the police department is autocratic excepting perhaps by evildoers who in transgressing the law have contacted with law enforcement officials of that city.

In adherence to democratic theory of government and fear of oppression, it has been amply demonstrated that the people have gone too far in attempts to limit the control of police executives. Among the evils associated with rapid displacement of the department head is the generally inferior quality of police service found in all sections of this country. ✕ This failure to surround the department head with appropriate protection and security of tenure has made the chief of the average police department subject to or obedient to the militant and active political minority of the community. ✕ The majority of the citizens are not sufficiently interested to desire changes. But those few who have been prosecuted for good and sufficient causes or who failed to receive privileges usually take an active part in getting rid of the official who is honestly endeavoring to serve the people. Generally the reason for getting rid of the chief is never confided to the public. Any active group seeking protection or special favors may, through political connivance, secure preelection promises to remove a chief on condition that the group in question give their undivided support to a particular candidate.

Seeking to avoid repression and to preserve democratic ideals, the people have virtually turned over their police departments to the most notorious and frequently the most dangerous persons in their communities, who do not hesitate to use them for every type of oppression and intimidation. Therefore, their attempt to protect themselves from a powerful autocratic chief of police has served to place them and the government in the hands of unscrupulous cutthroats, murderers, and bootleggers.

What every police force needs is leadership—one official to whom the community can say, "Thou art the man!" and who has power corresponding to his responsibility. We shall never solve the police problem in America until we give honest and effective leadership an opportunity to show what it can do. Some time or other we have to make a beginning of trusting our public officials.⁴

A study of cities with a population of 10,000 or over reveals the fact that the average tenure for police heads is between four and five years. In the larger cities, where the highest type of administration is demanded and competent leadership is imperative, the police heads come and go so fast that their names are frequently forgotten in a short time. In fact, in the city of Detroit there have been four police heads in the last year. The average tenure of office for police heads in cities of 500,000 population or over is a fraction over two years.

TABLE I.—Length of service of chief official of police department

[Tabulation showing appointments made in 575 cities reported for the period 1908-1923, inclusive, and average number of years served by appointee as chief official. (Questionnaire was sent to 745 cities)]

Number of cities reported	Number of men appointed or elected	Population	Average term of office, in years
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
575	2,860	Cities over 10,000.....	4.28
363	1,806	10,000 to 30,000.....	4.28
24	303	30,000 to 50,000.....	4.88
07	348	50,000 to 100,000.....	4.11
42	203	100,000 to 300,000.....	4.46
9	53	300,000 to 500,000.....	3.62
10	87	500,000 and over.....	2.41

⁴ Raymond B. Fosdick, Police Administration, Part III, of the Cleveland Foundation Survey of Criminal Justice in Cleveland, pp. 16-21.

One might reasonably ask, What is the remedy? What ought the people to do to improve the general quality of police service in America? Can they do anything? Admitting that civil service has neither fulfilled the promises of its advocates nor measured up in part to the claims of its proponents, nevertheless it does aid materially in eliminating politics from many police organizations. Everyone is familiar with the fact that there are exceptions. Ultimately, however, we may, through civil-service examinations raised to higher standards, lead the police out of the wilderness. There is a possibility that inferior individuals may be selected, and it will be difficult to remove these officials should they prove to be incompetent. These factors, however, do not detract from the virtues of civil-service protection, and the evils are more than compensated for by the single control and continuous policy of a civil-service appointee. Such a chief removed from political control, not indebted to politicians for his appointment, will soon demonstrate his strength in the police world. The average police force is not an organized body of men but as a general rule a disorganized body of sheep, because of absence of competent leadership.

The chief must be surrounded with every protective civil-service device imaginable. When that is done the citizens may take more interest in the appointment of their chief police executive. With security of tenure, with intelligence, with training, with honesty, and with sincerity of purpose, the criminal element can be controlled. Without these virtues and with political control as it now exists, police departments must go on unorganized, inefficient, and corrupt.

CHAPTER III

PERSONNEL—SELECTION

Only within comparatively recent years has this country become subject to any great extent to an awakened police consciousness. For over half a century the spoils of politics have found their greatest source of profit in the lucrative field of police personnel. Little difference exists if the force is one of a few men or thousands, as is the case in some of our largest cities—the effect has been much the same. The number of men wearing the blue amounts in this country to a sizable army and represents the only arm the community has to protect it from the violence and strife which would be the inevitable consequence of an unruled commonwealth.

Yet disregarding the fact that industrial changes in the country have molded it from one of comparative rural predominance to one of city areas, each of which has become the possessor of new problems heretofore unthought of, the old-style policeman continues to be in the very great majority. To an inquiry concerning the meaning of the "old time," we might, in a reflective mood, call to mind the English bobbie with his country bringing up, topped with a selected training which few cities in England are not able to offer—a bobbie commanding such respect that his uniform alone is sufficient to command attention and his presence respect for the law. With our customs and traditions largely Anglo-Saxon, one may think for a moment that our policeman is a prototype of his more honored brethren across the seas. But it is only too apparent that such is not the case. Features which are integral parts of the older systems are lacking either totally or in part in our own. Proper qualifications, careful selection, scientific training, thorough police schooling, certain tenure of office, singly or together, seem total strangers in the majority of our de-

partments. They embrace the whole gamut of police work and raise the phantom of inefficiency to a creature of utter administrative laxity. To the great mass of our peace protectors, "getting in" the force and "staying in" are not correlatives of good conduct becoming an officer and a gentleman. The former consists largely in being within the friendly toga of some politician, the latter in having the good luck to pick a winning boss. The consequences are deplorable.

A carefully selected police personnel is the foundation upon which successful police administration is built. When a department fails to function properly the cause frequently is found in its low entrance standards or inferior and improper selective methods. Because of the enormity of the task of policing a community it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the best human material in the country is none too good for police service.¹

Few can realize or appreciate the manifold duties of the policeman. To the great mass of people he is just another one of those nuisances which one must endure, and even among our courts a general attitude of disfavor is often found. His services are great. His labor is full of interest, and yet rarely, even among specialists, is full credit given to the position. He must have an extensive acquaintance with all the branches of the law, must know men, possess exceptional powers of understanding, of diligence and of memory. Tact is indispensable and true courage a vital requisite. The sudden emergency must find him fully prepared, and he must risk life and limb on the slightest provocation and often upon snap judgment. The good police officer must of necessity be a leader capable of assuming upon the moment responsibilities which a slow mind would hesitate to accept. He must be able to solve problems relating to every conceivable branch of knowledge. He should know what the medical man has to tell him, for his duties lead often to post-mortems and to the houses of the insane or unbalanced. He must know the wiles of the "con" man and the stockbroker. He must be able to diagnose the cause which led to a serious vehicular accident, and his mind must be so legally trained that in court, if necessary, he can

¹ City Managers Yearbook, International City Managers Association, Chicago, 1931, p. 148.

present the facts. He must know the tricks of the card sharp, be able to read ciphers, understand criminal slang. His perceptions must be keen indeed, and the very best reasoning and judgment are necessary qualifications at any and all times. X

^ In his great task of maintaining the security of persons and property and safeguarding the public morals he is a bulwark of society against the unruly lawbreakers. His responsibility is the enforcement of the law, and he must preserve order wherever disorder finds play. Arrests for law violations, including failure to obey traffic regulations, the protection of the public against all assailants, are all a part of his duties. He is the friend of the sick and the injured, and many a youngster has been turned from a career of violence through the good offices of a "cop." On his lonely beat at night it is he who reports burnt-out street lights, the haven of the crook and the light-fingered gentry. He checks open doors, windows, watches and notes defective passages, and is constantly on the lookout for the fire demon. X And then, above all, he is a judge. X The moment he dons the blue uniform he becomes a "court of the first instance just as truly as any ermined judge," as Commissioner Woods remarked. The wise policeman is the guide, philosopher, and friend of all those who come to him, and this is particularly true where the foreign element in so many thousands of our communities is totally unacquainted with the characteristics of present-day civilization. The people bring him many of their troubles, and many a dispute has ended in this "Blue Court." Of his legal duties, E. H. Sutherland says:

He must know whether a certain act of violence is a felony or a misdemeanor, and the conditions under which a case can be proved. If the law has been violated he must determine whether the violation should be treated by warning or arrest, for one can not arrest everyone who violates a law.

Perhaps two-thirds of law violations are accepted by the policeman and a warning given to the violator. This alone saves our courts a vast amount of time and the community a great sum of money. Where, in the judgment of the officer it is necessary to arrest the violator, it immediately becomes

that officer's duty to know the facts of the case, because an arrest accomplishes nothing if the policeman fails to secure a conviction merely because of his own inability to testify. But his judicial temperament must extend to even greater lengths. When has he the right to make an arrest? Under what circumstances can he stop a physician who in the frantic rush to get to a patient runs through a "yellow" and injures a child? What is he to do when he sees the fire escapes in the crowded tenement district loaded at nights with their sleeping occupants who are there, in violation of the law, to get the little breath of air that is stirring, or when can he break into a man's home to arrest him? What is he to do when asked to arrest a man upon the unsupported charge of another? These things he must decide. Then, too, his fidelity and loyalty to his department must be great enough to resist constant temptations that beset him. Truthfulness, uprightness, and broadmindedness, these must keep him straight under all conditions and he must have complete control over his emotions, whether stopping a speeder or taking a man from the hands of a surging crowd. Nor can he do his duty unless he commands the respect of others, and to this end he must possess something besides a carefully brushed uniform and a snappy gait.

Every man must be mentally, morally, physically, and educationally sound, for the dignity of the profession demands that a man possess qualifications of a superior degree. Such qualifications can not be obtained by the hit-or-miss methods of selection in vogue at the present time.

Only in recent years has it come to be recognized that something more than a police manual, a uniform, a club, a revolver, and a fair degree of brute strength is needed to transform a recruit into an efficient policeman. Policemen have too often been appointed on the basis of political qualifications, and officials having the appointing power have acted upon the principle that party loyalty constitutes the highest qualification required for the appointment of subordinates. Tenure of office depends largely upon party success and is apt to be too brief, and that in turn stimulates the use of every opportunity for gain. The inevitable

result is collusion with criminals and police corruption which have marred the reputation of the policemen in our cities. The keynote of the new era is sounded in the following paragraph.

As a first step in any plan to ameliorate present conditions we should aim to keep out rather than weed out of the service undesirable persons, because preventive measures are vastly cheaper and far more successful than the installation of complicated machinery to correct personnel difficulties. Besides, the unfit policeman weakens the moral fiber of his associates and destroys public confidence in the department. The organization suffers and society pays the bill when policemen are dishonest, stupid, vicious, or temperamentally unsuited. In fact, arbitrariness, cruelty, unnecessary exercise of police power, harshness produce crime and anarchy and sponsor social ills.²

In the many extensive surveys that have been made in this country within the last decade a tremendous amount of illuminating material has been gathered. That the trend of selection is for the better one may say with certainty but many police administrators still seem to be obsessed by the idea that brawn fully compensates for low intelligence and the lack of other desirable personality traits. It will require a great deal of improvement before the present method of selection will be at all comparable to efficient policing. Before the advent of civil service the Jacksonian spoils system ran riot and the matter of obtaining a police position was merely a matter of party affiliation. The advent of a new administration meant first of all a new chief who brought with him a change in personnel, often claiming one-half or perhaps the entire force.

The length of service in a department is largely indicative of the political influence at work, and the greater the political influence usually the shorter the tenure of the men. Napoleon once said that it took eight years to make a good soldier, and certainly a good policeman can not be made in a few days. In the Kansas City force, for example, the survey (1928) revealed that 53 per cent of the men had less than three years' service. Dismissals take place at the inauguration of a new régime by the wholesale. In the year

² Survey of the Los Angeles Police Department, 1924, August Vollmer, p. 3.

1921, as an example, 350 men were dismissed. In another large city 214 men left the force in one year. It is utterly impossible for men of average intelligence to become acquainted with all the duties involved in police work in the short span of a few years, let alone the man of lesser intellect. Little wonder that our policemen of to-day are looked upon with a sneer. We can not, nor will we ever, have respect for a police force in which the personnel is stupid, dishonest, incapable or inefficient.

The great majority of police are not suited either by temperament, training, or education for their position. More than 60 per cent of the present police personnel have never entered high school,³ and the status of the officers is little or no better. The following facts are rather pertinent: In one city ⁴ 5 of the 7 lieutenants taking an examination did not go beyond the grades, and among the sergeants, of a total of 35, 31 did not enter first-year high. Twenty-three of a total of thirty-three detectives were in the same category. Among the patrolmen, of a total of 316 examined, just 13 had gone to college, and 228 never went beyond the grades. Of the 531 persons taking the test, just 70 per cent have had no training above the grades. In Detroit, in an analysis of 143 patrolmen,⁵ 72 per cent of the men had no further education than the grades. That the condition of their intelligence is in accord with their educational accomplishments is certain after we have considered Alpha Test ratings given to some of these men.

The ratings of the test are based upon percentages ranging from absolute zero to 212 per cent.

	Per cent
A, very superior intelligence.....	135-212
B, superior intelligence.....	105-134
C+, high average intelligence.....	75-104
C, average intelligence.....	45-74
C-, low average intelligence.....	25-44
D, inferior intelligence.....	15-24
D-, very inferior intelligence.....	0-14

³ See Fig. 1.

⁴ Kansas City Survey, p. 61.

⁵ Jessies M. Ostrander, One Hundred Fifty Policemen, Mental Hygiene, IX (1925), 60.

As Yoakum and Yerkes remarked in this connection:

The immense contrast between A and D intelligence is shown by the fact that men of A intelligence have the ability to make a superior-grade record in college or university, while D men are of such inferior grade mentally that they are unable to go beyond the third or fourth grade of elementary school, however long they attend. In fact many of the D- men are of the moron grade of feeble-mindedness. B intelligence is capable of making an average record in college, C+ intelligence can not do so well, while the mentality of the C grade is only capable of finishing a high-school course.⁶

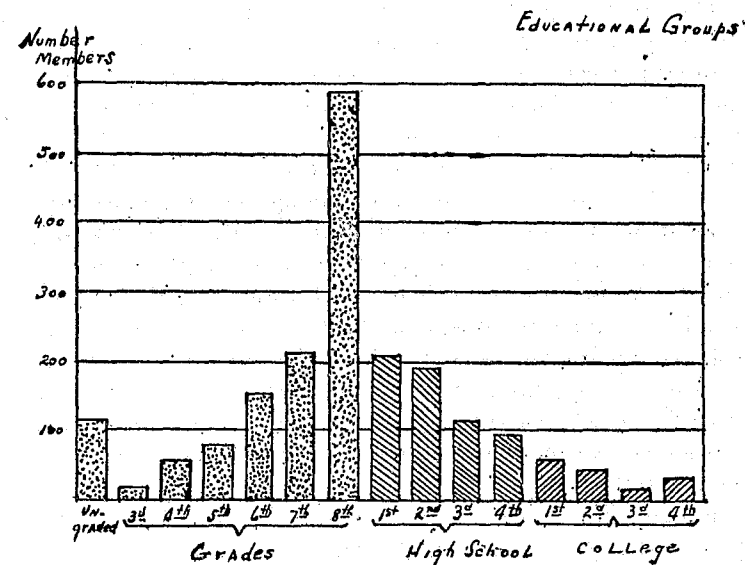


FIGURE 1.—Composition of the Los Angeles Police Department, 1924

In this connection Mr. Amsden, civil-service examiner, Los Angeles, made the significant remark:

It is possible to score 212 points, and we know from experience that unless a candidate can make a score of 120 in any one of the Alpha tests it is useless to appoint him as a patrolman.⁷

As the B grade includes in the scale marks from 105 to 134 it would seem that only a part of those who have a B ranking should be qualified as policemen.

⁶ Army Mental Tests, p. 21.

⁷ City Manager Yearbook, 1931, p. 197.

The lack of passable material is tragically exemplified in a comparative table made of the Alpha ratings of freshmen at the University of California, the police forces of Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Cleveland:

Group	Number of men	A	B	C+	C	C-	D	D-
		Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Freshmen, University of California.....	1,760	60	31	7	2	0	0	0
Los Angeles police department.....	1,712	0	18	20	28	12	2	2
Minneapolis police department.....	473	7	19	20	27	11	3	4
Kansas City, police department.....	623	5	13	24	33	15	6	4
Cleveland police department.....		4	13	28	33	15	6	1

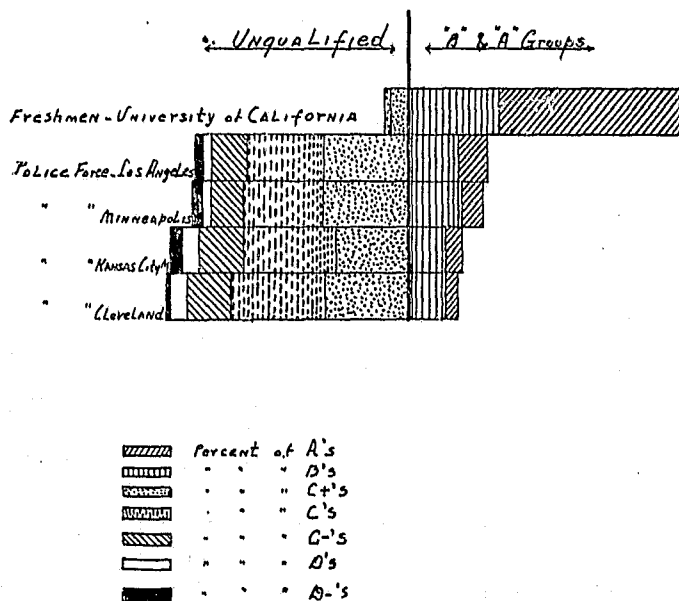


FIGURE 2.—Army Alpha ratings

Sixty per cent of the freshmen had A ranking, 31 per cent B ranking, 91 per cent of the group were intellectually fit. Yet note the respective figures for the four police departments. Only 27 per cent of the Los Angeles department were fit, 26 per cent of the Minneapolis department, 18 per

cent of the Kansas City department, and 17 per cent of the Cleveland department. (See fig. 2.) If we accept the standard recently established by the Los Angeles Civil Service Commission as the lowest standard compatible with good police service, then we are forced to recognize the fact that over 75 per cent of the members of the police force of this country are not mentally endowed to perform the duty assigned. To emphasize again the remark which Mr. Amsden made in the Yearbook, *we know from experience we have had that unless a candidate can make a score of 120 in any one of the Alpha tests it is useless to appoint him as a patrolman.* This is a point which can not be too greatly stressed.

With this fact in mind there is little wonder for the psychological reaction of the people to the preservers of the law. What must be the type of men that police our cities where there are no educational or mental qualifications? Here is probably the reason that we have the uncouth, sharp-tongued officer who creates a furious antipathy against all law enforcement officials. The laxity in appointment has had an effect upon public opinion, upon the morale of the force itself, and upon the public purse. A number of our cities have kept records to show the cause of dismissals and it is interesting to note the type of men who were able to get into a force. In Los Angeles, for example, in one year, 294 men left the service. Of these, 115 severed connections through pressure. A few of the causes for dismissal are as follows: Extortion, theft of a revolver, neglect of duty, conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman, absent without leave, suspicion of murder, intoxication while on duty, suspicion of grand larceny, suspicion of rape, felony, warrant from another city, theft of a battery from an automobile. From the standpoint of the public it signifies an efficiency of the lowest order when such types are able to pander themselves upon the community.

From the police standpoint it means the assumption by the entire force of a reputation which places the police at a tremendous disadvantage. From the monetary standpoint it raises the cost of maintaining a force by a high multiple. To quote Los Angeles again, during the year 1924 an esti-

mate was made to show the cost to the city of replacing 40 of the men who resigned. It was assumed that at least six months are required to prepare a patrolman to serve the public intelligently. The loss of time which the older men lose in teaching the beginner is not included nor is the added expense included incurred through the inefficient handling of police equipment nor the cost of the police school added; yet the cost to the city for only 40 men totalled \$19,180. This merely represents part of the cost of dismissals in one large city for one year.

In Kansas City even so serious a matter as the police record of an individual has been totally neglected. For example in 1920 a man was appointed who had the following police record:⁸

ARREST RECORD OF H.

Date	Charge and disposition
June 21, 1913.....	Selling liquor without license. Discharged.
Apr. 21, 1915.....	Disturbing peace. Discharged.
Mar. 2, 1917.....	Do.
Apr. 26, 1917.....	Do.
Oct. 14, 1917.....	Frequenting assignation house. No record of disposition.
Apr. 1, 1918.....	Disturbing peace. Fined \$5.
Sept. 30, 1919.....	Robbery suspect. Released.
Nov. 7, 1919.....	Larceny suspect. Released.

Age is another factor which has too often been neglected. In one force of 588 men 280 were over 30 years of age at their first appointment, 170 were over 40 and 2 men were actually appointed at the age of 74 and 78 years respectively. Of the 1920 appointees in another large city, one-quarter of those appointed were over 30. Among the smaller police forces, age is a negligible factor. One survey disclosed that 35 per cent of the men appointed after the election of a sheriff were 40 years or over in age and never had had any police experience. In a paper prepared for the International City Managers Association, the age suggested was a 27-year maximum, exceptions to be allowed only where the applicant has had police experience. It was advocated

⁸ Missouri Crime Survey, p. 31. Missouri Association of Criminal Justice, Macmillan & Co. (1923).

in the Kansas City survey that the maximum be set at 30. London has a maximum of 27, Liverpool 23. Lieut. John Murray of the New York Police Academy advises that men between 21 and 25 years invariably make the best material for policemen. The man over 30 years of age, he thinks, is usually too set in his ways and absorbs his duties in a much slower fashion. To the objection that young men through inexperience are too often a loss on police forces, the Municipal Research Commission stated that "in the pursuance of duty failure to take police action has been found to be due not so much to the lack of maturity as to inexperience in handling similar situations. It is the experience in the exercise of the type of judgment required of the policeman in the daily round that counts for most and not the general maturity attached to age." With the general emphasis on college training which is prevalent these days the minimum age limit is open to an older level but it would certainly be a step in the wrong direction if a strong hand is not laid upon the maximum requirements. In a survey of over 300 towns and cities in the process of completion at the present time, tentative estimates would give the average age of the patrolman at 35 to 40.

Another interesting question becomes apparent at the present time—that in regard to the business training of the police applicant. The statement has been made that part of our police trouble is due to the fact that men of varied walks of life turn into the police field. So far as we can ascertain, the business experience of the young man who enters the police field is immaterial. In England, for example, the country farmer is especially favored for the larger cities. Perhaps 75 per cent of the London force alone consists of them. Studies made in various cities in this country show that 75 per cent of the policemen are either unskilled, or are farmers, laborers, railroad men, chauffeurs, and the like. Not that these men should be weeded out on account of their occupation, but there is a strong presumption that they are wanting in the qualities necessary for first-class policemen.

A third great problem in the selection of men is raised in the charter and ordinance provisions of our cities where

residence requirements of 1, 2, or 3 years as prerequisite to application are provided. This means, of course, that a great number of men who might apply are disqualified. In New York State, for example, 28 of the cities require a 1-year residence qualification, 13 require 2 years, 1 or 2 require 3 years. In the small cities and towns almost without exception throughout the country residence of a definite and frequently lengthy period is an absolute requirement to appointment. Complete elimination of the residence rules will at once offer a simple solution to the dearth of available timber and will have a great tendency to break down the political grasp on the force. Fosdick in commenting upon the situation says, "The civil service should be free to select the best material available wherever it can be found regardless of residence or any other factor."⁹ When the restrictions upon age and training become at all common the inevitable result will be that we must adopt the system in vogue in England of making concerted efforts to obtain men from the outside. Berkeley, Calif., at the present time is sounding the new keynote. In *Public Management*¹⁰ it is mentioned that letters are sent out yearly to the Bay District, Army and Marine Corps, professional employment bureaus, fraternal employment agencies, high schools, business colleges and junior colleges and universities within a 330-mile radius of Berkeley. In addition, publicity is being had through paid advertising in the newspapers. By such means is available timber being sought.

In outlining a plan by which the proper selection of the material can be accomplished the following general factors must be included as essentials:

1. Civil service.
2. Area of selection.
3. Educational limitations.
4. Age, weight, and height qualifications.
5. Intelligence tests followed by character investigation.
6. Physical examinations.
7. Personal interview by the police board.

⁹ Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police System*, New York, 1920, pp. 292-93.

¹⁰ *Berkeley Seeks Patrolmen Rather Than Depend on Voluntary Applications*, H. R. Thompson and J. A. Greening. The article will appear in the May, 1931, issue.

The civil-service régime has undoubtedly done a great deal in eliminating the spoils system from police personnel if we exclude a few notable exceptions. So far as the actual selection of the men is concerned it has proved inefficient. Of course, the primary purpose in the first place was not the proper selection of the men but was intended merely to eliminate politics from the force.

It is of small moment that the applicant can locate the Tropic of Capricorn or compute the number of rolls of wall paper required to paper a room of given dimensions. The police administration seeks neither navigators nor interior decorators.¹¹

It was recommended in the Minneapolis survey that the applicant should weigh not less than 150 pounds stripped, with a minimum height of 5 feet, 9 inches, unless the chief wished it lowered where the applicant was to fill some technical or special position. The weight was to be in proportion to the height as laid down by the United States Army Regulations. Such qualifications are advocated at the present time. Height is an especial requisite to the traffic officer for he can control traffic much better when he can be seen topping the pedestrians. The signals from a big man are the more effective, as Mr. McClintock remarked.¹² Aside from the proposition, common sense would dictate that the man who must control an offender must have a physique sufficient to handle the obstreperous party.

Then, too, a policeman's task is not the pleasantest. He works in rain or shine. He is out at all hours; his work is full of trials and tribulations in the handling of countless people. To enable him to stand the work, he must have a good constitution and good health. It is recommended that blood tests, blood count, Wassermann test, a kidney function test and a urinalysis be included in a general physical check-up by a competent physician to determine his general condition.

There is as yet no single test or group of tests that will infallibly measure every capacity of the mind. The standardized intelligence test has, however, long passed the the-

¹¹ Report of the Crime Commission, 1927, State of New York, p. 251.

¹² *Traffic Control*, New York, 1925, p. 193.

oretical stage and some form should be used as a preliminary test to determine whether or not the applicant has enough brains to perform his duties.

One of the most important phases of selection is that of character investigation. In most of our cities a letter or two from a personal friend of the candidate is a sufficient memorandum of his personal qualifications. It is a poor man indeed who can not manage to present two such letters. The only way in which such a character investigation can be covered is by some such method as the following. First of all, fingerprints of the candidate must be taken. These should be sent to the Bureau of Identification at Washington and a thorough check made as to any criminal record. The police records from the cities in which he has lived should also be investigated for the same purpose. The names and addresses of all former employees together with the duties when employed should be obtained with a list of all the addresses at which the applicant has resided, preferably since the age of 16. The name of any person who has signed his notes or vouchers of any kind should also be included. The personal investigator who is to make this character investigation should have the foregoing information before him and, armed with this data, he should be able to report accurately after personal inquiry regarding the man's ability, temperament, habits, honesty, and truthfulness.

Such systems as are in vogue to-day in most of our cities are useless. In a certain city, this rather characteristic procedure was adopted by the commissioner of public safety,¹³

I say to him (the recruit) that now he is a policeman, and I hope he will be a credit to the force. I tell him he doesn't need anybody to tell him how to enforce the law, that all he needs to do is to go out on the street and keep his eyes open. I say: "You know the Ten Commandments, don't you? Well, if you know the Ten Commandments, and you go out on your beat, and you see somebody violating one of those Ten Commandments, you can be pretty sure he is violating some law."

Another large city merely required the indorsement of the "ward heeler." It can not be too strongly emphasized that

¹³ Report of the Crime Commission, State of New York, 1927, p. 213.

Character investigation forms one of the most important phases of police selection.

Lastly, and far from the least, the personal interview is to be considered. St. Louis is especially noted for the character of the personal interview, where a vigorous process of elimination has been under way. In 1925, of 453 examined during some two months only 44 were declared eligible and it is rather interesting to note that the personal interview before the board alone eliminated 76.2 per cent of the group. This was followed by the character investigation, physical examination, mental examination and Wassermann test in turn. However, the system puts the cart before the horse. A better system would be to have the age, weight, height, educational qualifications first established and applied, and then the intelligence test given, followed by other mental tests and finally the physical and character examinations. The latter method will save the police board much time and energy in interviewing candidates who later would be unable to pass the required tests and examination.

The surviving applicants then come before the "court of last resort." Here the following personal character card before made out, should be considered in determining the man's—

1. Appearance: Physical—whether athletic, corpulent, etc.; neatness, bearing, etc.
2. Speech: Grammar, articulation.
3. Manner: Diffident, confident, aggressive, pleasing, or unpleasant.
4. Understanding: Quickness in answering questions, intelligence of reply.

The foregoing outline is one method of selection, strict and eliminative in its features. Some such system must be adopted if we are to meet modern conditions.

It is inevitable that where it is proposed to raise the bars of admittance, demand higher class of personnel, and require greater educational and mental ability, that inducements should be offered which will attract such men to, and make them satisfied to remain in, the police service. Several factors have made perfectly apparent the fact that the avail-

able men of such intellect as would be satisfactory are not attracted to the force. The reasons can be listed as follows:

1. Insufficient compensation.
2. Poor provisions for benefit compensation.
3. Poor vacation facilities.
4. Cost of equipment.

It is almost impossible to establish a wage scale which would be suitable for the forces in this country. In the last analysis, determination of salary accorded policemen should be founded upon four factors: The minimum demanded to maintain a decent standard of living in the community; the type of police recruit which it is desired to attract; the compensation required to attract them and the financial capacity of the city. An \$1,800 a year salary in a small town would be ample where in a large city it would be negligible. From personal surveys it is apparent that police salaries are not as high as they should be. The writer has found many towns and cities where salary schedules run as low as \$100 a month for a full-time man. Even so large a city as New Orleans pays but \$125. One hundred fifty dollars a month would seem to be an average salary. This is entirely too low when we consider the salaries paid in the business world and the desire to induce a better type of man to enter the service.¹⁴

In the matter of benefit compensation, we must remember that the policeman's duty is a dangerous one. He is subject at any or all times to combat with the criminal element and his position is not the sinecure that the average business position is. It is only fair, therefore, that additional provision be made to take care of the dependents of the policeman should anything happen to him. Many of our cities have compensation funds or compensation insurance¹⁵ but in most of these cases there has been no actuarial

¹⁴ A very interesting survey of 35 of our larger cities has been recorded in the National Municipal Review, vol. 17, p. 269 et sequor: "Salaries of Police and Firemen in 35 Cities," by Esther Crandall. See also the University of Wisconsin publication, Personnel, Salaries, and Working Conditions in Police Departments—cities of over 30,000 population in the United States, by Lorna L. Lewis (1928).

¹⁵ Crandall, op. cit. The provisions for sick leave vary from full pay to none at all, the agency of payment from voluntary relief associations to State policies. A few of the provisions are to be noted here: One city provided for one-

analysis of the estimates with the result that the funds have too often been insufficient to meet demands. It is suggested that there be a State supervision of police pension funds and that such funds as are collected shall be assessed upon an actuarial basis. Only in this manner can the policeman be properly protected.

Our third problem has to do with vacation and length of working days. The 10 and 12 hour day will never be an attractive feature to advertise for prospective candidates when the business world offers an 8-hour day. It follows that to attract the right type of man, a police day must be of the same length. Fortunate, indeed, is the policeman in many small cities who has a day or perhaps two days off a month, and countless numbers of police forces have had no days off at all. This injustice must be corrected and it is suggested that one day off a week be allowed with an additional two weeks' vacation each year.

An able treatment of the police personnel problem, by the city manager and acting chief of police of Berkeley, Calif., will be found in Public Management for May, 1931.

half salary while sick and full pay if injured while on duty; 6 towns had no limit; 5 had no provisions for sick leave; 3 allowed the leave to be at the discretion of the police chief or commissioner; 3 allowed 30 days leave with pay; one 12 days; 3 provided for 6 months leave if injured on duty, and several allowed 14 days, 15 days, and 21 days, respectively. In the smaller towns, few provisions are even thought of.

With regard to relief money in case of injury or death, one provided for \$4,000 payment at death or retirement, another \$500 at death. In three cases payment was made through the funds of a voluntary relief association; in several others through local police associations, etc. Many small towns provided for a police dance once a year, the proceeds of which go to establish a fund.

At the present time it can be said that there is absolutely no uniformity among police departments either in regard to sick leave or insurance.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONNEL—TRAINING

The necessity for providing the police recruits with formal instruction in the nature of police duties and the manner of their performance is no longer a controversial subject. ✕ Perhaps the most important change that has taken place in the police world in the last 35 years is the establishment of the police school which has gradually grown out of the changing duties of the policeman who is no longer the suppressor of crime alone, but the social-service worker of the community as well. ✕ This, combined with the scientific methods of the modern criminal, makes imperative a type of training which the police manual and walking a beat does not and can not give to the recruit. ✕

As a means of ascertaining the extent to which the cities of the United States are educating their police, two methods of securing data were adopted: The first a personal survey of 225 towns of less than 10,000 population, and 75 towns ranging from 10,000 to 75,000; the second—questionnaires sent to all cities in the United States of over 10,000. Of the 745 questionnaires sent out, 383 responses were obtained.

The condition existing in the first group (those below 10,000) can be very briefly stated. ✕ There is absolutely nothing done which by any stretch of the imagination could be considered as police training. ✕ Not one of the cities had experience as a requirement of admission to the force; 216 never inquired if the prospective policeman could handle a gun, and 185 sent the man out on duty with no instruction and even without the aid and advice of an experienced man. Forty cities placed the beginner with an older man from periods of a night to one week.

Briefly, then, in the counties, towns, and hamlets of this class, it must be stated that assumption of badge, revolver,

and the authority of the law, has as a prerequisite no training or police experience—in fact, nothing.

The returned questionnaires of 383 cities gave the following information relative to training:

- Six cities required a 6-month period of schooling.
- Twelve cities required a 3-month period of schooling.
- Six cities required a 10-week period of schooling.
- Five cities required a 2-month period of schooling.
- Four cities required a 6-week period of schooling.
- Thirteen cities required a 1-month period of schooling.
- Eight cities required a 3-week period of schooling.
- Five cities required a 2-week period of schooling.
- Two cities required 1 week or less period of schooling.
- Seventeen cities required an indefinite period of schooling.

Seventy-eight of the 383 cities (about 20 per cent) possess some method of school training. Of the 20 per cent having training, not more than 15 gave courses which could be considered to qualify the recruit as the possessor of a proper background for efficient work.¹

✕ Among the existing schools, emphasis upon the various aspects of police work varies greatly. Only a few of the schools devote the time necessary to a comprehensive analysis of all phases of police work. Where training is conducted for a few hours each week over a period of a month or so, the education is necessarily of the briefest, and emphasis is most usually placed on city ordinances, how to make an arrest, a few principles of patrol and a very percursor survey of criminal law. Target practice and calisthenics are too often totally neglected. ✕

Jacksonville, Fla., for example, having 2-hour weekly classes over a period of three months, has a much more comprehensive program than is usual. It includes the law of arrest, use of revolver, United States laws, State laws, city ordinances, military drill, use of riot guns, tear bombs, court procedure, and securing of evidence. Portland, Oreg., lays great stress on laws and ordinances with a further considera-

¹ The Police Training School, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXLVI, Nov., 1929, p. 170: Of 94 cities of over 10,000 to which questionnaires were sent, 47 returned information which conclusively showed that only 16 could be regarded as having real schools, by any reasonable standards of judgment.

tion of the conduct of the officer and a few specialized subjects as "making and passing counterfeit coins," and "use of the compound microscope."

Among the schools which devote more than a month to intensive training, Detroit is an interesting example. The curriculum provides that the recruit must "have a general working acquaintance with the rules and regulations, State and Federal law, city ordinances, court procedure." To this end, each recruit is subject to a six weeks' course, the first three of which are devoted to the following: three one-half hours instruction per day in rules and regulations, laws of arrest, use of revolver, State laws, classification of crime, police practice and procedure. Three hours per day is taken up with military drill and calisthenics, the remaining one and one-half hours with general lectures and reviews. The final three weeks the recruit is placed with an older man on beat in the evenings, his school continuing in the afternoons. Emphasis is placed on city ordinances, report writing, securing evidence, moot court practice, and the like. One hour per day is still retained for military drill, jiu jitsu, and exercises.

The three schools above mentioned are fairly representative of the programs offered in present-day training. There are, however, four schools which for the breadth of their curriculum or methods of instruction deserve a close scrutiny.

I. THE LOUISVILLE, KY., SCHOOL

Herein is an interesting digression from the type of school which is dedicated primarily to the recruit. Four separate courses are offered, one for recruits, one for patrolmen and patrolwomen, one for the detective bureau and, lastly, a seminar for officers, the recruit training covering a 6-week period (classes from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. with two additional hours in the evening) and includes the following subjects:²

1. Government, criminal law, ordinances, evidence, court procedure, and arrest—100 hours.
2. History, geography of the city and surrounding area, maps of the city—36 hours.

² Annals, The Police Training School, p. 172.

3. Records and reports—30 hours.
4. Organization of department (rules and regulations)—24 hours.
5. Traffic rules.
6. First aid and rescue work—18 hours.
7. Problems of the patrolman—30 hours.
8. Identification and investigation—20 hours.
9. Physical training—108 hours.
10. Firearms—18 hours. Target practice—36 hours.

The patrolmen and patrolwomen division each has a 1-hour session per week for 40 weeks, and includes such topics as criminal law, ordinance, psychology, and first aid. In the detective division, using the same time schedule, criminal law, evidence, court procedure, criminology, criminal investigation, criminal identification, modus operandi, chemistry, and microscopy. The officers' seminar, meeting 2 hours every third week, discusses pertinent problems which come up in the routine of duty or are of special interest.

II. THE NEW YORK POLICE ACADEMY

Of all the schools New York has the most elaborate of any in the country. The training period covers 90 days, classes being held 5 days in the week for 8 hours. Saturdays and Sundays are used for actual practice on the beat in accompanying an older man. The general purpose of the course is described in the syllabus: (1) To test and develop the mental capacity; (2) instill the standards, ideals, ambitions, usages, and customs of the organization; (3) give a clear understanding of the penal law and the code of ordinances as well as a comprehensive grasp of the laws of arrests; (4) acquaint the recruit with court procedure and the laws of evidence.³ The plan embraces four separate courses: (1) Recruit training; (2) physical instruction; (3) firearms; (4) first aid.

The courses taught in Course I are divided into 15 divisions, topically as follows:

I. Introduction, discipline, department, government and civics, Federal, State, county and municipal government, the power and duties of the police department, the place of the

³ Recruit Syllabus, New York Police Academy, p. 9.

policeman in society. This gives the recruit a general perspective of the entire governmental structure, and the part which the police play. Discipline and deportment as absolute essentials to good policing are especially emphasized.

II. Rules and regulations: Here is a graphic sketch of the working parts of the New York police organization. The duties and responsibilities of the officers—inspectors, division commanders, lieutenants, sergeants—of the patrolmen and patrolwomen, of the uniformed force, the detective division, the reserve, the record department are taken up individually and climaxed with discussions on the rules of uniforms, equipment, etc.

III. This division deals with crime, what the different criminal terms mean, what are the crimes against persons, property and morals, the elements of the various crimes, and the modus operandi of criminals.

IV. Code of Ordinances: This is a survey of the city ordinances and State laws with regard to amusements and exhibitions, explosives, firearms, fire extinction, hospitals, licenses, sanitation, streets (including assemblies on the streets, regulation of noises, encumbrances, etc.), parades, and parking restrictions. It is primarily a means of giving the recruit a legal background for his work.

V. Code of Criminal Procedure—Arrests: It is designed to give the patrolman a complete picture of his powers and duties when making an arrest, under what circumstances arrests for felony and misdemeanors can be made, when arrests are legal without warrant, and the methods of arresting. Jurisdiction of crimes, rights of the defendant, are taken up in order. Division VI follows: The summons, when to serve, how to serve, where it can be served.

VII. This division is an important one and covers the courts, procedure, evidence. This in essence is a survey first of all courts in the city, criminal, Federal, municipal, etc., secondly of the procedure of a case in court. The recruit is shown the stages of trial, from the first signing of the court return to the verdict. He is instructed in the rules of behavior and etiquette in the court room and the types of evidence which are admissible in court. Dying declara-

tions, expert evidence, hearsay, cumulative and documentary evidence; in brief, what evidence is competent in a given case, is made the essence of the division.

Divisions VIII, IX, X, cover assemblages, fires, aided and accident cases. The constitutional privilege of assemblages is taken up and the rules regarding requirement of permits. The methods of regulating parades, care of strikes, his duties and responsibilities in case of fire, maintenance of fire lines, duties in caring for sick persons, foundling, etc., methods of reporting them and general means of preventing accidents are also included.

Division XI. Observation: What the officer must be able to observe, how he must record his observation, are the essence of these lectures. Division XII on patrol is perhaps one of the most important of the 15. Herein are the purposes of patrol, the methods of patrolling, of sending in alarms, precautions to be taken in the protection of residences and buildings, duties to people and duties in preserving the peace. Division XIII on traffic is equally comprehensive and involves not only a study of all traffic regulations, speed, right of way, etc., but a study of attitudes toward the public.

The final divisions (XIV and XV) deal, respectively, with cooperation with the Federal Government and the making of reports and records.

The total time taken for the recruit course is 148 hours. Course 2, which includes physical instruction, setting-up exercises, work in the gymnasium, jumping, swimming, military drill, boxing, wrestling, etc., is given equal importance with course 1, the time for each being almost the same. In practice, the classwork is carried on half the day, physical work the other half. Course 3 on firearms is a short one, there being 6 hours devoted to the care and use of arms, firing, and the like. The schedule finishes with 10 hours of first aid, personal hygiene, sanitation, and anatomy.

III. THE CINCINNATI SCHOOL

A very complete and specialized course is now being given here, covering 8 weeks in extent. It places particular

emphasis on legal training, drill, and target practice. The schedule is as follows:

Subject	Number of ¼-hour sessions	Subject	Number of ¼-hour sessions
Police law	40	Detective procedure	2
Procedure	35	City government	2
Rules and regulations	31	Safe blowing	1
Drill	31	Police efficiency	1
Target practice	31	Liquor	1
Traffic control	20	Gambling	1
First aid	15	Narcotics	1
Ordinances	13	Smoke	1
Traffic courts	12	Police court	1
Organization	12	Fire department	1
Laws and ordinances	10	Morale	1
Health work	5	Prostitution	1
Topography	5	Community chest	1
Criminal identification	3	Police and public	1
Highway department	3	Patrol service	1
Revolver records	3	Courtesy	1
Humane society	2		

Beat patrolling which in the New York School is done on Saturdays and Sundays is in Cincinnati arranged during the entire seventh week of the training. The eighth and last week of the training is somewhat of a final ironing-out process. Of particular note is the 800-page bound volume of police instructions compiled by Capt. Gustav A. Lorenz, director of the school. It is worthy of attention.

IV. THE BERKELEY SCHOOL

In considering the final and last school of training—that at Berkeley, Calif., we come at once into a new field of schooling. Heretofore, the training has been intensely practical, devoted entirely to the mechanics of the problem and little or none at all to the personal element. In this respect lies one of the great weaknesses of our present schools. It is much in error to assume that the function of our police deals only with the actual prevention of a crime or violation, or the conviction of a violator. The causes leading to criminal acts are not of immediate origin, but usually of long standing. Juvenile delinquency is commanding an increasing amount of attention and the mental quirks of the

human mind are gradually being unfolded, until in our present age the criminal is not considered as a rascal with the heart of the devil, but a person who is in need of assistance and care. The type of individual who is the policeman's great problem is not the stabilized human but one who, through heredity, environment or training has become a misfit intellectually or morally. To him the policeman must address himself. To do so requires a knowledge of the fundamentals of human psychology and the place which psychiatry occupies in this complicated process of knowing human beings.

The first police school to realize this important element in the policeman's training is at Berkeley, Calif. A new era of police training was inaugurated, which is establishing a new standard of thought. It is not a specialized course designed primarily for the recruit, but is in the nature of an evening school, classes meeting three nights a week for two hours, the course covering two years. An outline of the course follows:⁴

A. PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

1. Methods of defense and offense.
2. Military drill.
3. Setting-up exercises.
4. Target practice.
5. Care in handling and use of revolver, automatic pistol, rifle, shotgun, tear and gas bombs.
6. Rules and regulations.
7. First aid to the injured.
8. Local geography.
9. Civics.
10. City ordinance.
11. Berkeley city government.

B. CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1. History of criminal law and procedure.
2. General principles of criminal law and procedure.
3. State laws.
4. Laws of arrest.
5. Rules of evidence.

⁴ Annals, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

POLICE CONDITIONS

C. CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION

1. Fingerprinting.
2. Handwriting.
3. Photography.
4. Portrait parle.
5. Modus operandi.

D. POLICE METHODS AND PROCEDURE

1. General duties.
2. Preparation for patrol.
3. Patrol observation.
4. Street conditions.
5. Traffic.
6. Crime.
7. Vice.
8. Suspicious persons and places.
9. Court procedure.
10. Meetings, buildings, and grounds.
11. Parades and gatherings.
12. Riots and disorders.
13. Strikes.
14. Records and reports.

E. GENERAL INVESTIGATION

1. The investigation.
2. Examination of witnesses and accused.
3. Inspection of localities.
4. Equipment of investigator.
5. Experts and how to make use of them.
6. Practices of professional criminals.
7. Construction and use of weapons.
8. Footprints and other impressions.
9. Traces of blood.
10. Crimes of fraud and theft with and without violence.
11. Arson.
12. Deception tests.

F. POLICE PSYCHIATRY

1. Mental defects and their relation to crime:
 - a. Major psychoses.
 - b. Semi-insane and psychopathic personalities.
 - c. Perversions and inversions.
 - d. Feeble-mindedness.
2. Physical diseases and their relation to crime.
3. Social factors in crime.

PERSONNEL: TRAINING

G. POLICE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Powers and limitations:
 - a. United States Constitution.
 - b. California State constitution.
 - c. State law defining police powers.
 - d. Charter provisions affecting the police.
 - e. Berkeley ordinances and provisions affecting police.
 - f. City council resolutions affecting police.
 - g. City Manager's Manual.
 - h. City manager's orders.
 - i. Police Department Manual.
 - j. General orders of the police department.
2. Distribution of the force:
 - a. General organization purposes.
 - b. Posts.
 - c. Bureaus.
 - d. Regulations.
 - e. Special duties.
 - f. Special details and squads.
3. Crime prevention:
 - a. Statistics.
 - b. Juvenile delinquency.
 - c. Potential delinquents.
 - d. Coordinated effort to prevent crime.
 - e. Education.
4. Traffic control:
 - a. Enforcement.
 - b. Engineering.
 - c. Education.
5. Police morale—all members of the department must be examined each year on subjects:
 - a. Preliminary preparation.
 - b. Criminal law and procedure.
 - c. Criminal identification.
 - d. Police methods and procedure.
 - e. Criminal investigation.
 - f. Police psychiatry.
 - g. Such other subjects as the chief of police may direct.
 - h. Annual examination.

It immediately becomes obvious that the training made necessary by present-day conditions can not be met by the old methods. In fact, the ultimate goal is possible only through two means: State supported and controlled schools for police only; secondly, university cooperation. With

regard to the former, there is much agitation in a number of States, especially New York and California. Of the zone plan in the former, Commissioner Calahane says:⁶

The State is to be divided into 11 zones, each having 12 departments comprising 400 to 600 men. There will be a school in each zone, which will have a session for 10 weeks. To enable all men to attend, classes will meet in the mornings on Monday, evenings on Wednesday, and afternoons on Friday. The courses will include the following: Fire and accidents, patrol duty, street conditions, traffic, methods of thieves, homicide, larceny, court procedure, law, and procedure of arrest and summons investigations. It is suggested that the schools should be placed under the State board.

The great advantage of the localized school is that it will allow countless small-town policemen to have a chance at some police training; undoubtedly this is an excellent step in the right direction. In most cases, at present, the police school attendance is strictly limited to those enrolling in city forces; consequently no means are available for the small-town man, for neither can he go to the large schools nor can his own smaller city support an institution of any size.

The suggested program for the State of Kansas is representative of the practical type of training which should be incorporated in such schools. The schedule follows:

SUGGESTED CURRICULUM FOR PROPOSED KANSAS POLICE SCHOOL

[Reference: Wichita Police Recruit Syllabus—1931]

Hours

- 1-----1. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT. Including short historical background. An introductory lecture.
- 1-----2. PATROL.
- 1-----3. CONDUCT AND APPEARANCE OF POLICE OFFICER. Including ethics of the profession and some account of what the future may hold for the police officer, as indicated by present trends and needs.
- 1-----4. VAGRANCY AND SUSPICIOUS CHARACTERS. Ordinances and statutes relating thereto. Action to be taken. Importance in keeping down crime.

⁶ Police Training, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. CXLVI, Nov., 1929, p. 166-167.

Hours

- 1-----5. TRAFFIC.
 - a. Traffic regulations; enforcement; traffic officers.
 - b. Traffic problems; their isolation; attack and solution. (Including discussion of traffic courts, flow maps, accident spot maps, location files, study of hazards, and also a discussion of factors to be considered in establishing through streets, 4 corner stops, slow signs or stop signs, stop and go lights, and the danger of overregulation. Also a discussion of education and junior traffic patrols.)
- 1-----6. TRAFFIC ACCIDENT INVESTIGATIONS.
- 1-----7. OBTAINING EVIDENCE AT SCENE OF CRIME.
- 2-----8. CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF CRIMES. Brief historical background. Common law and statutory law. Fundamental characteristics of each crime. Attorney.
- 1-----9. EVIDENCE. Kinds of evidence. Obtaining evidence. Preservation of evidence, witnesses, statements, preparation of case. Attorney.
- 2-----10. COURT PROCEDURE.
- 1-----11. ARREST. Including the rights of the public, with brief historical discussion showing how elaborate guards have been thrown around the private citizen.
- 3-----12. COMMERCIALIZED VICE.
 - a. Narcotics.
 - b. Liquor.
 - c. Gambling and prostitution.
- 5-----13. METHOD OF THIEVES.
 2. a. Car thief.
 - b. Burglars.
 - c. Confidence men.
 - d. The check artist. Description of various methods of operation; public education; cooperation with the merchants; collection versus prosecution; discussion of statutory provisions.
- 1-----14. FINGERPRINTS. Including discussion of proper method of taking impression, exchange of fingerprints, etc.
- 1-----15. POLICE RECORDS. A discussion without relation to the forms or records of any particular department, but including a discussion of the uniform crime reporting.
- 1-----16. RAIDS. Warrants—how to obtain, execute, and return. Kansas mob law; legal rights of officer and legal rights of public; caches, traps, etc. A discussion of proper method of conducting raid, making search, etc., with particular mention of rooming-house raids.
- 6-----17. PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION. An intensive training in the matter of description and identification.

Hours

- 2----- 18. THEORIES OF PENOLOGY. Present-day practices and tendencies. Discussion of State penal institutions.
- 2----- 19. CRIME PREVENTION.
- a. Theory. Need. Underlying fundamental causes of crime which must be coped with in crime-prevention program.
 - b. Practice. Agencies at hand coping with above factors; their coordination; need of definite program. Suggested program.
- 6----- 20. ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY.
- 1----- 21. OBSERVATION. A demonstration and lecture on fallibility of eye witnesses and importance of observation.
- 1----- 22. THE USE OF THE EXPERT. Handwriting and typewriting identification; ballistics.
- 1----- 23. PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION. Selection of personnel; training; distribution of force, etc.
- 1----- 24. PUBLIC RELATIONS. Public opinion and how created; the bar; the press; politics; the chain of law-enforcement weapons to be used by the police. A discussion of the third degree and the rights of the public.
- 3----- 25. FIRST AID.
- 2----- 26. POLICE WEAPONS AND HOW TO USE THEM.
- 6----- 27. SELF-DEFENSE. Instruction in police jiu jitsu.

One of the latest suggestions is that contained in the Report of the Subcommittee of the Police Council, London, England, dated March 4, 1930. The principal conclusions reached, which cover the entire personnel selection and training, are as follows:

1. The police college should provide a resident 2-year course to consist of two parts occupying roughly a year each. Part 1 would include police subjects of general application and other studies bearing on the work of police, while part 2 would include more technical and specialized police subjects and a period of travel for the comparative study of police organization at home and/or abroad.

2. Entry should be by selection subject to qualifying examination from members of all police forces of England and Wales.

3. After a suitable period of years, "passed police college" should be made a necessary condition for appointment from any police force in England or Wales.

The second alternative, and the one which offers great promise for the future, is the college or university. The

University of Chicago established in 1929 the first university training course. Great emphasis was laid upon the social aspect of the policeman's job. The various schools of criminology throughout history were dealt with in detail; the new psychological and psychiatric aspect of behavior were substantially emphasized, as well as the traits common to drug addicts and the vital part which glandular disturbances play in human action. Visits were paid to the Institute for Juvenile Research and the State penitentiary. Upon the mechanical side of police work, the discussion of the beat, fundamentals of patrol duty, the plan of special details, and the organization of the departments, with the correlated responsibilities of each, were dealt with. In addition experts in various fields were also called upon to lecture.^o

The University of Tennessee announced in the Evening School Bulletin for last November plans for a course in criminology and police work, while Willamette University in Oregon has already established a 1-week intensive program covering presentation of criminal evidence, the psychology of crime and criminals, crime prevention, causes of crimes resulting from adolescence, highway traffic, insanity as a defense, reflexes of third-degree methods, city traffic and its problems, conduct of the officer, and police records.

Two new aspects of the work have been recently developed in the university field, both widely divergent, but both offering splendid examples of the new trend of schooling. The first, that at Northwestern University, is an intensive, 4-weeks' course, classes five days a week five and a half hours each day, designed primarily for the experienced policeman. Scientific to the last degree, it is establishing a precedent for which there is no equal in this country at the present time. About 60 phases are covered, some of which are as follows: General methods of crime detection, elementary physics and chemistry, use of ultra-violet rays, firearm identification, powder and cartridge making, elements of photography,

^o A very complete outline of the course is to be found in the American Journal of Police Science, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1931, pp. 70-76.

serology, toxicology, handwriting and typewriting identification, fallibility of eyewitness, legal medicine, codes and ciphers, gems and their imitation, pitfalls of forensic ballistics, criminal law, medical fakes, counterfeiting, the banks and the criminal problem, radio and teletype, rules of evidence, incendiarism and arson, preparation of case records, and reports and studies of glass fractures.

In contrast to this specialized program is the college course offered at the San Jose (Calif.) State Teachers' College.

Requirements:

First year.—

1. Police administration including the history of police, the organization, supervision and control of processes in police work, routine work and problems of the police officer, identification and classification of fingerprints and handwriting, personal identification, and questioned documents, portrait parle, Bertillon, fragmentary remains, 14½ units.

2. Physical education and orientation, 1½ units.

3. Psychology, 6 units.

4. English or public speaking, 6 units.

5. Physical science or chemistry, 8 to 10 units.

6. Photography, 5 units.

7. Elective (suggested), typing, stenography, physics, 27 units.

Total, 48 units.

Second year.—

1. Police administration, advanced course: Lectures, discussion and assignments covering different phases of police work; personnel-record systems and bureaus, street and office equipment, traffic enforcement, prevention and engineering, beat analysis (modus operandi, patrol), vice, criminal investigation, pawnshops, police tests and examinations, etc. During the work the students will be assigned to police departments for practical training.

2. Criminal justice, including survey of the criminal laws of the United States and the State, motor vehicle act, laws of evidence and court procedure, 6 units.

3. Criminology, dealing with statistics, victims of crime, its causes, detention, courts, origin and evolution of punishment, parole, probation, prison methods for reformation and prevention of crime, 4 units.

4. Gunnery, care and use of different types of guns, gas bombs, gas pistols, etc.; proficiency in the use of the small arm prerequisite in passing the course, 3 units.

5. Physical training (boxing and wrestling), ½ unit.

Psychology and psychiatry, 3 units.

Bacteriology, 3 units.

Student health (first aid), 2 units.

6. Electives (suggested), applied stenography and secretarial work, 6 units. Public health; German or French; commerce, including auditing; physics, political science, or American history, 15 units.

Total, 48 units.

At the University of California the Rockefeller Foundation has appropriated \$280,000 for the establishment of a bureau of municipal administration. It is planned to add men to the faculty who can carry on specialized police work.

Necessity has demanded the application of science to police work. Colleges, universities, police department schools all are recognizing that necessity. The last 15 years have inaugurated the change, the next 15 may see a great chain of instruction throughout the country which will make possible an education for every policeman. Only in this manner can the police ever hope successfully to cope with the crime situation. [^]

The emoluments of the office will, of course, have to be attractive enough to invite the intelligent man. Raise these, universalize the eliminative measures advocated in the first part of this paper, establish State-controlled schools which will allow State-wide schooling, and then, for the man who wishes a scientific college training, urge the universities to join in the work. Then will real progress be made.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNICATION SYSTEM AND EQUIPMENT

To serve the community effectively, the policeman must be fully equipped with the tools of his profession. This important item has been overlooked by the treasury watchdogs, who, in their eagerness to make a record for economy, have compelled the police to fight criminals without aid of modern and necessary devices and appliances. (Kansas City Survey, p. 120.)

This in essence is one of the most serious of police ills which communities are facing to-day. To many of the "watchdogs" the number of personnel immediately connotes an efficient system. They do not realize that organized gangdom, "scientific" crooks, rapidly increasing population, and the consequently greater burden of handling it, plus swiftly expanding areas, must eliminate the idea once and for all that 1900 standards of police equipment and obsolete methods of communication can possibly effectuate a control over crime which ever looms as an increasing menace.

The larger the size of the police force and the greater the territory it must protect, the more acute becomes this problem. Any police force is effective only so far as it is able to work as a unit. Where, as is true in many large cities, an area of 20 or 30 miles either way must be cared for, the situation of a far-flung force, the parts of which of necessity must work individually, presents a favorable situation for the crook. With the individual policeman he has an excellent chance to play the game of "grab quick and git fast," as one crook put it. With a force acting as a unit—an impenetrable cordon around the city—his chances are reduced by half.

First in importance then are means by which this police force is enabled to act in unison. The answer lies in the use of modern up-to-the-minute signal systems. Only with such a system can the chief keep in touch with his men; only

then can the isolated patrolman seek assistance at the station house. Without some means which will enable both parties to communicate, the entire force is paralyzed. The men are without head to plan, the head is without force to strike. Each is correlative to the other, and the efficiency or inefficiency of the force is determined largely by the efficiency or inefficiency of such a system.

The extent and type of signal systems to be used must be determined, of course, by the size of the town and the type of population problems. In the small town of a few thousands, the fire siren or searchlight acts as a warning to all that trouble is brewing. Where the size of the town justifies a force of 8 or 10 men who must patrol to keep the peace, the siren immediately becomes insufficient. True, it allows the head to warn, but leaves to the patrolman on the beat any method he may have at hand to communicate with the station when in trouble.

To remedy the situation, electrically controlled call boxes have been installed at intervals throughout the given area. Through this means the man on the beat is able to call the station whenever he will. In case of emergency by means of a bell, light or horn, placed upon the box, any patrolman can be immediately summoned. Until the last decade the central siren, the telephone and the call box have constituted the sole means of intercommunication. And so long as the highways and byways did not offer a fast exit for the crook, and so long as he did not begin to capitalize on fast "eights" such systems were, in the main, satisfactory enough. Today, however, as we mentioned before, we have conditions which can not tolerate the older systems for a moment. Speed is essential in these days of rapid transportation and a minute lost or even a few seconds may give the high-powered crook a half mile start in his mad dash for freedom.

Again, naturally, the criminal is not to be caught in the little bailiwick in which he commits the crime. It is not sufficient that the few near-by policemen know of the crime, but the force as a whole. It is inevitable, therefore, that means had to be adopted to meet the critical situation. Science came to the aid with the use of teletype and radio

in the police world. As a result, therefore, of science plus the necessities of the case, any police force, however large, has within its power a recall and call system which can and will make the catching of crookdom a factual possibility with speed and with minimum loss of life and property.

The better to survey the situation as it exists to-day, the towns and cities have been classified for purposes of discussion into the following groups:

- Group 1. Areas to 10,000 in population.
- Group 2. Areas from 10,000 to 30,000.
- Group 3. Areas from 30,000 to 50,000.
- Group 4. Areas from 50,000 to 100,000.
- Group 5. Areas from 100,000 to 500,000.
- Group 6. Areas over 500,000.

It has always been a matter of conjecture to what extent signal equipments were in use throughout the United States. The factual summary which follows is based upon two sources: A questionnaire report sent to all cities of over 10,000; a personal survey of some 225 towns under 10,000. The detailed analysis is to be found in the accompanying statistical sheets. In capitulating the information therein contained the following salient features are to be noted:

4a. SIGNAL AND ALARM EQUIPMENT

Cities	Population	Police alarm boxes installed	Additional alarm boxes required	Cities having colored signal lights	Additional signal lights required	Cities having bells	Additional bells required	Cities having horns and whistles	Additional horns and whistles required	Cities having radio	Cities having other signaling devices	Cities having teletype reception instruments
246	10,000 to 30,000.....	2,162	732	137	450	75	162	33	43	1	10	11
68	30,000 to 50,000.....	1,887	294	36	145	14	15	11	20	1	1	7
39	50,000 to 100,000.....	1,593	314	21	124	10	14	8	20	1	1	6
25	100,000 to 300,000.....	2,472	197	9	551	5	160	1	90	0	0	3
6	300,000 to 500,000.....	2,003	0	5	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	3
6	500,000 and over.....	4,179	10,194	5	235	3	9,424	1	0	1	0	4
	Total.....	14,296	11,731	213	1,505	109	9,775	58	185	4	13	34

4b. VEHICULAR EQUIPMENT

Cities	Population	Automobiles used for beat patrol	Additional automobiles required for beat patrol	Motor cycles used for beat patrol	Additional motor cycles required for beat patrol	Bicycles used for beat patrol	Additional bicycles required for beat patrol
246	10,000 to 30,000.....	254	223	319	150	8	27
68	30,000 to 50,000.....	168	165	219	102	16	8
39	50,000 to 100,000.....	37	40	165	79	54	6
25	100,000 to 300,000.....	173	78	262	70	23	0
6	300,000 to 500,000.....	135	33	78	20	31	0
6	500,000 and over.....	240	73	40	5	11	0
	Total.....	1,307	612	1,083	426	143	41

4c. SIGNAL AND ALARM EQUIPMENT

PART I

Cities	Population	Cities using police boxes	Cities having signal lights	Cities having signal bells	Cities having signal horns	Cities having radio	Cities having other signal devices	Cities having teletype reception instruments
246	10,000 to 30,000.....	144	137	75	33	1	10	14
68	30,000 to 50,000.....	55	36	14	11	1	2	1
39	50,000 to 100,000.....	35	21	10	8	1	1	7
25	100,000 to 300,000.....	22	9	5	1	0	0	6
6	300,000 to 500,000.....	6	5	2	4	0	0	3
6	500,000 and over.....	6	5	3	1	1	0	3
390	Total.....	266	213	109	58	4	13	34

4d. SIGNAL AND ALARM EQUIPMENT

PART II

Cities	Population	Police boxes installed	Alarm boxes required	Signal lights required
246	10,000 to 30,000.....	2,162	732	450
68	30,000 to 50,000.....	1,887	294	145
39	50,000 to 100,000.....	1,593	314	124
25	100,000 to 300,000.....	2,472	197	551
6	300,000 to 500,000.....	2,003	0	0
6	500,000 and over.....	4,179	10,194	235
390	Total.....	14,296	11,731	1,505

NOTE.—Questionnaire sent to every city having population of 10,000 and over; cities receiving questionnaire, 745; cities which responded, 390.

Group 1: The small town.—Inadequacy of equipment is tragically apparent here. In the main these countless little urban areas exist in a very carefree fashion. Formerly

isolated, their sole police problem was one of jailing a few inebriates, catching stray dogs, and the like. To-day with concrete highways stretching in every direction they immediately must combat the traffic problems and many of the vices which affect the larger city. The crook in searching for choice morsels of plunder is picking on the country banks or the country store as "easy findings," which too unfortunately is true.

With a police force of one or two men or not over half a dozen it is impossible to cope with new situations which are constantly arising. And these are the harder to keep in check because of this lack of signal equipment. In the personal survey 207 of the 225 towns had no signal boxes. Of the 18 which did, the majority of them were not equipped with both light and horn—the essence of scientific recall. Furthermore, 108 of the 225 had no light on the station house or other method of general alarm. The balance in operation were of varied and sundry types. One town possessed a first-class aviation beacon; half a dozen employed a combination bell and red light placed on the town water tower; two had master switches by which the street lights could be flashed. About 25 per cent used the fire siren and the balance a red light. Recall is a matter of monetary consideration, and not an attempt to solve a problem. In one town where the red light was placed upon the water tower it was found that a saving of several hundred dollars could be effectuated by placing it on one side of the tower. The fact that the light was only visible to patrolmen on the north side of the town was not considered. Another town did not feel itself called upon to furnish the police station with a telephone. There is, then, a very great inability in most of the small towns to meet any serious situation, which represents one of the causes of the increased bank-robbery tolls throughout the country.

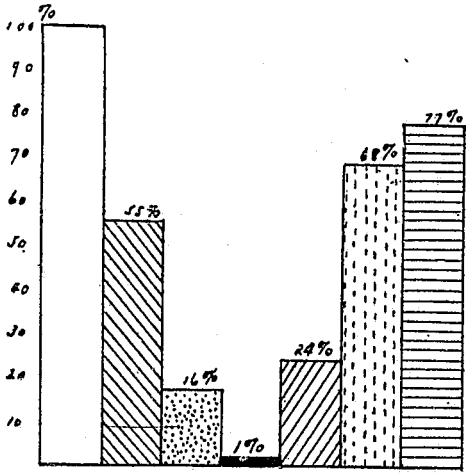
So far as results have shown the method employed by the American Bankers Association have proven of most significance. Alarm systems are connected between banks, four or five of the chief stores, and the police station. Half a dozen men (usually ex-service men) are trained in the use of firearms. Several depots of shotguns or rifles, further-

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

more, are located near the center of the business district. By such means are the interests of the town protected.

Group II.—In towns of the second group lack of adequate call boxes is still much in evidence. Of the 246 cities










-  100% efficiency necessary
-  Percentage of necessary call boxes in use.
-  " " " " Colored Lights " "
-  " " " " Bells " "
-  " " " " Horns " "
-  " " " " Autos " "
-  " " " " Motorcycles " "

FIGURE 3.—Equipment analysis 390 cities of over 10,000 population, 1928

in this class only 144 used them. One hundred and nine of these cities did not use lights and only 108 were equipped with bell or horn. Less than 45 per cent can be said to have adequate box facilities. In most cases, from the time men leave the station until they return, they are lost. The

larger the size of the town and the greater the population the more acute the lack of available man power becomes. To the inhabitant the only available policeman in an emergency is the man at the station. Rarely can towns of this group afford to keep more than one or two men permanently at the station.

Group III.—In the third grouping 13 cities of the 68 still remain unequipped with an adequate recall system. Of the 55 which use the boxes, 36 have lights aligned with the boxes and 25 with bells or horns. Again, less than 50 per cent can be said to be efficient.

Group IV.—Of the fourth group, including cities to 100,000, 3 of the 25 have no call boxes or signal lights. However, of the 22 cities having them only 9 have light facilities and but 6 bell or horn. The group boasts of 25 per cent box efficiency.

Group V.—In the last group all the cities had boxes, and all but two of them used lights with horn or bell.

In the 390 cities answering the questionnaire 14,296 boxes were reported in use. In the opinion of the chiefs an additional 11,731 was needed. One hundred and nine bells are in service; 9,775 in addition are needed. Two hundred and thirteen colored signal lights are in use; 1,505 more are required. The accompanying graph is illustrative.

✗ Not only is the lack of signal boxes notable but also the inefficiency of those already in use. ✗ In Kansas City the following conditions were deplored:

There is now no recall system worthy of the name. When a policeman leaves his station, he is lost to the department until he returns or calls in from a box. There is no way to reach him except by the bell system, which is worthless. The present system was established over 20 years ago, and, with the exception of some additional boxes, is the same at it was at that time.¹

✗ Three types of recall—bell, horn, and flash light—are to be found at present. The least efficient is the bell. Traffic noises, the distance between boxes, the low audibility of the bell, have proved its failure. The horn has a much greater power, is more to be relied upon in bad and inclement

¹ Kansas City Survey, p. 121.

weather. Each box should have a flash light mounted upon it. The light will be seen where many times the horn would not be heard. With the two the station will be able to call the attention of the patrolman on practically all occasions. ✗

To many cities such an establishment would be a financial impossibility. For them the recent survey made of Chicago offers a solution. A decentralized system of recall signals might be installed, the signals—light, flash, etc.—to be connected with widely distributed municipal and public-utility offices at which 24-hour telephone service is provided. A few of the following agencies were suggested: Fire houses, bridges, pumping stations, telephone exchanges, elevated railway stations, surface car barns, and milk depots.² If a recall signal were established at strategic locations, operation would be had when the station telephoned the proper point and ordered that particular light or horn be used. Such a system furnishes a much cheaper and a practically effective scheme of recall.

Among most of the recall systems in employment one serious fault is to be found. ✗ To save the cost of installation boxes are wired in groups on single circuits. Where anything goes wrong with a circuit, the entire group of boxes connected to it immediately goes out of service. The necessity for a perfect recall demands that each box be wired singly. ✗

No box system in itself can suffice to make an efficient recall system in any large city. As we have mentioned before, the police force must act as a unit. No network can be decentralized and be efficient. Each substation must be connected by teletype and telephone with headquarters. As the system exists in many jurisdictions the telephone is the only mode of connection between them. Where a general alarm is sent out, it necessitates calling each individual station separately. And where, as in Chicago, there are some 40 stations, the time taken varies between 15 minutes

² Citizens' Police Committee, Chicago Police Problems (Chicago, 1931), pp. 116-117.

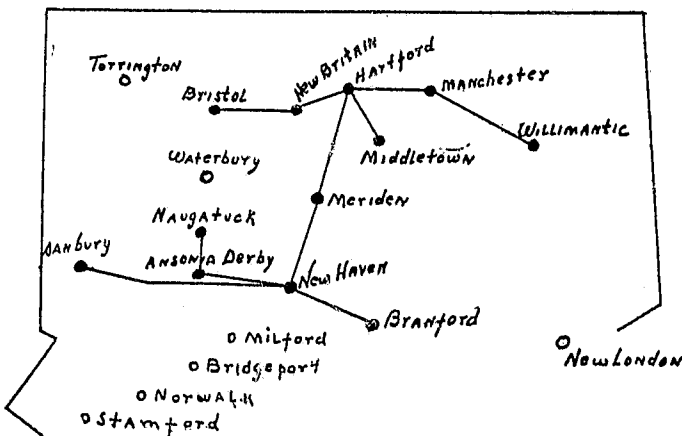
and half an hour. In this day and age of minutes and seconds that type of service is medieval and must be abolished. X The solution to the difficulty lies in a new teletype service which can be described as a telephone-typewriter system in which an electrically operated typewriter is connected with a telephone line. The units are so arranged that sending and receiving or receiving only can be had at either end of the circuit. The chief points of the system are that one sending is repeated automatically at all of the connections on the circuit. The typing forms a permanent record, is done automatically, and needs no one to receive it. Within a minute the entire network can receive the message. By this means, should any general alarm be sent out, every station could be reached and could be posted about the affair within a few minutes. X

The impression must not be given that the use of teletype is expressly restricted to city use in the connection of substations. The State of Connecticut, for example, has already demonstrated the practical use of it in a State hook-up, the diagram of which will be found on the following page. Concerning the second State system this has been said:³ One of the most extensive and in some ways the most interesting telephone-typewriter system is that in the State of Pennsylvania, which has been in operation since December, 1929. Through it 100 police stations all over the State are linked together in one big crime-thwarting network. There are four sending stations, at Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Wyoming. Police departments having data they desire to broadcast telephone it to the nearest broadcasting station, from whence it is relayed to headquarters at Harrisburg and thence throughout the State. In the first month of its operation 234 arrests were credited to the system and the recovery of property to the value of \$110,000 made possible. Notification for the entire State requires only 15 minutes. At the present time many other States, notably New Jersey, are making teletype arrangements, and there is also a movement on foot to unite the

³ Note the interesting booklet of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. entitled "The Telephone-typewriter in Police Work."

States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania by this method.

Whether the teletype will be a permanent fixture is dependent largely upon the progress of science. On February 25 of this year Glen W. Watson demonstrated in Detroit an aerial teletype by which a typewritten message can be sent by air and automatically recorded without aid of human hand at any receiving sets synchronized with the sender. Whether such a system can be practically adapted is a mat-



Legend:

- Sending and receiving machines.
- Pending negotiations for machines.

Source: The Telephone-typewriter in Police Work. The Southwestern Bell Telephone Co.

FIGURE 4.—The Connecticut State teletype system

ter of the future; it nevertheless is an index to a future means of a prompt and machine perfect police agency.

X It will be noted that the call box and teletype are excellent in so far as every police authority can be ultimately notified in the least possible time. It does not, however, provide, except by chance, for those authorities to be on the scene of the crime at a few moments' notice. This gap is supplied by the third, and by all odds the most important, of the

systems of call and recall—the radio. To the Detroit force and to Commissioner Rutledge goes the honor of inaugurating the first practical establishment of radio in police work. Six hundred important arrests were made in the city in the

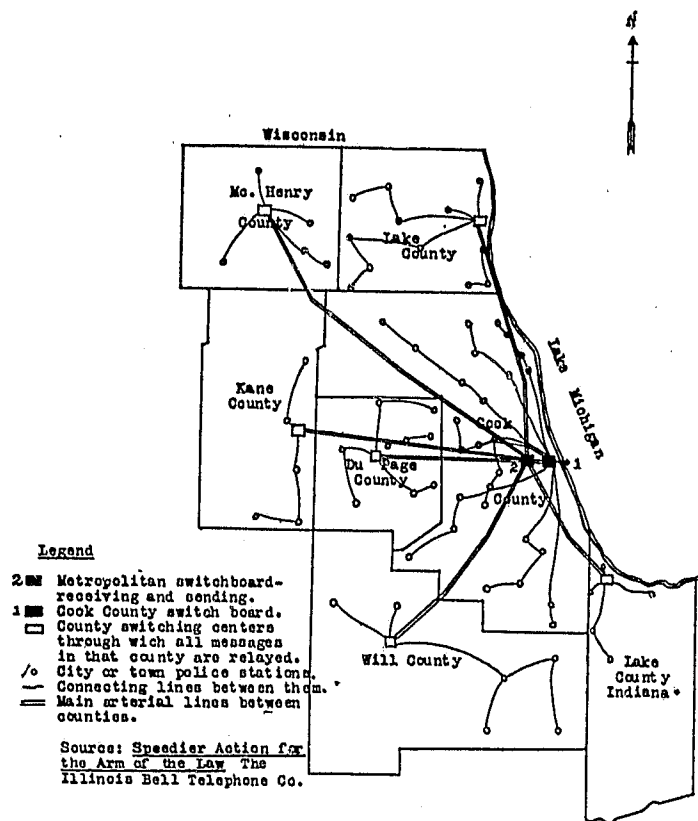


FIGURE 5.—Proposed teletype hook-up in the Chicago metropolitan area

average time of 80 seconds per arrest, the most astounding record ever entered in police annals.

We quote Mr. Rutledge⁴ at length regarding a few of the features of the system:

Murderers have been caught at the scene of the crime before they had a chance to dispose of their weapons. Burglars have been cap-

⁴ Radio in Police Work, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 80th Annual Convention, 1929, p. 68.

tured while still piling up their loot in homes. Bewildered auto thieves have gasped as the police cruiser roared alongside of them a few moments after they had stolen a car. Speeding hit-run drivers have been captured and returned to the spot where they had run down and left their hapless victim a few seconds before. Thugs have been captured while in the act of robbing their victim. Racketeers and bad-check passers have been caught. Bank stick-up men have been in handcuffs within 60 seconds of the time they fled from the bank.

I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that, if time permitted me to go into the history of each important arrest effected by the means of police radio in Detroit during the past 12 months, I would probably relate to you the most spectacular series of criminal apprehensions in the history of our profession. I could tell you the story of the arrest of a murderer who was caught within two minutes of the time he committed his brutal crime. A frantic telephone call was received at our central switchboard. The dispatcher immediately completed a connection with the microphone and broadcast the alarm. The message was picked up by a car cruising not far from the scene of the crime and the killer was arrested as he was about to cast his gun into a near-by creek. * * * A radioed report of a man who had just been thrown into the river was received by one of our cars. The man, still very much alive, was hauled from the river 70 seconds after the alarm had been put on the air.

Snaring criminals in a radio network woven by broadcasting to radio-equipped pursuit cars has become a matter of seconds. Seconds are precious to the law breakers. They spell the difference between escape and capture. The wider his margin of time the better his chances to escape apprehension. By the use of radio we are catching the criminal red-handed. We are eliminating the introduction of circumstantial evidence in trials by indisputable proof of guilt. Economically, we are cutting down the cost of law enforcement by catching the crook with the goods on instead of getting him after a long chase. We have quickened and lengthened the arms of the law. We have synchronized the arrest with the depredation; instead of trailing behind in the criminal's dust, we are as near abreast of him as it is humanly possible to be.

With the advent of the radio-equipped car a new era has come. The sadly depleted ranks of the patrolman who walks the beat is now bolstered up. Districts of many square miles, which formerly were officially watched by only a few men who in the very nature of the case could not watch the area, are now covered by the roving patrol car, fast, efficient, stealthy, having a regular beat to patrol, just as liable to be within 60 feet as 3 miles of the crook plying his

trade—the very enigma of this specialized fellow who is coming to realize now that a few moments may bring them down about him like a swarm of bees—this lightning swift “angel of death.”

Detroit's record of accomplishment—22,598 broadcasts in 1929, 1,325 arrests at an average time of 1 minute 42 seconds—should satisfy the most skeptical that wireless spells efficiency.

Although radio in police work is assured a brilliant future, conditions are arising which may become the cause of considerable apprehension. Lieutenant Cox in this connection wrote:⁶

In scanning the figures, which must be considered as representative of the potential magnitude assumed by this vast development, we find that, if the situation remains in its present uncontrolled state, the commission will receive applications for approximately 556 police radio stations. * * *

We are confronted with an impending chaotic condition that gives promise of paralleling that of the broadcast spectrum before the reallocation of frequencies. In view of this fact it would seem advisable to anticipate such a condition and introduce precautionary measures that will prevent its occurrence.

His suggestions were as follows:

(1) Assignments be granted to cities that have urgent need for police radio before assignments are made to smaller municipalities and areas where crime conditions do not warrant immediate introduction.

(2) That since the present stations are not existing on the frequency assigned, all be required to maintain frequency to within 100 cycles of the assignment.

(3) Since at present the tendency is to establish stations of too great power, he recommends that 500 watts, if possible, be the maximum allowed.

(4) That a national committee be formed of chiefs of police who would have authority to determine acceptance or rejection of applications. This would relieve the Federal Radio Commission from the burden of passing on propositions requiring a technical understanding of the problem.

In addition, a board of advisory radio supervisors be formed to aid the police chief committee in its surveyance.

⁶ Sixty-fourth Annual Report (1929), Detroit Police Department, p. 10.

⁷ Report and recommendations to Federal Radio Commission, Feb. 10, 1930, Lieut. Kenneth R. Cox.

The advantages thus accruing are:

- (1) Relieve the committee of responsibility, probable criticism, and charge of discrimination against certain cities.
- (2) Definite information and concrete facts from which the committee might form a decision.
- (3) Backing of the International Association of Chiefs of Police to substantiate any decision made by the committee.
- (4) Elimination of so-called “pressure,” political or otherwise.
- (5) Nation-wide development of a thoroughly scientific manner.
- (6) Increased efficiency of system and standardization of equipment.
- (7) Elimination of present and proposed poor equipment.
- (8) Solution of the problem presented by metropolitan area.
- (9) Regulation of receiver designs.

Lieutenant Cox's program is one which it behooves us to consider seriously. Should the air channels be occupied by the smaller towns, whose problem can not be of the same magnitude as the large cities, a very serious check will be placed over the proper use of radio. The situation is particularly true in metropolitan areas, where the use of a number of radios would greatly complicate the situation.

The last few decades have seen a very sudden increase of the burdens placed upon police buildings. Additions in personnel—it is estimated that the numerical strength of the majority of forces has doubled since 1900—the necessity for scientific handling of prisoners, additional space to care for motor equipment, and the need for up-to-date training facilities, all have imposed new factors for which the older types are totally unsuited.

There are, of course, many excellent police headquarters in this country, representative of the best available types of police efficiency; notably those of Milwaukee, San Francisco, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Detroit. Of the latter, no less an authority than Chief Constable Crowley of New Castle, England, remarked:⁷

I inspected his (Commissioner Rutledge) headquarters, which are probably the best to be found. The buildings cost one-half million pounds. * * * I fully concede that it reflects maximum efficiency in every way. I experienced a pleasure which I have never

⁷ Observations on American Police Systems, Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, pp. 167-181, Vol. XX. 1929-30.

previously felt on observing such a perfectly functioning and elaborate organization ensconced in such palatial, yet fittingly designed quarters.

On the other hand, we have conditions in our large cities which are the absolute antithesis of proper policing. Kansas City, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Denver are representative of the extent to which rapidly changing conditions have created problems with which the police departments have not been given adequate facilities to cope. Of one station the following statement was made:⁸

The building, which is a combination police and fire station, is in poor structural condition, the brickwork is loose, floors are weakened, windows are loose in their frames. The space is entirely inadequate. There are only two cells, with no curtain wall between. It is heated by a stove. Modern sanitary equipment is lacking.

Often an old ramshackle city hall houses the police department. More frequently old buildings have been purchased, remodeled from year to year as occasion or the whim of the powers that be demanded, in haphazard fashion, until they resembled the proverbial house that Jack built. Typically illustrative is the following quotation:

The hold-over is a disgrace. The principal part is in the basement, but additions have been made on two other floors. Some of the cells have water and sewer connections, but these are unfit for human habitation and inadequate.

In a third, lack of room made it necessary to convert the corridor, to which the prisoners' cells opened, into a lounge room for the policemen. Here orders were given, and much of the general discussion of the duties took place. A fourth could not provide the detective division with more than a single room, where it was impossible to have private conferences. A fitting climax was found where the entire department occupied the basement floor of an old obsolete stone building. Lighting facilities were terrible; the place was damp-ridden, and in point of size was not adequate for a force of half the size of the present incumbent.

Added to the common defectiveness of the headquarters is the great inadequacy of properly situated and up-to-date substations. The surveys made of Los Angeles,

Minneapolis, Kansas City, Detroit, Cleveland, and Cincinnati, all disclosed facts that demanded immediate change. From time to time, as occasion demanded, these stations were established in various sections about the city. Usually, once situated, they remained, regardless of the fact that these constantly moving populations, or conversions from residential to manufacturing districts, soon rendered the location impractical. "Redistributing" is a term seemingly unknown. Some quiet business section evolves into a huge manufacturing area. From a once quiet rather out-of-the-way place another will be converted into a "roaring third." Again, the towns expand and the additions are too often tacked on to some other older district. The general result is a riot of confusion. The outlying stations, which are the key to our whole protective system, are terribly at odds, though they are the organs by which the police force is able to act in coordination and make personal protection possible.

No general rule can be set as to the number of stations which a city should have, individual conditions largely governing. It is generally agreed, however, that no station should have to cover more than 50,000 people and serve more than 10 square miles. The best summary of the situation I have seen is that contained in the Los Angeles Police Survey of 1924. It is as follows:

A fundamental rule in police organization is to decentralize the force as far as possible and never permit divisions to grow too large in population, for the reason that commanding officers must be intimately acquainted with and responsible for crime and vice conditions existing within their district and not only know the criminal element that resides therein but also the potential offenders and the better element who may be called upon for assistance when needed.

No head of this department will ever be able to fix responsibility for crime and vice conditions existing within the police divisions as at present constituted, because any fair-minded leader who knows his business will soon learn that the territory and the problem are entirely too large for any division commander to control. When the numerical strength of a division becomes unwieldy, discipline is impossible, morale low, corruption flourishes, vice and crime gains foothold, and efficiency is absolutely impossible. In police units that are too large the possibilities of transmitting messages and emergency calls to the officer on the beat decreases in proportion to the number

⁸ Kansas City Survey, op. cit., p. 18.

of officers that are on duty and available for service. * * * Since speed is the essential factor in police work, especially in these days of rapid transportation, the department's efficiency is reduced in proportion to the distance in time and space that we are removed from the people served. * * * It is fundamentally sound that an intimate knowledge must be had of police methods that have been employed successfully in these communities for the purpose of keeping peace and protecting life and property. X

X A third great defect in our equipment program is the lack of coordination between the city and county police on the one hand, and city and county courts on the other. Policing is a task which is one and inseparable from its parts. Protecting the public from the busy offender and bringing him to the station represents merely the first half of the business. Dealing with the criminal after his "catch" is equally as important. X Poor means of communication with the courts, inefficient cooperation with them, difficulty of uniting city and county officers, inadequacy of carriage to and from, represent almost as great handicaps as the lack of adequate patrolling facilities. X

Milwaukee solved the problem by uniting the city courts and police in one building, operated by the city, and joining to it another separate building, kept by the county, which housed the sheriff's office and the county courts. San Francisco also employed the centralization idea, save that the two buildings were connected by a short-distance corridor. Detroit uses a tunnel as a means of junction. These are all landmarks which every city not so provided should consider in a most serious light.

X It has been stated before in Chapter III that the wage scale of our policemen is entirely too low.⁹ This inadequacy is more determinable since a part of the policeman's earnings must go toward the purchase and upkeep of his own equipment. X With few exceptions, in the large as well as small forces, the patrolman must furnish his own uniforms; in 50 per cent of the towns he must purchase his own revolver and club. The cost in total runs about \$100. But by far the most serious matter occurs over the question of motor equipment. In the larger towns this is in most cases

⁹ Kansas City Survey, op. cit., p. 20.

furnished by the department; but in the countless numbers of small forces of 1 to 10 men, in sheriff's offices, in many of the State police units, the policeman must supply his own. In the survey of 300 towns before mentioned it was found that of 225 towns 200 compelled their men to be the purchasers. Heavy-duty motor cycles cost in the neighborhood of \$500, and the lighter types over \$300. The results of such enforced purchasing have a bearing in our police problem which few have realized. Not many men have the capital necessary even to purchase the wearing equipment alone. They borrow the money. Politicians are always gracefully obliging. The result—the man must go in debt to the extent of \$500 or \$600 and he must do his job with a halter around his neck of which he may never clear himself. As one sheriff remarked: "The lender suggests an infringement of duty. The pinch comes. There is the temptation on the road to 'make a bit' and the patrolman shuts his eyes."¹⁰

But the end of the expense does not end with purchase; the upkeep must be considered. About half the towns disclaim all obligations; the other half allow a small sum varying from \$10 to \$25 a month for expenses and repairs. This does not at all cover running expenses, as the heavier machine uses almost as much gasoline as a Ford. The majority of police chiefs and sheriffs are of the belief that a minimum of \$35 should be set.

In the larger cities the motor equipment is with few exceptions furnished by the municipality; the wearing equipment situation is just the same as in the small towns. In the survey of 35 cities already mentioned,¹¹ 30 of the number made no provisions, 1 purchased the clothing, 1 charged the cost of the material to the men, and 3 allowed \$28 toward the purchase. The problem represents a present peril which in many ways may be responsible for a part of the political graft and pressure now exerted.

¹⁰ Salaries of Police and Firemen in 35 Cities, by Esther Crandall, National Municipal Review, vol. 17, p. 269.

¹¹ Crandall, op. cit.

✕ But one policy, therefore, ought to be pursued—each and every town should furnish all the equipment for the men.

Auto or motor cycle, which shall it be? This is a much debated question and can be answered only in the light of service to be rendered. In congested city areas the cycle has almost become passé, the footman and the patrol car between them having assumed its functions. The province of the cycle lies in the highway, where, as a traffic adjuster it has the greatest potential use. To the beat patrolman it is useless. The putt of its exhaust warns any crook of his approach, and in the pursuit of the crook's car the man on the motor cycle is at a serious disadvantage. In any year-around duty it must play second fiddle. Wet streets, snow, poor roads immediately lower its efficiency to little above zero. ✕ At the present time it can be said that its greatest use exists in the control of traffic, whether in the city or along the highway, but not in the subjection of crime. ✕ It is a regulatory but can not be a preventive tool. Whether it will remain a permanent institution is problematic. To many its cheaper operation and smaller depreciation commends it. To others, who judge from the greater number of fatalities which occur to motor-cycle men, its elimination is suggested at once. With the greater safety of the auto, with its all-year-round usability, there is no reason why it should not be the "first line" of defense, motor cycles to be used only secondarily in traffic problems.

CHAPTER VI

RECORDS

✕ The records of a police department include not only the usual narrative and numerical presentations, but also a variety of objects not commonly thought of under the familiar commercial classification of records. ✕ Besides the customary tabulations of figures, written records, and record forms which are filed for reference purposes, it is necessary in police work to preserve photographs, fingerprint impressions, stains, bits of clothing or hair, dental work, laundry symbols, and many other exhibits or records. Forms in use for presumably temporary purposes frequently find their way into permanent files where they become, in fact, records.

Records parallel police work. This fact becomes obvious when we consider that all significant police work deserves to be, and should be, recorded. The importance of this truth can hardly be overemphasized, for by this means is provided the opportunity for administrative control in the department through the employment of routine reports to executive officers. In a large department it is impossible to depend upon personal contact to secure the elements of control, and in departments both small and large, accuracy and completeness must not be jeopardized by a reliance upon the memory of individuals to furnish facts after a lapse of months or years. Furthermore, the memory expires with the individual, and such fragmentary impressions as may remain during lifetime are thus lost forever.

✕ Every police department of any considerable size should maintain a centralized records bureau with a responsible, competent officer at its head. ✕ This officer should have the power to command reports from the heads of all other units of the department, so that he may not be thwarted in his

efforts to secure all of the facts which are required in the conduct of his division. The organization of the division should be as simple as possible and yet be equipped to perform a complete and satisfactory service. In order that smoothness and facility may be preserved in the routine of the unit, its methods and routine should be easily understandable to the personnel who will operate it. An otherwise commendable organization is quite apt to work with difficulty if it is complicated or highly abstract; too much time is absorbed in explaining and understanding difficult terms or routing systems.

X The organization plan of the records unit may follow in large part the natural sequence of ordinary police work, from the acquisition of knowledge of an offense, through the various stages until the final one of publication of the department report of activities. X This scheme or organization has the advantage of being easily understood while at the same time providing a logical routing plan for the volume of daily work. The primary subdivisions of a complete records division are outlined in the following paragraphs, together with a brief account of their important duties.

The complaint section is that which receives; works on, and files the reports of offenses known to the police, from whatever source. Reports are classified as adult, juvenile, or outside, the latter being those from other cities, sometimes called "foreign." File cards are made for these reports and filed by name of complaint, type of business attacked, address of place attacked, geographical distribution, and whatever other refinements of classification are desired to make the work more effective. Spot maps are prepared to show at a glance the location and distribution of the crimes; these are made for the more frequent and important crimes only, such as murder, robbery, burglary, auto theft, larceny. A statistical section employing punch cards and sorting and tabulating machines is provided; this enables the compiling in a brief time of statistical information which would require days or weeks to produce by non-machine methods. The statistics section is rarely the effective tool in police work into which it can be made.

Executives in general have not appreciated the strategic value of the vast amount of information which lies dormant around police departments.

An arrest records section receives, checks, and files arrest cards. Punch cards are made from the arrest data, so that information of a sociological or criminological nature may be easily accessible in desired group arrangements. Maps showing geographical distribution of arrestees may be produced for use in developing methods of meeting crime problems.

X The property identification section is concerned with pawnshop records and methods of filing information so that comparisons may be made between descriptions of stolen and lost property on the one hand and pawned or recovered property on the other. X Numbered objects, such as watches, offer the best chances for identification; these are maintained in a separate cardcase, where they are commonly filed by the last three numbers of the movement serials; articles not numbered are given an object classification such as rings, bracelets, necklaces; subclassifications of gold, silver, and platinum are used, with further divisions for type of setting, number and kind of stones, and any significant characteristics which will facilitate identification.

Property identification includes also initialed articles, which are filed usually by the letter nearest the beginning of the alphabet, regardless of its position in a group. The Dewey decimal system of classification may be used, thus reducing the descriptions to a numerical basis. X Numbers and initials, however, furnish the best basis for description and give the surest results; this is illustrated by the successes in the recovery of stolen autos, where numbers play a large rôle.

X Personal identification is a matter of the greatest importance in police work. X Among the older criminals the Bertillon system of anthropometrical measurements is often found effective, in addition to more modern means of establishing identity. For all criminals the fingerprint system, or dactyloscopy, is most efficient. Photography of individuals and of groups is a further aid to the apprehension of

criminals. Handwriting records sometimes help to fix responsibility for crime. Careful and expert work is so frequently required in making personal identification that their value should be repeatedly stressed. The development of single and latent fingerprint files should be begun as soon as their effective use can be assured.

The English description of the person of criminals may narrow the search for suspects and furnish valuable clues leading to the guilty party. Histories of criminals in narrative form record former convictions and prosecutions and furnish a master sheet of information to which other specialized records may be related and compared. A modus operandi system supplies valuable information which may be used to point to a person as the likely suspect and thus permit the focusing of the investigation upon one or a few individuals.

Laundry marks, manufacturers' labels, furriers' signs, and other distinctive symbols are catalogued for reference when required as aids in the solution of crimes. The systematic recording of information concerning criminals and stolen property which is contained in circulars from police departments is an important service. Correspondence files and personnel information as well as financial and budget data should be organized and available without delay. Department property should be carefully catalogued and its condition and amount faithfully reflected in the records.

The records division must be a 24-hour unit, always open and prepared to furnish accurate information quickly and satisfactorily. Its coordination with all other police units must be as nearly perfect as possible, and no friction can be permitted to hinder the fullest cooperation with all of them. The basic importance of these fundamentals can scarcely be overstressed.

The status of police records at present leaves much to be desired in the way of improvement. The primary information upon which good police work must be predicated is often lacking in whole or in part. Complaints as related to the occurrence of crime are generally lightly regarded, and attempts are quite uniformly ignored. Arrest records

are reasonably well preserved, but their information is seldom used to the best advantage. Investigations are too frequently poorly reported in writing, if at all, and the results of prosecution little known.

Records are commonly highly decentralized and lack organization in a striking degree. This results in information being either unavailable or else obtainable only after much delay. A high degree of administrative control is necessarily wanting when the records are poorly organized and where much important information is unrecorded or in a confused and complicated condition. Summarized routine reports can not be manufactured out of whole cloth, and in their absence the police executives in charge can not visualize the full needs and work of their units.

The personnel of the records division is usually drawn in part, at least, from the ranks of the uniformed force. Often these men have been injured or ill and are invalided inside during a period of partial disability. Commonly, such men establish themselves so securely inside, where the work is light and the hours short, that they remain permanently. Then they are apt to view the job as a right, earned by service, and hence will not ordinarily regard it very seriously; they are not trained for clerical work and are not easily adaptable. After working inside for a considerable period of time these men become a solid group of obstructionists, along with others of their kind, and resist efforts to improve the output and quality of work of the unit. The result is a records unit which operates much below the level of effectiveness reasonably to be expected.

A civilian personnel, when the organization is correct, is not only more effective but is less expensive than the employment of policemen to do records work. This is demonstrated by the experience of several departments which have reorganized and centralized their records divisions and installed clerical forces; the morale is better and the force is more amenable to discipline. A division which is not responsive to the demands made upon it will slow up the whole machinery, and the ill effects can be far-reaching in the records division.

An almost total absence of complete, periodic, and comparable reports of offenses, persons charged, and dispositions has prevailed until recently among American police forces. Police departments were content to publish reports of arrests and results of prosecutions if, indeed, they published anything. Public confidence was not inspired nor were the public purse strings made any more accessible by this practice.

The matter of public reports by police departments has long been confused by the police executives themselves with the question of personal security. Heads of departments have felt that the publication of complete reports of crime would expose them to unjust criticism and possibly cause the loss of their positions. This attitude is not without justification, for in the past the police department has frequently been charged by the press and other agencies with responsibility for crime which was really a charge upon the community. Police subordinates, too, have found it necessary to compromise with accuracy in reporting crimes to their superiors in order that their own positions might be secure. This condition of affairs could not be expected to result in any sort of reliable, comparable reports.

One large city reports a total of 542 burglaries for 1928; another city of nearly equal size lists 6,065 burglaries for the same period. Yet the burglary insurance rate per \$1,000 for two-family houses is in the first city \$41.25 and in the second \$31.25. For apartments and hotels it is in the first instance \$49.50 and in the second \$39.50. A very real contradiction exists in the logic of this situation; certainly, insurance companies are not in business for other than gain. That the city with one-eleventh the number of burglaries should have an insurance rate which is one-third higher than the other city is not reasonable. The answer probably lies in the public reporting system of crime conditions.

CHAPTER VII

CRIME PREVENTION

Police departments in the United States have not been long familiar with crime prevention as a distinct function of the police organization. Some of the largest cities have only recently made provision for separate units, with official recognition, to care for this important work.¹ Much of the reluctance of departments to assign separate standing to this activity has possibly been due to the absence of any clearly defined field in which such unit should operate, as well as to the habit of preserving the status quo. In the hard school of experience the police have learned that it is usually safest to "let well enough alone."

Crime prevention in the past has generally been interpreted in terms of property protection. Enterprising patrolmen have in several cities made it their business to try doors of commercial establishments to be sure of their security; have advised upon the type and location of safes to assure maximum protection; have pointed out weaknesses in locks and types of windows, front and rear doors, location of lights, display counters, and showcases containing small articles of high value. Information has been communicated and methods devised to counteract the activities of passers of worthless checks, and burglary and robbery alarm devices have in many instances been installed upon the advice of policemen. Automobile thefts have received the special attention of the police. So runs the history of crime prevention as concerns property; these devices, however, take little cognizance of the problems as related to the perpetrator.

¹ A questionnaire, concerning efforts to prevent crime, sent to 299 American cities by the New York State Bureau of Municipal Information brought replies from 220 police departments (Report No. 2258, Albany, N. Y., Jan. 18, 1926). The confusion of answers clearly indicates that crime prevention is only partially understood or attempted, actual constructive work being rare.

As long as human beings turn to crime we shall be getting at the question in a secondhanded way when we devote our time to the protection of property. X The recruitment of criminals must be the focus of attack if any appreciable dent is to be made in the crime problem. X Furthermore, crimes against property constitute only part of the total criminal offenses, hence to concentrate on them means to neglect a large portion of the field. X For the purpose of this report we shall assume that the ordinary crime-prevention measures with respect to property protection are in use and shall, therefore, be concerned with prevention measures as applied to persons.

It has so far been tacitly assumed that some adequate definition exists for the term crime prevention. This is not true. Indeed, we should have difficulty in fixing even the meaning of crime in a manner satisfactory to any considerable number of thinkers. By repeated reference to crime prevention we may have created the impression that the causes of crimes are known, and this is also untrue. A committee of the New York State legislature says:²

* * * The causes of crime are as varied as the impulses and actions of human beings. Every conceivable cause has been assigned to account for the present situation—one asserts, another controverts. By some the World War is held largely responsible for the increase of crime, but this view is not tenable, as has been pointed out by a committee of the American Bar Association. Other causes assigned are the great mass of unenforceable laws; the decrease in social and moral responsibility on the part of people generally; the ease and facility with which persons can obtain the tools of criminals—the pistol and the automobile; the waning of religious faith; the breaking up of home life; the lessening of responsibility of the family; the modern doctrine of “self-expression”; the departure from the old doctrine of discipline; the glorification of the criminal in the popular press and in fiction; the influence of moving pictures in similar fashion; the hip flask; narcotic drugs; the alien strain in our population; the display of great wealth; the automobile, permitting freedom of movement; the Bedouin life existence of the modern American and his greater mobility; excessive work; insufficient work; childhood complexes; the coddling of the criminal; glandular defects; brain lesions; urban conditions of living; a jazz existence;

² State of New York, Legislative Document (1926), No. 84, Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on the Coordination of Civil and Criminal Practices Act, p. 6.

sentimentalism; the failure to enforce laws; and others too numerous to mention.

The causes of crime are probably not to be found in any one simple condition; the repeated discovery of a number of factors in close relation with crime and criminal tendencies directs our attention to such situations as broken homes, one parent dead or mother at work all day, disease in the family, antisocial attitudes, drug addiction, alcoholism, bad companions, chronic ill-health of the individual, truancy, mental derangement or subnormality, excessive suggestibility, cruelty in the family relations, lack of schooling, absence of moral training, poverty and sordid surroundings, pathological conditions in the individual which crop out only occasionally, vice in the home, criminality and lack of religion. X Clearly, such conditions should not be a part of the life of the young girls and boys of any home. Here is the point where the great effort should be made toward crime prevention. X The seasoned criminal has become so habituated to crime that there is small chance of redeeming him; he is older, has perhaps less years to live, and, at all events, yields small results to a reform effort. The youngster, however, is just starting out in life, has long to live, and is a greater potential threat to society if allowed to fall into criminal ways. The young are plastic, impressionable, yielding, and can usually be influenced to go along in productive paths if taken in hand early enough.

The recapitulation of the report of the subcommission on causes and effects of crime in New York State³ indicates the care with which conclusions must be drawn:

* * * Briefly, we find that some environments favor the growth of delinquency and crime more than do others. In large cities, the areas of excessive juvenile delinquency and crime are geographical and ecological areas of transition or isolation, otherwise known as city slums. In these areas, the existence of anti-social gangs betrays the gap between the standards of the slum and that of the surrounding city life. These areas may be tentatively considered as housing a disproportionate share of mental inferiors as compared with other sections of the city.

³ State of New York, Legislative Document (1930), No. 98, Reprint of the Crime Commission, p. 327.

Within these areas, the percentage of delinquency is high, but not all families contribute to the total, some families being nondelinquent and other families being excessively delinquent and criminal.

Where, among the older members of the family, one or more members has lax standards of behavior, the incidence of delinquent behavior among the younger members is proportionately increased. Where homes are broken through death, separation, imprisonment and mental hospital commitment, by disintegration, through economic pressure, illness or disharmony, delinquency is more frequent.

This array of facts stresses the influence of the external environment in the creation of social problems.

It gives no indication, however, of the processes by which these external factors influenced behavior.

That their influence is not uniformly felt is seen in the presence of nondelinquent families in areas of delinquency, of delinquent children in otherwise nondelinquent families and of nondelinquent children in families of rather bad background. In less striking instances, there is a sufficient diversity of behavior among good citizens and others as poor citizens.

That criminals are recruited in large part from the ranks of youth is demonstrated by the census of State prisons and reformatories and five Federal penal institutions. A tabulation of commitments in 1927 revealed that of a total 44,062 prisoners, 23.4 per cent were under 21 years of age, 44.8 per cent were under 25, and 63.2 per cent were under 30.⁴ It is on the basis of such data as these that certain police departments have developed special units which aim to cooperate with the welfare agencies of the community and reach youthful delinquents before they become hardened repeaters. Though this is only a part of the problem of crime prevention it is believed to be the most important part and the point at which the efforts of specialized workers will be productive of the greatest benefits to society.

An observation of the New York State Crime Commission⁵ is worthy of consideration here.

When the reader has finished his first half dozen books on delinquency, he will realize that there, as well as in this report, lie no panaceas. He will see that studies, such as these, can only suggest preventive measures but can not recommend specific methods of treatment.

⁴ United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Prisoners," 1927, p. 32.

⁵ State of New York, Legislative Document (1928), No. 23, Report of the Crime Commission, p. 590.

For studies on environment, such as this, are comparable to studies in physical hygiene. As the expert on hygiene and sanitation studies methods whereby the physical health of children at large may be conserved, so the environmental surveyor indicates means by which the spiritual growth of children may not be hindered. But as an actual case of illness in a child requires the individual, differential diagnosis and treatment of a physician, so a case of personality maladjustment in a child requires the intensive sympathetic study and treatment of trained and understanding persons.

The task of treating the individual delinquent is a difficult one. A single child often presents all the major problems of society! * * *

✗ Concentration upon the detection of criminals and the investigation of crimes have absorbed the time of most police departments to the exclusion of any thought of crime prevention. ✗ The mouth of the river of crime has been patrolled with varying degrees of success while the source has been allowed to have its way. Even where some thought has been given to the source it has been haphazard and often of such a nature as to jeopardize the dignity of the movement in its infancy.

✗ A lack of cooperation with, and appreciation of the significance of, welfare agencies in the community has limited the effectiveness of prevention units. ✗ The police can not undertake extensive case work and carry on rehabilitation programs; these activities must be left to other governmental units or to private welfare associations. Too often the difficult tactical jobs of crime prevention are left to superannuated or other ill-suited members of the department, with the result that cases are frequently bungled or total failures. Perhaps no position in the police department requires more careful training and judgment to meet the practical routine problems. The psychological and sociological questions which are encountered challenge the utmost that is in the best-prepared worker; in no place can the opportunity to serve be more easily and disastrously squandered.

✗ No city of considerable size can afford to be without a unit which will devote its whole time to crime prevention. Such a unit must receive official recognition in large enough measure to command respect from the members of the force and other community agencies. ✗ The workers must be

trained in interviewing delinquents and handling the delicate problems of adjustment which are a part of the daily routine. A considerable amount of poise, sympathy, and understanding is required in addition to a knowledge of the technique of the position. Courage will at times be required in generous proportions. Unless the worker can turn quickly to the agency which holds the greatest promise of far-reaching help, the chance of a lifetime may be lost. This requires familiarity and cooperation with local welfare agencies.

The reconstruction of human beings who have lost their self-respect into individuals in possession of a sense of personal well-being is perhaps the most gratifying of all welfare work. The choice of employees for this service should naturally receive the most careful consideration. No element of political influence should ever enter into their selection; a definite professional standard should be striven for and maintained and merit alone considered.

Some of the newer crime prevention units have found it desirable in organizing to provide for an advisory committee on which are represented the agencies and institutions which will furnish their main contacts.⁴ The school, church, welfare societies, associated charities clearinghouse, police commissioner, and probation officers are represented.⁶ The cooperation of other groups may be secured from time to time by direct representation or special invitation. It is of particular importance that the support of the press be obtained; a general community understanding of the aims of the unit is essential to any large success.

Women police are found more effective in handling cases of delinquent girls and women, investigating reports of missing girls and women, and in supervising dance halls and other recreational establishments. Show houses may be cen-

⁶ The Berkeley (Calif.) Coordinating Council for Child Welfare, consisting of executives from the police, health, and research and guidance departments, has the following aims:

1. To promote the physical, moral, and mental welfare of children in the community.
2. To coordinate the activities of existing agencies, preventing duplication.
3. To promote personal acquaintance and *esprit de corps* among executives of the various agencies.

(See Mental Hygiene, July, 1929, pp. 514-519.)

sored by policewomen. Their value as investigators in certain cases has been only partially realized in this country.

One great value of the work of the police in crime prevention lies in the use which can be made of the police power. Private agencies can perform successfully many of the functions which police units are now handling in many cities; they can not, however, demand and obtain, as a matter of right, admittance to certain enterprises which may be jeopardizing the morals of the patrons. Around this right to protect the health, morals, and safety of its people must be built the significant and characteristic contribution of the police crime-prevention unit. This unit, by reason of its position in the city government, might initiate far-reaching plans for crime prevention through the medium of the school system. Such work, while in the nature of predelinquency activities, might in the long run be of broader value than any actual palliatives.

The work of certain juvenile courts throughout the country has been of material value in treating cases of delinquency in youth. It is unfortunate, however, that cases are allowed to reach the stage where court review is imperative. Information recently compiled from the records of 62 courts⁷ in the United States is quoted here to indicate the size of the problem which must be faced in the juvenile field alone:

As a number of the children came before the courts more than once, the 33,882 delinquency cases reported for 1928 by the 62 courts represented 34,764 children—29,151 boys and 5,613 girls. * * * The children of 16 and 17 years constituted nearly a third of the total number of children before the courts having jurisdiction over children under 18 years of age, and nearly equaled the number of 14 and 15 year old children, who constituted the largest group in courts having a lower age jurisdiction.

With adequate and competent patrolmen on the beat, such cases could be singled out in their early stages and correctives applied before society and the individual as well had been greatly harmed. Where the personnel is worthy of the name, a simple course of training in crime-prevention

⁷ U. S. Department of Labor, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1928, Bureau Publication No. 200, p. 8.

methods for patrolmen could enormously increase the effectiveness of a crime-prevention unit. The intelligent patrolman will be alert and will report all cases of conduct requiring investigation on his beat before a serious stage has been reached. That the police have within their grasp a large opportunity to aid in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency appears in the records of 62 courts,⁸ which are summarized here:

Source of complaint in delinquency cases dealt with by 62 courts during 1928

Source of complaint	Delinquency cases	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total.....	38,882	
Source of complaint reported.....	38,798	100
Police.....	21,829	56
Parents or relatives.....	3,639	9
Other individual.....	5,006	14
School department.....	4,186	11
Probation officer.....	2,194	6
Social agency.....	833	2
Other.....	511	1
Source of complaint not reported.....	84	

Since 56 per cent of these delinquency cases were brought before the courts on complaints by the police, it is not unlikely that the percentage would be materially increased if the efforts of the police in this branch of crime prevention were systematically organized.⁹

The important contribution which women police have to offer in this and other fields of police work is being recognized in increasing proportions. In 1930 there were 509 policewomen in 200 police organizations of this country.¹⁰ Much of the constructive work with boy and girl delinquents can be handled unofficially without subjecting the young people to the ordeal of an appearance in court. That such

⁸ U. S. Department of Labor, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1928, Bureau Publication No. 200, p. 13.

⁹ Elizabeth Lossing, *The Functions of a Policewoman*, City Manager Yearbook, 1931, p. 155.

procedure is of value appears in the data from the records of 39 courts which is reproduced in summary¹⁰ below:

Disposition in boys' and girls' unofficial delinquency cases dealt with by 39 courts during 1928¹

Disposition	Unofficial delinquency cases					
	Total		Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total.....	10,997		9,423		1,574	
Disposition reported.....	10,919	100	9,360	100	1,559	100
Difficulty adjusted.....	5,677	52	4,960	53	717	46
Child placed on unofficial probation.....	1,176	11	1,002	11	174	11
Child returned home ²	522	5	385	4	137	0
Placement of child in institution recommended.....	299	3	253	3	46	3
Placement of child elsewhere recommended.....	59	1	50	1	9	1
Referred to agency or other court.....	239	2	165	2	74	5
Other disposition ³	2,947	27	2,545	27	402	26
Disposition not reported.....	78		63		15	

¹ Only 39 of the 62 courts reporting delinquency cases reported unofficial delinquency cases; 37 of the 39 reported boys' cases and 34 reported girls' cases.

² Applies only to runaways or children living away from own home at time referred to court.

³ The majority of these cases were dismissed, dropped, or closed with a warning.

Women police have been especially successful in handling cases involving women and children, where their sex has opened avenues of approach which are normally closed to men. Actual street patrol by women police has been found to provide a better perspective of the problem by furnishing practical examples upon which effective techniques must hinge. The operation of one well-organized unit¹¹ was outlined recently by its director in the following manner:

(1) Investigating and interviewing "delinquents" and "pre-delinquents," i. e., adult females, adolescent females, and very young girls and young boys up to 12 years of age. Next is deciding whether a case is to be disposed of officially, i. e., through detention home and juvenile court procedure in the case of juveniles, or court avenues

¹⁰ U. S. Department of Labor, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1928, p. 22.

¹¹ Elizabeth Lossing, head of crime prevention division, Berkeley (Calif.) police department, City Manager Yearbook (1931), p. 158.

for adults, and following decision made, or disposing of it unofficially. Successful unofficial action or preventive work requires skill. It means attempting to adjust the individual without court action. Many a youngster apparently well started in a career of delinquency has recovered as though by magic after the child-guidance clinic of the Berkeley health center has performed some surgical operation or some medication for glandular unbalance, or has done something about "word blindness," or when the psychiatrist has recommended improvements in environment, or assisted the child in overcoming fear.

Whether the policewoman should do any of the so-called follow-up treatment work is an open question. In Berkeley, follow-up work, or police guidance, is done through the help of volunteer work after the clinic visits. Even if a policewoman does no more than refer a case to the proper treatment agency, her psychiatric knowledge is just as much needed, because the sore spot must be discovered before it can be treated. Incipient mental illness must be recognized. It is very important to know what not to do.

(2) Organization of predelinquency work; tying up the work with community resources.

(3) Changing public attitude toward police work through speeches, newspaper articles, and so on.

(4) Organizing community work, serving on committees developing a rather extensive volunteer service from the university and other sources, and fostering activity in connection with juvenile delinquency work.

(5) Working still further upstream so as to "promote interest in health, happiness, and welfare of children."

It is important that policewomen be adequately trained to carry out effectively the difficult work which is theirs as a matter of routine. No one formula will apply in all cases; each individual will present a different set of problems. For this reason great care should be used in recruiting those persons who will be charged with making contacts and effecting difficult adjustments of human material. Two years of training in a recognized school of social work or its equivalent is possibly not too much to ask of this type of worker. Extracts from a report of the director of the Detroit women's division¹² reveals some of the opportunities and accomplishments of this unit:

There are certain very interesting points that are outstanding in this report. Men officers brought to the attention of the women's division 100 more girls during 1928 than in any preceding year, and

¹² Annual Report, 1928, Women's Division, Detroit Police Department, pp. 1, 2.

of this number 90 were girls under 17 years of age who presented serious problems. It is indeed gratifying to be able to report this because, as has been previously cited, one of the greatest advantages of having women officers trained to deal with the problems of women and girls that come to the attention of the police department lies in the fact that their efforts are supplemented by and the scope of their work is augmented by the contacts that hundreds of men officers are making daily.

There were 235 girls returned to their homes in other cities, after contacts were made with their families.

Two hundred and eighty-seven complaints were filed in juvenile court. Ninety-six per cent of the Detroit girls reported missing were located.

Seventy-one per cent of the out-of-town girls reported missing were located.

Seventy-nine per cent of these girls ran away for the first time; and 1,258 (93 per cent) were under 21 years of age.

The number of contacts made by the patrol officers increased from 2,073 in 1927 to 2,531 in 1928. For the past two years the new officers allowed to the women's division have been placed in the patrol department, so that each year we have been able to add one new team to the patrol staff. The fact that the contacts increased 15 per cent from 1926 to 1927 and 17 per cent from 1927 to 1928 would seem to indicate that we can expect to increase our usefulness to the greatest extent in this patrol work. It is also interesting to note that this phase of the work most nearly parallels the work of the men officers of the department.

Especially worthy of comment is the fact that 182 girls were taken from hotels and rooming houses, which number doubles that taken from similar places in the two preceding years.

A certain amount of experimentation will be necessary before a crime-prevention unit can settle down to a comfortable place as a member of the police family. By its very nature it will be impossible to point to any record of accomplishments in terms of individuals saved from lives of crime. It will be always possible, however, to show the number of cases handled, the number referred to social agencies, and the type of aid rendered.

In a country where the annual cost of crime is estimated at from three and a half to sixteen billions of dollars a year¹³ it would not seem unreasonable to spend a few hun-

¹³ In *Manufacturers Record*, Feb. 24, 1927, Burdette G. Lewis, former head of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, is quoted as estimating \$3,500,000,000. William B. Joyce puts the figure at \$10,000,000,000, while Mark O. Prentiss, the author of the article, places the figure at \$16,000,000,000.

dreds of thousands on crime prevention. Some 500,000 persons are employed by police departments of this country. They must have weapons and equipment; their time is an economic loss. Courts, jails, penitentiaries, and prisons absorb millions. Vice, gambling, liquor, and narcotics divert millions more. The property loss reaches a huge figure.

It is apparent that any program which gives promise of immediate or ultimate reduction of crime is justified in having a fair trial. Intensive work with juvenile delinquents deserves the considerate attention of all police departments. With the further development of psychological measurements, psychiatry, medicine, and other sciences and scientific instruments we may learn to prescribe permanent institutional care for certain individuals who now live like parasites upon society and propagate their kind. Furthermore, we may cease to make crime by legislation and place our laws on a sound psychological basis.

The prevention value of some laws against crime is debatable. In old England there were cases recorded where criminals rifled the pockets of onlookers at hangings where the unfortunate victims of the hangman's noose were even then paying the penalty for picking pockets. The States of this country which provide capital punishment have a higher homicide rate than those which have abolished it. Severe penalties as deterrents are probably not nearly so effective as sure and quick punishment, though it be less severe. Crime prevention in all its ramifications is the frontier of criminology.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Sidney P. Simpson, Esq., in a report to this Commission, has raised serious questions concerning the value of any such estimates. See Report on the Cost of Crime, No. 12, particularly Part I and Appendix A.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICE SERVICE AND THE STATE

The police power belongs to the State; the State may grant it or take it away. But with this power goes an obligation—the duty to protect its citizens in life, liberty, and property. In the past the State has many times stepped in to take a hand in municipal police control, and four of the larger cities are still under State authority, namely, Boston, Baltimore, Kansas City, and St. Louis. This is demonstrable proof of the supremacy of the State in matters affecting the safety of its citizens.

Man originally organized himself into a society in order to be secure against the attacks of wild animals and enemy tribes. Now he lives in a city without walls and can venture abroad without firearms, but his security from attack is not assured. In the age of the simple economy of food, clothing, and shelter every man could be presumed to be able to furnish his own protection for person and property. The present age of division of labor on a vast scale necessitates the setting apart of a police force for the protection of a community just as a definite group, the Army, protects the Nation, and the militia, the State.

Now, since the State is the sovereign power and is obliged to protect its citizens in their enjoyment of the fundamental liberties of life, property, and freedom of movement in normal society, it follows that any infringement of these liberties must be dealt with by the State. This is exactly what happens, and we are accustomed to the familiar indictment of the State versus (the accused). Since the State is charged with the prosecution of actions against offenders of its laws it can not logically be denied control of the primary forces which engage in the apprehension of these offenders. This principle is axiomatic; the subdivisions of the State exercise

police powers on sufferance and only so long as they prove effective in the performance of their primary duties.

X The multitude of police forces in any State and the varying standards of organization and service have contributed immeasurably to the general low grade of police performance in this country. The independence which police forces display toward each other and the absence of any central force which requires either a uniform or a minimum standard of service leave the way open for the profitable operation of criminals in an area where protection is often ineffectual at the best, generally only partial, and too frequently wholly absent. X Vast areas are without the pretense of any sort of patrol at any time. Of some 3,000 counties, five times as many cities and villages, and perhaps 16,000 townships in the United States, only the smallest proportion have any adequate police patrol.¹

Americans seem to have a suspicion of centralized administration; especially do the labor organizations. Home-rule principles have a broad basis in the traditions of our people, and this is probably a healthful sign. Whatever functions the local community can carry on for itself in an efficient and adequate manner it should be permitted to perform; this applies to police protection, most of the problems of which are local and lend themselves best to solution by the community authorities.

More than a century and a half ago the original States learned, however, that certain functions of administration could not be effectually carried on by themselves as individual units. Regulation of the post office, minting, and engraving of money and negotiating foreign treaties are some of these. In the same manner there are forces operating to-day which are beyond the control of individual cities, townships or counties. Criminals are engaged in organized attacks upon society, taking advantage of poorly organized or wholly incompetent police departments to further their own gain. X These enemies of society plan their attacks, work quickly, employ fast automobiles and other instruments of modern science, and are usually far ahead

¹ Bruce Smith, State Police, in *Police*, Chicago, February, 1931, p. 9.

of the development of the law and of the specialized police organs devised to meet their attacks. They prey upon rural and urban districts, taking advantage of the decentralized character of police administration and poorly developed communications to sweep through a whole State, sometimes, before their operations become widely known. X

X Probably the best solution of this difficulty is to be found in the creation of a State police force. The inherent advantages of such an organization are significant. There can be continuous professional leadership, unhampered by politics; recruiting can be at least State-wide, without limiting provisions of civil-service rules; the force will be large enough to permit thorough training of new men, without undue overhead expense; jurisdiction of the force will not be restricted by municipal, township, or county boundaries; and a liquid unit of competent men can, through the medium of a central-communications system, be mobilized quickly at any strategic point in the State. X

Several States now have police organizations of some sort.² Texas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Nevada have rather small forces which perform an expansive service in these thinly populated States. State highway police are maintained in Maryland, Delaware, Maine, Washington, and Illinois; some, as in the last-named State, have practically all the powers of a State police. In Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and West Virginia are found the State police forces which really patrol the rural areas and give protection to sections which would otherwise be left almost entirely to the mercy of the criminals. The wide regard in which these truly fine State police forces, particularly those of Pennsylvania and New York, are held augurs well for this type of rural police protection.

Where the State police receive the training that their occupation demands and where the individuals are the high type which all such officers should be, few clashes of jurisdiction should occur between them and the city or county

² Bruce Smith, op. cit., p. 10.

peace officials. The State force in New York State is a helpful medium in spreading the "safety first" gospel; illegal dental and medical practitioners are prevented from preying upon rural sections; escaped convicts and parole violators are apprehended and returned to the authorities; sheep-killing and mad dogs are exterminated; fish and game laws are enforced; damaged highways and bridges are reported and marked; health quarantines are carried out; and auto license laws are made effective. Each year it is estimated that the New York State police add over \$300,000 to the auto license revenue by careful supervision in rural areas.³

Labor organizations in some States have defeated legislation which proposed to create State forces. A well-defined fear exists among labor groups that State police are the tool of capital to be used as strike breakers in event of industrial strife. The State police of Pennsylvania, New York, and West Virginia have been frequently involved in riot duty in connection with labor troubles. In Pennsylvania an impartial investigation revealed that the average time devoted to strike duty by the State police consumed 16 per cent of the total on-duty time of the men on the force during the years from 1906 to 1921, inclusive.⁴

An examination of industrial disorders, however, in several States, reveals that where no State police are available in event of strike disorders, the militia is commonly pressed into service, martial law prevails, and the soldiers, untrained in police methods of handling disorderly assemblages, occa-

³ Committee for State Police, Annual Report, 1918, p. 19.

⁴ Bruce Smith, *The State Police* (1925), p. 55.

The percentage of time devoted to strike duty by the Pennsylvania State police, based upon the total number of men, the number engaged on strike duty, and the time for which they were so employed, is reported as follows:

Year	Per cent	Year	Per cent	Year	Per cent
1906	24.59	1912	23.57	1918	0.0
1907	9.51	1913	16.46	1919	11.4
1908	8.33	1914	12.30	1920	1.6
1909	12.75	1915	9.35	1921	
1910	35.25	1916	55.00		
1911	34.77	1917	0.5		

sionally resort to rifle fire, with resulting casualties. On the other hand, ample evidence is available to demonstrate that a well-seasoned State police force can, with its superior technique and experience in handling mobs, maintain reasonable order, prevent destruction of property, and avoid the casualties usually attendant upon the imposition of martial law and the rule of the soldiery. A wise practice begun in Pennsylvania by the State force has been written into the statutes of some States in creating State police; this is the requirement that local authorities submit a statement in writing to the head of the State force, showing that the situation is beyond the control of the local force and requesting State police aid.⁵ By this means the sheriffs and local officers are discouraged from calling upon the State for aid when they merely wish to avoid unpleasant police duties in their various jurisdictions.

That the State police movement has the approval of the representative police chiefs of the nation was attested at St. Louis in 1921 when the annual convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police indorsed the idea by voice and by vote. Many of these chiefs were from States in which State police were established and testimony indicated that, rather than a disturbing force, these State troopers were a real help to the city forces. Similar cooperation has been secured from sheriffs and constables in areas where these officials are active; the embarrassing fact that sheriffs and constables, within their jurisdictions, have equal powers with State police make the most careful tactical training of the State force inevitable.

If protection is to be given our rural districts we can not rely upon the sheriff-constable system to supply it. They have neither the training nor the necessary men. Authority must rest in a single, responsible head. Theodore Roosevelt is quoted in Mayo's *Justice to All, the Story of the Pennsylvania State Police*, as saying: "The sooner all our other States adopt similar systems, the better it will be for the cause of law and order, and for the upright administration of the laws in the interest of justice throughout the Union."

⁵ Bruce Smith, *The State Police* (1925), p. 60.

The sheriff comes down to us from Norman England; it is customary to point this out and recite the subsequent history, but for our purpose, it will suffice merely to picture the sheriff as he is to-day in the capacity of a peace officer. His important duties are usually the service of writs and processes for the court, executing court decrees, and maintaining the peace within the county. He may also attend court as a bailiff, handle criminals, keep the jail, assist at elections and collect taxes. In no one county will he be discovered performing all these functions, but they are all a part of the duties of some sheriff somewhere.

Now, it is obvious that a sheriff who gives his time to even some of these matters can not be patrolling his county. With the aid of his usual handful of deputies it is still impossible for any adequate patrol to be maintained. It is, of course, possible to establish a force of men under the sheriff who will perform the duties of patrol. Jefferson County, Ky., in recent years had a patrol of 30 men appointed by the county judge. Such a system, however, has inherent defects. Politics may dictate the appointment of the personnel; the force is too small to warrant a regular training school; the sheriff, as head of the force, may change every four years or so as happens in some States where the sheriff may not succeed himself.

✕ The sheriff's is an elective office and any force under him is almost sure to be a makeshift affair. ✕ Discontinuity of tenure denies the organization any considerable, effective leadership and the absence of an adequate communications system further limits the usefulness of such a force. While there may be isolated examples of competent forces under this plan they are, at present, rare and can hardly be expected to become the model for an extensive system.

The constable is equally helpless as a peace officer in his jurisdiction—the township. In some counties the sheriff has deputized the constables; this gives them the range of the county, but this method is no solution to the problem of rural protection. ✕ The same difficulties of lack of training, incompetent personnel, nonsuccession, and disunity are present here as with sheriffs. ✕

The county constabulary may be a useful force where the political unit is large enough and populous enough to afford a large organization as in metropolitan areas. Ordinarily, however, it is difficult to assure the responsible, continuous leadership, a competent personnel, adequate training and equipment, and the necessary communications system to provide an effective county constabulary. There appears to be small promise for the solution of the problem of rural patrol in any one of the three systems discussed, excepting State police, in this chapter. They are at the best only temporary and makeshifts, and while they may spring up from time to time in particular localities with some signs of vigor, it is not anticipated that they will ever become widely accepted and permanent institutions.

✕ In view of the necessity for some such centralized control as a State police force may be expected to furnish, it is apparent that the employment of sheriffs, constables, and, in some instances, county constabularies offers no satisfactory solution to the problem as a whole. The personnel of such an organization may perform their work through the media of decentralized units but they must be answerable to a single head in order to be effective. This principle is virtually impossible of attainment under the sheriff-constable system. ✕

The absolute dependence of police departments upon records in the performance of satisfactory service has been discussed in Chapter VI. There we were concerned chiefly with the urban department. It is true, however, that all police departments are, in the course of duty, concerned with the affairs of other police agencies, more especially those in the same or adjacent territory. This is true in an even larger degree of a State police organization.

Criminals may reside inoffensively in one section where the police are efficient and operate against society in a near-by section where the police system is less effective. Professional criminals know no political boundaries and are not disturbed by their existence; in fact, they frequently take advantage of them for their own security while the officers of the law are hampered by these same boundaries. These criminal activities will be reflected in citizens' complaints to the police, and

all such known offenses, if brought together, can be superimposed upon outline maps of the region in such manner as to present the whole picture of criminal operations at a glance, thus providing a means for planning a counter-attack.

No central agency is established, in many instances, which is empowered to collect such statistics. Because of the legal difficulty involved, and the necessity for employing mandatory enactments, the State is the logical and practical unit within which to operate. The number of individuals, bureaus, departments, and institutions in a State which may deal with criminals or possess information about them is legion. In the ordinary course of events these agencies have few contacts with other law-enforcement bodies, particularly if in remote sections, and their fund of information is consequently not pooled for the common good. ✕

State bureaus, now in operation in nearly half the States of the Union,⁶ have proved themselves of great value as clearing houses for information about crime and criminals. Perhaps the most complete bureau of this kind is in Sacramento, Calif., where provision is made for the collection of records of crime and criminals from all persons or units handling such records; special criminal investigators, available to peace officers and district attorneys and attorneys general, are provided. Schools of instruction in the detection, apprehension, and identification of criminals are required to be held at convenient centers throughout the State. A competent statistician is also included in the personnel of the bureau.

The Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice at Washington would be much more effective as a national clearing house for records of crime and criminals and personal identification if all States were equipped with central bureaus which could be contacted directly; the States could deal more satisfactorily with their own political sub-

⁶ State bureaus have been established by statute in Arizona, California, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Vermont; without statute, Kansas, Rhode Island, and Washington.

divisions, cover the area more completely, and employ pressure to bring reporting agencies into conformity.

The following provisions, considered essential for any legislative act which aims to establish a State bureau as hereinbefore described, are offered as a guide. Senate bill No. 128 (1929) of California is the basis of sections 1 to 10, inclusive, and Uniform Crime Reporting (1929) by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, pages 15-16 is the source of sections 11 to 16, inclusive.

The people of the State of _____ do not enact as follows:

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a State bureau of criminal identification and investigation.

SEC. 2. Within _____ days after this act goes into effect it shall be the duty of the (head of the appropriate State department) to appoint a director of the bureau from the State civil service list.

SEC. 3. The director shall appoint such other employees as may be required; said appointments to be made from an eligible list provided for such purpose by the civil service commission; also to provide for said bureau, with the necessary furniture, fixtures, apparatus, appurtenances, appliances, and materials as are necessary for the collection, filing, and preservation of all criminal records both as to identification and investigation of criminals, and stolen, lost, found, pledged, or pawned property.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the director to obtain and file for record and report in the bureau, as far as procurable, all plates, photographs, outline pictures, descriptions, information, criminal histories, and measurements of all persons who have been or shall hereafter be convicted of felony, or imprisoned for violating any of the military, naval, or criminal laws, of the United States of America, and of all well-known and habitual criminals from wherever procurable.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the director to file or cause to be filed all plates, measurements, information, and descriptions which shall be received by it and he shall have made a complete and systematic record and index of the same, providing thereby a method of convenience, consultation, and comparison. It shall be the duty of the director to furnish upon application, all information pertaining to the identification of any person, or persons, a plate, photograph, outline picture, description, measurement, or any data of which person there is a record in its office. Such information shall be furnished to the United States officers or officers of other States or territories, or possessions of the United States or peace officers of other countries when duly authorized to receive the same, and all peace officers of the State of _____, which application shall be in writing and accompanied by a certificate signed by the officer

making such request, stating that the information applied for is necessary in the interest of the due administration of the laws and not for the purpose of assisting a private citizen in carrying on his personal interests, or in making any senselessly harassing, degrading, or humiliating any person or persons.

SEC. 6. The following systems of identification may be used in this bureau: The Bertillon, the fingerprint system, and any system of measurement which may be adopted by law in any of the various penal institutions of the State. It shall be the duty of the director to keep on file in the bureau a record consisting of duplicates of all measurements, processes, operations, signalletic cards, plates, photographs, outline pictures, measurements, and descriptions of all persons confined in penal institutions of this State as far as possible, in accordance with whatever system or systems may be in vogue in this State.

SEC. 7. Suitable offices for the proper conduct of the bureau shall be provided for by (the proper State authority, such as the superintendent of grounds and buildings).

SEC. 8. It is hereby made the duty of the sheriffs of the several counties of the State of _____, the chiefs of police of incorporated cities therein and marshals of incorporated cities and towns therein to furnish to the said bureau, daily, copies of fingerprints on standardized 8 by 8 inch cards, and descriptions of all such persons arrested who in the best judgment of such sheriffs, chiefs of police, or city marshals are persons wanted for serious crimes, or are fugitives from justice, or of all such persons in whose possession at the time of arrest are found goods or property reasonably believed by such sheriffs, chiefs of police, or city marshals to have been stolen by them; or of all such persons in whose possession are found burglar outfits or burglar keys or who possess high-power explosives reasonably believed to be intended for unlawful purposes or who possess infernal machines, bombs, or other contrivances in whole or in part, and reasonably believed by said sheriffs, chiefs of police, and city marshals to be intended for unlawful purposes, or of all persons who carry concealed firearms or other deadly weapons and reasonably believed to be carried for unlawful purposes, or who have in their possession inks, dyes, paper, or other articles necessary in the making of counterfeit bank notes, or in the alteration of bank notes; or dies, molds, or other articles necessary in the making of counterfeit money, and reasonably believed to be used by them for such unlawful purposes. This section is not meant to include violators of city or county ordinances.

SEC. 9. It is further made the duty of the aforesaid sheriffs, chiefs of police, or city marshals to furnish said bureau daily reports of lost, stolen, found, pledged, or pawned property received in their respective offices. In order to assist in the recovery of said property and in the arrest and prosecution of criminals, it is hereby made the duty of the director to keep a complete record of all reports filed with

the bureau of all personal property stolen, lost, found, pledged, or pawned in any city or county of this State.

SEC. 10. The director shall provide for the installation of a proper system and file, and cause to be filed therein cards containing an outline of the method of operation employed by criminals in the commission of crime.

SEC. 11. The director shall collect information concerning the number and nature of offenses known to have been committed in this State, of the legal steps taken in connection therewith from the inception of the complaint to the final discharge of the defendant, and such other information as may be useful in the study of crime and the administration of justice; this information to comprise only such crimes, legal steps and information as the director may designate. The information so collected shall include such data as may be required by the United States Department of Justice at Washington under its national system of crime reporting.

SEC. 12. It shall be the duty of every police department, sheriff, constable, or other police agency; of clerks, justices, or other appropriate official for all criminal courts; of prosecuting, probation, and parole officers; of every head of a department, bureau, or institution, State, county, and local, which deals with criminals; or of any other person who, by reason of his office, is qualified to furnish the data required, to render to the bureau the information required in conformity with section 11 above. Provided that where the county sheriff or other rural officer is designated by the director as the person to whom the information is to be reported, it shall be the duty of the appropriate officials to report such information to him. The county officer so designated shall compile this information in such manner as the director may determine and forward a consolidated report to him.

SEC. 13. It shall be the duty of the director to provide all reporting officials with forms, postage, envelopes and instructions which specify in detail the nature of the information required, the time it is to be forwarded, the method of classifying, and such other matters as shall facilitate its collection and compilation.

SEC. 14. Annually, and at such other times as he may determine, the director shall prepare and publish reports and releases containing the information gathered through the provisions of this act. In so far as possible, these reports and releases shall present an accurate picture of the crime situation in this State and of the operation of the agencies of justice in connection therewith, employing for this purpose such tables, graphs, diagrams and comment as may be appropriate. The director shall point out what he considers to be the pertinent factors with regard to the enforcement of criminal law and recommend such measures as he may deem helpful and constructive with reference thereto. Upon request or upon his own initiative the director shall advise reporting officials, or other appropriate persons, concerning any information included in the foregoing

provisions. The director shall forward to the United States Department of Justice the data required by that department as specified in section 11.

SEC. 15. Every person who has custody or charge of public records or documents from which information sought in respect to this act can be obtained shall grant to any person deputed by the director access thereto for obtaining such information.

SEC. 16. Any official who shall refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of this act, and any official or person who shall wilfully make a false statement in any report required under the provisions of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The contribution which a State bureau can make to police efficiency is demonstrated by the following tabulation derived from the biennial reports of the California bureau:

Number of identifications

Years	By finger- prints	By hand- writ- ing	By modus oper- andi	For Calif- ornia depart- ments	For foreign depart- ments	Of lost and stolen arti- cles	Of stolen auto- mobiles	Of un- known dead
1921-22.....	7,247	88	11	6,097	1,470	1,429	1,067	-----
1923-24.....	10,048	431	1	8,782	1,811	631	553	-----
1925-26.....	14,252	565	9	12,127	2,815	1,104	521	10
1927-28.....	21,642	560	26	17,000	4,064	247	2,030	31

The appropriation of approximately \$40,000 a year in 1927 and 1928 was recovered sixfold through the identification of stolen property alone. Besides this the bureau rendered a great service to society by making possible the identification of thousands of criminals for this and other States and by identifying unknown dead. ✕ No State in this age of rapid transportation and shrewd criminals can afford to be without the services of a central bureau of identification and investigation. ✕

The report of such a bureau in actual operation furnishes a basis for a judgment of its value.⁷

* * * Exceedingly large dividends, in proportion to the amount invested by the State for the support and maintenance during the past two years, have been returned to the taxpayers through the recovery and return to rightful owners of stolen and embezzled prop-

⁷ Report of California State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, June 30, 1928, p. 5.

erty, valued in excess of a half-billion dollars. Information leading to the recovery of the above amount of property was due directly and indirectly to the efforts of the bureau.

Of the 98,535 fingerprint records of persons arrested, received in the bureau for classification and comparison, 42,667 were identified and verified as being habitual law offenders. These identifications have unquestionably effected an additional saving of thousands of dollars to the State in the number of and expense incidental to jury trials. Reports of felonious crimes committed within the State numbering 132,685 were received, analyzed and filed according to the method of operation employed by the perpetrator of the crime. A great many of these cases have been solved and the perpetrators apprehended through identifications furnished directly through the modus operandi system maintained by the bureau.

Forgers and fraudulent check operators numbering 3,296 were identified and verified by the handwriting appearing upon questioned documents submitted to the handwriting and laboratory section of the bureau for examination. In the majority of these cases, these identifications were of great value to police officials in effecting the immediate apprehension of the guilty delinquents.

Of those identified as habitual offenders 970 were either escapes, parole violators, or fugitives from justice; many of them were escapes from penal institutions outside this State. Identification led to their extradition and return to the respective institutions from which they escaped, thereby eliminating the expense of prosecution and confinement in California prisons. * * *

✕ The investigation of serious crimes by trained employees of the bureau is in the interests of common justice. Aside from this consideration, however, is a financial one; jury trials can frequently be shortened and much money saved for the State if competent investigators have collected the evidence and procured the witnesses for a case. All too often a case is weakened because untrained or poorly advised investigators have overlooked or destroyed valuable clues and evidence; this can be avoided if responsible authorities can call in the expert investigators from their State bureau. ✕

In the same manner that the records division can be the nerve center of the individual police department, so can the State bureau be the hub of the communications system for the whole State. Mail, messenger, telegraph, telephone, teletype and wireless may be employed to bring all available information to this clearing house. With these means the progress and direction of check passers, confidence men,

pickpockets, counterfeits, accomplices and others may frequently be made the subject of warnings to police agencies of the State in general and to those sections in particular which lie in the path of the criminals' progress.

The publication of a daily bulletin by the bureau and distribution of it to every peace office in the State would contribute materially to the efficiency of such officers. This bulletin could contain photographs of persons wanted by the police, persons reported missing, numbers of stolen automobiles, descriptions of notable crimes, and any other information likely to assist police officers to function more effectively. The expense incurred in the publication of such a bulletin would surely repay the citizens many times over in improved police service and in the value of property recovered through its wide distribution.

The possibilities of the bureau as an educational agency may be enlarged when the time seems appropriate. The development of single fingerprint systems as well as the more common systems in use in records divisions may be stimulated by skilled contact agents and, finally, the attitude of the public toward the policeman and his activities may be placed on a higher plane in the future by the wise presentation of the case to civics classes in the schools.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The failure of police departments throughout the United States to provide adequate patrol in all sections of their respective communities is due in part to the multiplication of duties with which they are charged. Traffic problems have steadily increased with the growth of the automobile industry, requiring more and more officers for traffic duty. Vice, gambling, liquor, and narcotic problems of the most complex variety absorb the time of many men. Yet we take men of mediocre caliber without training or special ability and charge them with responsibility for solving these intricate problems.

Legislatures have massed unenforceable laws upon the statute books which only serve to bring the police into disrepute with the people when they attempt to do their sworn duty. The absence of scientific principles of administration result in great disparities among the police organizations of the country. The general incompetence of chiefs themselves is due to the American custom of entrusting the office to most any average person. Even persons of superior ability in other lines of work have failed to make satisfactory records as police administrators. The difficult problems of the police demand expert ability of a high order in any directing head.

The chief is the 24-hour servant of the public, must often depend upon incompetent subordinates for the execution of important duties, and must meet the conflicting criticisms of the people. Some of the public apparently believe that complete eradication of vice is possible while others desire a wide-open city; between these poles are all degrees of opinion, depending upon the information or personal interest of the group. The chief can never be right in the eyes of all.

The handling of groups whose attitude toward the Government may differ radically from the average requires a well-

advised technique. Here brawn without brain fails. A clear knowledge of the law must be at the instant command of the policeman; he can not guess—he must know. He is personally liable for his mistakes.

The chief is beset by all sorts of sharpers who hope to make capital out of his acquaintance. If he avoids them he incurs their enmity and they soon join forces with other personal-profit seekers and plot to turn him out of office. He must know how to anticipate the popular will and make a show of falling in step.

The executive must be a leader, able to win the loyalty of subordinates. Changes will be effected slowly because of the resistance of human nature to innovations, hence the chief must remain in office long enough to carry out his objectives. Subordinates must be upheld when they are right and disciplined when wrong and these measures must be just and permanent.

An executive must qualify as one who knows the secret ways of politics, criminals, and human nature if he is to enjoy large success. He must know the pressure groups, their objectives and their tools. He must know his men and how to recognize merit. His policies must prevail over long periods of time to be really fruitful.

The selection of a police executive should be a matter of infinite care. Competence alone should be the criterion and, while experience in actual police service seems more likely to give the best preparation, suitable material should be sought wherever available. The intricacies of police work make it possible for the unwary outsider, as chief, to pledge himself to policies which are directly against the interest of society.

Police executives are too much subject to the whims of the uninformed and emotional populace. Great harm is done the rank and file by frequent changes of chiefs, for the usual "shake-up" paralyzes by its anticipation as well as by its actuality. The chief must be retained in office long enough to accomplish his plans for the good of the service.

The police recruit must be a man of intelligence and ability to successfully discharge the duties placed upon him. He must be honest and healthy to resist temptation and disease.

In Los Angeles more than 50 per cent of the policemen were without a high-school education. Intelligence tests in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Cleveland revealed that approximately 75 per cent of the personnel were below the minimum grade considered essential for a patrolman, to say nothing of the officer requirements.

A patrolman should be young enough to learn his duties easily and have no police record of serious offenses. He should be able to furnish satisfactory character references. In turn, his pay, working hours, vacation, days off, sick leave, accident provision, and pension should be fair and just.

Signal systems are of great importance and should be as modern as the community can afford. Call boxes, recall signal devices, telephones, teletype, and radio offer all that can be desired in communication systems.

The training offered, except in a very small number of cities, is negligible. A means of giving the policeman, in the small city as well as the large, proper training, must be adopted. State-wide supervision of police schools, employment of the zone system, the establishment of standards of instruction and curriculum must inevitably be adopted if our police systems are to cope with the crime conditions of to-day.

Records should be kept of all significant police work for the purpose of reference, control, and formation of strategic plans. Uniformity should be attained in order that results may be made comparable. The future of effective police work is even more dependent on reliable records than the present.

Crime prevention is the borderland of police administration. Treatment of the juvenile delinquent is its area of most profitable endeavor; the employment of the policewoman is recognized as productive here as well as in cases involving women of all ages. The necessary contacts with social agencies are found to be well-handled by women police.

The efficient operation of a state police force is recognized, especially in rural areas. The inadequacy of the sheriff-constable system is obvious and the need for a central State agency for the clearing of police information, and the

development of a police consciousness in the schools, is stressed.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The corrupting influence of politics should be removed from the police organization.
2. The head of the department should be selected at large for competence, a leader, preferably a man of considerable police experience, and removable from office only after preferment of charges and a public hearing.
3. Patrolmen should be able to rate a "B" on the Alpha test, be able-bodied and of good character, weigh 150 pounds, measure 5 feet 9 inches tall, and be between 21 and 31 years of age. These requirements may be disregarded by the chief for good and sufficient reasons.
4. Salaries should permit decent living standards, housing should be adequate, eight hours of work, one day off weekly, annual vacation, fair sick leave with pay, just accident and death benefits when in performance of duty, reasonable pension provisions on an actuarial basis.
5. Adequate training for recruits, officers, and those already on the roll is imperative.
6. The communication system should provide for call boxes, telephones, recall system, and (in appropriate circumstances) teletype and radio.
7. Records should be complete, adequate, but as simple as possible. They should be used to secure administrative control of investigations and of department units in the interest of efficiency.
8. A crime-prevention unit should be established if circumstances warrant this action and qualified women police should be engaged to handle juvenile delinquents' and women's cases.
9. State police forces should be established in States where rural protection of this character is required.
10. State bureaus of criminal investigation and information should be established in every State.

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