

POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN DAVENPORT

If all the inhabitants of the United States were law abiding, many present day institutions, agencies, and instrumentalities of government maintained for the administration of justice would not be needed, but crime seems to be increasing out of proportion to the growth in population. Crime conditions in any community depend largely upon three factors: (1) racial origins and characteristics of the population; (2) probability of conviction and punishment; and (3) the degree of probability of apprehension and arrest. The police have no control over the first, and play rather an insignificant part in the second, but they must assume almost complete responsibility for the third factor.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The apprehension and arrest of a suspect by a lowly policeman throws into gear that vast, complicated, and expensive machinery of justice — the coroners, courts, judges, prosecutors, witnesses, penal institutions, jailers, probation officers, and parole boards. Since the police department is the first agency to function against crime and criminals, it must be competently organized and ably administered to produce significant results. It is the sworn duty of police officers to protect the life, limb, and property of all people within their jurisdiction. The degree of perfection attained will depend upon the selection of personnel, training, division of the force, duties assigned each group, number available for duty, officers, intelligence and education of the members, equipment, criminal investigation and identification, compensation, promotion, length of service, disciplinary action, and finances.

In some cases where there is a miscarriage of justice we can definitely blame the personnel — a judge, a coroner, a prosecuting attorney, or a policeman. In other cases we can blame the obsolete machinery through which justice is administered — the law, the jury, the court, the penal institution. In still other cases, and probably to an ever increasing degree, we can blame the public — an unenlightened public which shirks jury duty and refuses to inform the police about crimes, to testify honestly in court, to appreciate and reward honest police effort, to pay adequate salaries to its public servants, and to coöperate in an endeavor to discover the causes of crime and how to eradicate such causes.

To the child, the policeman is a "bogie man"; an individual to fear in infancy, one to hate and distrust in youth, one to think little about in adult life. To the average adult he is one who is "never around when you want him". Few citizens know or understand the duties and responsibilities of this officer who is sworn to see that the laws are obeyed. Yet nearly every one stands ready to criticise him. The public sees him as an arresting officer, a "pussy-footer", one who always does them personal harm and seldom, if ever, does them any good. How many realize that the police system functions day and night, year in and year out, to protect our lives and our property? Forget for a moment the hundreds of abuses and criticisms heaped upon the police, forget personal experiences with particular officers, and ask yourself this question, "Is my life and my property fairly well protected against the arbitrary actions of anti-social members of society?" If this question can be answered in the affirmative the police should be given the credit. With the exception of paying taxes, the ordinary citizen has done little to produce this security. Have not most losses been the result of carelessness — leaving the car or the garage

unlocked; placing money in milk bottles; pinning a "Not at Home" sign on the door while on a vacation; placing confidence in new acquaintances; employing servants without substantial references; flashing large sums of money in public places; and in other ways inviting the criminal to ply his trade?

Duties Imposed Upon the Police. — The public has little conception of the great variety of duties it has imposed upon the policeman. In the first place, it is his duty to arrest all who violate national, State, or municipal law. We assume he knows or will know the tens of thousands of laws so that he can make arrests for violations of them. This is impossible. He soon learns that certain acts violate some law and that he need not hesitate in arresting any one committing them. If he fails, a part of the public will condemn him, or his superior officer may see that he is discharged for neglect of duty. If he makes the arrest and the court fails to sustain him he becomes the laughing stock of his associates and the enemy of the offender and his followers. More disturbing than this, the officer may be dragged into court, for he is personally liable for civil damages because of false arrest or imprisonment. A policeman soon learns to play safe for he knows the public's sympathy will be (for the most part) against him. As a result, police often take no action at all in doubtful cases.

The policeman is also a judge sitting in the court of first instance. He determines, tentatively, whether an act is a violation of a law. If it is, he decides whether he should take official action. Realizing the procedure which follows an arrest, he may, in unimportant cases and for minor offenses, merely warn the offender against a repetition of the act. Furthermore the public expects the policeman to have some knowledge of the law governing many cases.

Though often poorly qualified, he must prefer charges, must determine whether the act was a felony or a misdemeanor, and must know the law on search warrants, arrests with and without warrants, evidence, confessions, and the like. Before the police magistrate he frequently acts as prosecutor.

The policeman must also function occasionally as a doctor, nurse, or fireman. Many lives have been saved because the policeman knew how to render first aid and relieve the unfortunate person found sick, wounded, or dying on his "beat". Though the average policeman has not gone far in school, the public expects him to be an educator, a social welfare worker, and a preventer of crime. More and more he goes out and "preaches the gospel of reverence for law in school, church, and home."

The public demands trim, well-built, neat, brave, militant patrolmen. A policeman must have the swing, snap, drill, and appearance of a soldier. He must be polite and gentlemanly, yet he must work among chronic drunkards, moral perverts, yeggmen, drug addicts, crazy men, beggars, murderers, liars, and thieves. Contacts with this group may easily cause the patrolman to lose gentleness of thought and action.

It is generally agreed that politics are poisonous to police administration. There are no Republican or Democratic methods of policing a city. Yet those familiar with police work realize that the policeman must be a politician if he is to get along and advance in the service. He is expected to serve as the people's advocate or permanent retainer — to represent the public and to keep private individuals from encroaching upon public interests. He sees that sidewalks are kept free from snow and ice; that streets are kept open for traffic; that builders have permits; and the like.

This is not a complete list of duties knowingly or unknowingly forced upon the police by the public. Yet it is sufficient to show the numerous and varied duties and responsibilities imposed upon them.

The Rôle of the Public in Police Administration. — The public has a part to play in police administration. Citizens should keep themselves informed as to the results obtained and make it worth while for officers to do their work more efficiently. Public opinion can either create or destroy. If the public demands better police service, it can be secured. In this field the public is generally non-appreciative, destructively critical, lacking in sustained interests, and not truly interested in day by day police work. The public knows neither its obligations to the police nor the obligations of the police to the public. Few realize the outside pressure brought to bear upon the organization and a lesser number actually attempt to do anything about it.

Crooks do not fear the policeman — the representative of the law. A man can be killed. But they do fear a community which stands solidly behind the officer — witnesses of unimpeachable character, givers of information, honest jurymen, judges, and law abiding citizens who stand ready to aid officers in obtaining evidence and conviction.

It is frequently charged that our system of criminal procedure is grossly inadequate and ineffective. It is said to be seventeenth century machinery trying to deal with twentieth century problems. Unquestionably the machinery is archaic, cumbersome, slow, and in many cases ineffective. There has seldom been any conscious attempt to build a police system to meet the needs of a specific community. Many cities have a small town police system with only an increased force.

The multitude of safeguards thrown about the accused,

the many opportunities for delay, the "sporting theory of justice", the chances for parole, pardon, and probation, and technicalities are only a part of the loop-holes through which the guilty may escape. We need modern, swift, and highly efficient criminal machinery to keep pace with all other forms of machinery which has been speeded up in the past quarter of a century. Above all, we need scientific data and scientific research to direct us in our undertakings.

Arthur Woods, a competent New York City police administrator, (from whom some of the above ideas have been taken) says, "one of the most short-sighted things modern civilization indulges in is the practice of arresting, convicting, discharging, re-arresting, re-convicting and re-discharging."

Though the public is likely to place all blame for crime upon the police, the student realizes that the police department is but a part of the law enforcing machinery. Were the police a hundred per cent efficient, it will avail them little if the prosecuting attorney fails to do his part; if the judge refuses to administer the law properly; if criminals "buy off" witnesses; if shyster lawyers are permitted to "browbeat" witnesses; if probate and parole officers do not function intelligently; or if prison officials fail to reform a reasonable per cent of the inmates.

In Iowa, policing is looked upon as a function to be performed by local areas of government and the State has therefore delegated to the municipalities entire responsibility for the creation, maintenance, and organization of police forces within their respective jurisdictions. In Davenport, the city police preserve law and order within the city limits, while an elected county sheriff, his deputies, and the constables are responsible for policing the entire county.

All that has been said thus far pertains to police adminis-

tration in general. The remainder of this article deals with data gathered during a three months field study, made in 1931, in the city of Davenport (the third largest city in Iowa).

This is not an attempt to expose or condemn individuals or a particular city. It is rather an attempt to portray police administration as the writer observed it. To the casual observer Davenport appears to be fairly representative of Mississippi River cities in this section and of approximately the same size.

MANAGEMENT OF POLICE PERSONNEL—BY THE CHIEF

The time worn doctrine of separation of powers, with its usual checks and balances and confusion of responsibility, is evidenced in the management of police personnel.

In Davenport, the mayor is charged with the responsibility for law enforcement. He is at the head of the police force and is authorized to superintend and direct the department generally. Indirectly he does manage the department, for approximately ten per cent of his time is devoted to conferences with the chief of police at which time policies are formulated and discussed and orders are given to the chief who in turn relays them to the rank and file. The mayor, without any legal restrictions whatsoever, chooses and appoints the chief and holds him responsible. If a suitable person can be chosen from the department, he is usually appointed, but if the available timber falls short of the mayor's requirements, he may go outside the department to select the chief, and this is frequently done. He may go out of the city, even out of the State, but thus far political considerations have forced him to stay within the city limits.

In actual practice the chief of police manages the force, subject, however, to supervision by the mayor and the police commission. One can not read the *Rules and Regu-*

lations for the Government of the Police Department in Davenport without noting the great powers given to the chief. No one can question the rule that the chief shall be in command, or that his subordinates shall immediately obey every one of his orders, but in reading the *Manual* one soon feels that the ordinary policeman has little opportunity to display initiative. Time after time, he is instructed to take notice of "this and that", to take notes in his pocket notebook, and to "report same to the chief".

Yet, with all this power, the chief is not responsible for police administration in Davenport, even though he is so charged in many places in the *Manual*. In the last analysis, his hands are completely tied by the mayor and the board of police and fire commissioners. To quote a few of the many examples in the *Manual*: "He [the chief] shall have power to promulgate such orders to the police force as he may deem proper, and in conformity with the rules and regulations of the Police and Fire Commissioners and he shall promulgate to the force such orders as he shall from time to time receive from the Mayor or the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners, with the consent of the Mayor."¹

"He shall promptly execute all orders of the Mayor."²

He may, at his discretion, suspend or discharge from duty by reporting in writing to the mayor and the board, "any police officer under his command for violations of the police rules or his orders". But "the Mayor shall affirm or revoke such suspension or discharge, according to the facts and the merits of the case." From this decision the officer may appeal to the board of police and fire commissioners and demand a trial. The board has final disposi-

¹ *Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Police Department in Davenport, Iowa, 1930*, p. 18. Hereafter this book will be cited as *Rules and Regulations*.

² *Rules and Regulations*, p. 20.

tion of the case and according to the evidence produced, may suspend, discharge, or reinstate the accused. Furthermore, all policemen except the chief, are subject to removal by the board for misconduct or failure to perform their duties, "under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by said Board whenever said Board shall consider and declare such removal necessary for the proper management and discipline of said department."³ The chief must also choose all the new members of the force from candidates submitted to him by the board of police and fire commissioners. He may appoint anyone from a list of ten approved candidates, but he has nothing to do with the making of the examination questions, qualifications, character of applicants, and the like.

As a matter of fact, responsibility for police administration can not be definitely placed in Davenport. Because of the separation of powers and the check and balance within the department, there is unlimited opportunity to "pass the buck". The first attempt by the writer to fix responsibility resulted in failure. For example, every member of the police force, the police magistrate, the judges of the district court, and a high percentage of the citizens know of the existence of houses of ill-fame in the city. From April 1, 1930, to April 1, 1931, forty-three arrests were made for violations of city ordinances, on the charge of keeping a disorderly house, two hundred and twenty-seven as being inmates of disorderly houses, and twenty-nine for living an immoral life. On State charges, however, only one arrest was made for the entire year on the charge of keeping a house of ill-fame, possibly because the city receives the income from violations of city ordinances while the county benefits from fines for State offenses.

Detectives are definitely charged with the duty of locat-

³ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 18.

ing such places and preventing them from operating.⁴ Policemen, too, are authorized to note all such illegal places, to keep a list thereof in their notebooks, and to report them to the officer in charge.⁵ Policewomen are also expected to be on the watch for disorderly houses.⁶ Each group was asked, "Who is responsible for the closing of such 'houses'?" The policemen shifted the responsibility to the detectives, the detectives to the policewomen, the policewomen to the officer in charge, the officer in charge to the chief, and the chief to the mayor. The mayor might in turn have shifted the responsibility into reverse and started it back down the line. The illustration adequately exemplifies the possibilities of shifting responsibility in a system of administration characterized by separation of powers.

MANAGEMENT OF POLICE PERSONNEL — BY THE BOARD
OF POLICE AND FIRE COMMISSIONERS

All cities in Iowa having a population of 8000 or more are compelled by law to appoint three civil service commissioners, one to retire every two years.⁷ The qualifications of the members are simple. They must be citizens of the State of Iowa, residents of the city for more than five years, shall not hold any other office of public trust, and they serve without pay.⁸

Ordinances have been established in the city of Davenport creating the board of police and fire commissioners in conformity with Chapter 289, *Code of 1931*.

The Davenport board is composed of three members ap-

⁴ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 30.

⁵ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 33.

⁶ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 43.

⁷ *Code of 1931*, Sec. 5689.

⁸ *Code of 1931*, Sec. 5690.

pointed by the mayor for a term of six years. The members serve without compensation. The board is a continuous body, one member going out of office every two years. The chairmanship is always given to the senior member. The board is frequently referred to in conversation and in print as a non-partisan body. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The mayor sees to it that the person appointed and confirmed by the city council is a member of his political party. Although Davenport is usually Republican in State and national elections, the voters do not hesitate to elect Democrats to city and county offices. The present (1931) board is composed of two Republicans and one Democrat.

Members are eligible for reappointment and frequently serve more than one term. No special qualifications are required of a commissioner, and few, if any, have had special training to fit them for this type of public service. Practically all the members thus far appointed have, however, been public spirited, high class business men. There seems to be no disposition on the part of these men to manipulate the office for their own private gain. One officer remarked that formerly the commissioners acted as a trial board only, but that, in the past five years, they were more and more getting their hands into personnel management. When the writer was discussing with the mayor the practicability of giving a group of tests to the police department, the mayor suggested that an interview with the members of the board would be desirable. Even though they had nothing to do with this phase of work the mayor said he always consulted them and coöperated with them in such matters. Indirectly, then, they do have some influence in personnel management.

The present (1931) chairman of the board is a former clerk of the county court and is now engaged in the insur-

ance business; the second oldest member is a former director of the Tri-State Fair and is now general manager of a local manufacturing company; the junior member operates the Winters Specialty Company and has been active in advertising and real estate business.

The three most important functions performed by the board in relation to the police are: (1) it makes the rules, regulations, and by-laws governing the department; (2) it acts as a trial board and has disciplinary powers over members of the police force; and (3) it selects all recruits and examines them for fitness to serve.

The board has prepared an excellent book on *Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Police Department*, a copy of which is given to each member of the force.

Cases in which the commissioners have acted as a trial board average less than two per annum. In the past ten years only one policeman has been tried for graft and, in this instance, the charges were not substantiated. The commissioners seldom take the initiative in suspending, discharging, or disciplining members of the police department. Usually it is the chief who starts action and he practically never attempts to discipline a member unless he is sure that sufficient evidence is at hand to substantiate the charges. Then he suspends the accused without pay for a period varying from one to sixty days, or, if evidence warrants it, he may discharge the offender.

The mayor and the board have stood back of the decisions of the chief in nearly all cases on record. As a result, appeals are few. Furthermore, the accused is almost always willing to take a ten day suspension given by the chief for an offense such as drinking on duty, for if he appeals to the board and the charges are proven, he is subject to dismissal. Although the machinery is seldom used, the board protects the members from the arbitrary

and unjust action of a powerful chief; it still retains the final authority of adjudicating cases brought before it; and it has undoubtedly eliminated the wholesale dismissal of policemen and officers for partisan reasons, a policy practiced in the early history of Davenport, but never attempted since the commission was created.⁹

Examination Given to Applicants.—An applicant for police work must apply to the board in his own handwriting and must produce certificates signed by three reputable freehold citizens of the city (none of whom may be holders of city, county, or State offices), stating that they have known the applicant for the past two years and believe him to be of “good moral character, of correct deportment, of temperate and industrious habits, and in all respects fit for the service . . . and that such citizen is willing that his certificate should be made public.” Each applicant must produce a statement from a reputable physician of the city showing his physical condition, and each must “answer such questions and submit to such examinations as to physical strength, capacity and activity, and as to educational qualifications as the Board may deem necessary to ascertain his fitness for the position sought.”¹⁰

Some rejections of the applicants are possible before the written examination — “those who do not appear to be physically sound, of the requisite height, or of good habits and reputable character.”¹¹

All appointments to membership on the police force (excepting the chief) are made under the civil service rules of the board of police and fire commissioners.

⁹ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 56.

¹¹ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 56.

To be eligible as a policeman in Davenport a man must have the following qualifications: (1) be a citizen of the United States; (2) be a resident of the City of Davenport for the past three years; (3) be a legal voter in the city; (4) never have been convicted of a crime; (5) be able to read and write the English language understandingly; (6) be not over thirty-five years of age, nor under twenty-one; (7) be at least five feet seven inches tall and weigh not less than one hundred and forty-five pounds; (8) be of good health and sound body; and (9) be of steady habits and good moral character.

Candidates who meet these preliminary requirements are permitted to take the written examination. Educational tests of the applicants are confined to the following subjects and are given the following weight: (1) simple arithmetic dealing with addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, as relates to whole numbers — 40 per cent; (2) reading from print and manuscript — 10 per cent; (3) handwriting — 10 per cent; (4) writing from memory the substance of matter communicated orally — 10 per cent; (5) oral questions as to points of interest and location of prominent buildings in the city — 10 per cent. Physical appearance counts 20 per cent.

Here is the examination in arithmetic given to prospective policemen on April 6, 1931.

<i>Addition</i>		<i>Division</i>	<i>Subtraction</i>	<i>Multiplication</i>
5,231	4,615	12)31,608(9,763	623
4,865	5,922		- 849	<u>x 47</u>
9,003	3,846			
2,750	8,034	26)98,436(69,780	8,796
<u>1,204</u>	<u>7,428</u>		- 8,963	<u>x 137</u>

The following quotation was read orally four times and the candidates were asked to reproduce as much of it as possible in their own words:

“The Mayor shall report to the City Council all viola-

tions or neglect of duty on the part of any city officer which shall come to his knowledge, and when he believes the city funds or property are liable to be lost or injured, or in any manner endangered, he shall immediately convene the Council for the purpose of taking action in relation thereto."

Each candidate was told to rise, and locate orally two prominent buildings named by the clerk, examples being the City Hall, the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., the Post Office, Parker's Department Store, the Blackhawk Hotel, Hotel Davenport, and the C. R. I. & P. Depot. While he was standing, the members of the board were given an opportunity to rate him on physical appearance, poise, action, speech, mental alertness, and the like. The simplest kind of reading and handwriting finished the test for future policemen.

At the April meeting, 1931, twenty-nine applicants took this examination. A score of seventy-five per cent was considered a passing mark. Simple as the examination may seem, eight — or twenty-seven per cent — failed to receive a passing grade.

When the papers are graded after each examination, a certified list of the ten men making the highest grade is submitted by the commissioners to the chief of police, and from this list the chief makes the selection of recruits. He is free to choose anyone from the highest to the lowest. In former years it was an easy matter for politicians to force their friends upon the department, but, although political considerations have not been completely eliminated, the present régime actually seeks the best qualified men.

The present chief will not make an appointment unless the applicant can drive a gear-shift car, since the department is to be completely motorized in the near future. Thus one might add the ability to drive an automobile to

the qualifications for future policemen. He also gives preference to married men, former military service men, and individuals who can operate a motorcycle. Political influence in the selection of applicants who passed the examination was noticeable before April, 1930, according to the clerk of the commissioners, who has functioned in that capacity for many years. Today he believes it has been almost eliminated.

Before the chief makes an appointment the recruit is asked to submit to a rigid physical examination given by a doctor selected by the board of commissioners. Color blindness is thoroughly considered today, but several of the older men can not recognize red and green — the two colors which policemen should be able to distinguish.

An examination of the records indicates that only physically sound men are accepted for police duty. The greatest criticism is that no means are available at the station to keep them in good physical condition. After a few years service, many become overweight and thereby less efficient. With complete motorization we may expect more corpulent policemen unless gymnasium facilities or calisthenics are provided.

It is hard to understand why a higher type of individual can not be recruited for police duty, when one compares their present day salary, pension, paid furlough, and the like with those of other occupations in the city. Appointment lists will, however, continue to contain poor material until the mental examinations are placed on a higher plane, until the grading of examination papers is made more rigid, until promotions are made on merit instead of seniority, until political bias is completely eliminated from the department, and until the public learns to look upon police work as a suitable vocation for honest and competent young men.

Records of the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners.
— To obtain information from the records kept by the commission, it is necessary to run through the *Minute Book* written in long hand. Nowhere in the city could a record be found showing the educational records of policemen. This is partially explainable because many are foreign-born and many became members of the force before the inauguration of civil service. When new forms are printed this information should be obtained, along with records of previous occupations and special training possessed by the applicant to fit him for his duties.

When charges are brought against an officer and he is suspended or disciplined in any way, the reasons for such action should appear on record. In the *Minute Book* of the police and fire commissioners may be found the sentences imposed, but in nearly all cases under "reasons" the following caption was found: "Not Given". Personal inquiry revealed that the vast majority of sentences were imposed for drinking or being drunk on duty, although the records show only two cases of intoxication and one of drinking on duty.

POLICE PERSONNEL

Service Records of Policemen.— *The Missouri Crime Survey* charges that police service in Kansas City and St. Joseph "represents little more than casual employment for the rank and file". In St. Joseph, a city about twice as large as Davenport, it was found that a third of the force below the rank of corporal had had less than two years continuous service, over half had had less than three years, and nearly three-fourths had had less than five years.¹²

In Davenport, the police do not consider their positions as casual employment, but apparently look upon it as their

¹² *Missouri Crime Survey*, p. 30.

life's vocation. In 1931, eleven members, or seventeen per cent, had served over twenty-two years; forty-one, or sixty-four per cent, had served more than ten years; forty-nine, or seventy-six per cent, had served over five years; fifty-seven, or eighty-nine per cent, had served over two years.

The following table shows the service record of the captains, lieutenant, and detectives on the Davenport police force in 1931.

RANK	TOTAL YEARS OF SERVICE	TOTAL YEARS OF CONTINU- OUS SERVICE	NUMBER OF RESIGNATIONS	TIME BETWEEN RESIGNATION AND REAPPOINTMENT			
				<i>Yrs.</i>	<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Days</i>	
Captain	37	25½	1	1	8	18	
“	23½	21	1	4	6	6	
“	26	25½	1	2	0	27	
Lieutenant	13	13	0				
Sergeant	29	27⅓	1	2	1	1	
“	12¾	9	1	3	3	0	
“	4	4	0				
“	7	7	0				
Detective	33	29⅓	2	}	1	0	12
“	25	25	0		2	0	0
“	32	32	0				
“	16	16	0				
“	22	22	0				
“	14	11⅓	1	1	9	12	

The fifty patrolmen had an average time service of eleven and one-half years, an average continuous service record of approximately ten years, a total of eight resignations, with an average interval of four months and sixteen days between resignation and reëntering service.

Fifteen members, or twenty-three per cent of the total personnel, had been separated from the service once. Only in one instance had a member resigned twice, this being a detective with a thirty-three years service record. The longest interval between resignation and reappointment for the entire force was five years, ten months, and eighteen

days, taken by a patrolman who has since served thirteen consecutive years. The shortest interval was three months and twenty-seven days, taken by a patrolman who has since served thirteen consecutive years. The average time out of service for the fifteen who have resigned was two years, five months, and twenty-eight days.

Service Record of Chiefs.— Since 1900, the period of service enjoyed by the chief of police at Davenport varied from eleven days to six years. Fifteen chiefs (twelve different men) have been appointed in the past thirty years, making two years the average time served. No matter how well the chief has functioned during his term of office, nor what his future program may be, he must usually make way when a new mayor is elected. On only two occasions has a chief been reappointed after an interval during which a successor occupied the position. On three occasions a chief has been reappointed and served four, four, and six consecutive years respectively.

Some of the chiefs have had no previous experience as police officers nor any special training to qualify them for their new duties. The incumbent in 1931 had no police experience, but had served many years as an army officer, thus acquiring experience in managing men.

Two years is insufficient time for the head of a police department (especially an inexperienced man) to become thoroughly familiar with his duties and formulate a program of action. He must, therefore, rely to a great extent upon the older subordinate officers. As a result, chiefs come and go leaving behind them little or no impression on the administration to mark their brief incumbency. This raises the question as to whether steps should not be taken to make administrators professional in character and withdraw them from politics.

In the thirteen days, between April 3, 1930, and April 16, 1930, the negro porter might have smilingly said "Mornin' chief" to three different men. Such short tenures can, in part, explain the retarded development of police forces throughout the United States.

Physical Characteristics of Policemen.— If the length of service was the only criterion upon which to evaluate police efficiency, Davenport would no doubt rank very high: police should become more effective as they gain experience. It is, however, possible to weaken the system through failure to infuse young blood. The average age of the entire personnel at Davenport in 1931 was forty-five years. This figure is considerably higher than one would expect to find in a modern police system. The Kansas City survey advocated a thirty-year maximum age for entering police service. London has a twenty-seven year age limit while Liverpool has a twenty-three year age limit. Lieutenant John Murray of the New York Police Academy advises that men between twenty-one and twenty-five invariably make the best material for policemen.

Tentative estimates of the three hundred cities surveyed by the Wickersham Commission gives the average age of patrolmen at thirty-five to forty years. It is usually the younger men who resign, if more suitable employment can be obtained, while the older men cling tenaciously to their jobs. A higher age level is to be expected in systems where retirement of those eligible for pensions is not made compulsory. Room could be made in the Davenport police department for some eleven young members, if those eligible for pension would retire, and this would considerably reduce the average age, providing young men were appointed. Young men seem to find it difficult to get appointments on the police force in Davenport, however, for the average age

at the time of appointment for those appointed for the three years previous to 1931 was twenty-nine and two-thirds years. The nine members appointed to service preceding the survey ranged in age from twenty-three to thirty-five at the time of their appointment, but their average age was thirty. In 1931 there were only three members under thirty; their ages being twenty-four, twenty-five, and twenty-eight.

The ages of the Davenport police force ranged from twenty-four to seventy-three, the average being forty-five years. The ages of the officers ranged from thirty-nine to seventy-three, with an average of fifty-four; the captains varied from sixty-two to seventy-three, with an average age of sixty-seven; the sergeants were from forty-one to sixty-five years of age, with an average of fifty; the detectives varied from thirty-nine to seventy-three, with an average of fifty-five; while patrolmen were from twenty-four to sixty-six with an average age of forty-two.

The tallest member of the Davenport police personnel in 1931 was six feet four and one-half inches and the shortest measured five feet four and one-half inches, the average height being five feet nine and two-thirds inches. Individual weights ranged from two hundred and sixty pounds to one hundred and forty-six pounds, the average being one hundred and ninety-five pounds.

Twenty-three, or thirty-seven per cent of the force, were born in Davenport. Sixteen others were natives of Iowa. Nine were born in Illinois, seven in Germany, two in Ireland, and one each in Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Alabama, and Kansas. Thus, nineteen per cent of the 1931 force were foreign-born.

Ability to speak a foreign language frequently aids the policeman in his duties. When a foreigner is arrested or encounters any difficulties, the policeman who can converse

with him in his native tongue has a marked advantage not only in aiding the unfortunate one, but in obtaining information. The policeman who has a working knowledge of a foreign language is frequently used as an interpreter in the courts. Sixteen of the 1931 force could speak German, three Danish, two Swedish, one Norwegian, and one French.

Over half of the force were holders of Red Cross First Aid Diplomas, an indication that they were interested in better preparing themselves to function as policemen. All six of the detectives, three of the four sergeants, and twenty-five of the fifty patrolmen had obtained such diplomas.

Policemen are recruited from a great variety of vocations. Of the police in Davenport in 1931, day laborers furnished six, the greatest number; street car workers and sales work, four each; truck drivers and auto mechanics, three each; blacksmiths, brewery workers, carpenters, construction workers, icemen, leatherworkers, machinists, metal workers, moulders, prison guards, and soldiers, two each. Vocations represented by one policeman were the following: auditor, baker, brick-layer, crane operator, decorator, deputy sheriff, expressman, farmer, florist, janitor, plumber, service station attendant, spinner, and switchman. Only five had been previously engaged in work which might be expected to be beneficial to them as policemen, namely, two prison guards, two ex-soldiers, and one deputy sheriff. The two policewomen gave their former occupation as dressmaker and housewife.

Fifty-one members of the police force were married; eight were unmarried; and one refused to state his marital status. Those who were married had from one to eight children, with an average of four dependents.

A questionnaire regarding previous training which would better prepare the individual for police duty produced the

following data: thirty-eight men, or sixty-four per cent, had no previous training before entering and had none afterward. Seventeen, or twenty-nine per cent, had from four months to thirty-one years of army service. In addition, two of these men had served as prison guards, and one had served three years as a policeman in another city in Iowa. Excluding the individual with the thirty-one years of army service, the remaining sixteen men served a total of fifty-four years, or an average of three and three-fourths years each in the army.

One had served four years as a deputy sheriff, another four years as a sailor. One had served a number of years as a constable in a small Iowa town; and another had served as a special motorcycle policeman in Illinois.

The ability to distinguish colors is highly important in police work today. This is particularly true where color signals are used to call policemen and where traffic is directed by lights. Fifty-seven members of the police force in Davenport passed the color test which consisted of sorting out the different colors and shades of yarn thrown indiscriminately into a box; two could not distinguish any colors well; while four had trouble with specific colors — two were "bad on green", one "bad on brown", and one "bad on brown and pink". There was "no record" on the color test for two.

With the department completely motorized each policeman must take his turn at driving. Consequently, due caution should be taken to see that no new recruits are accepted who are color-blind. Little need be said about this now important phase which was formerly considered immaterial. One who can not distinguish the colors of traffic lights — green, yellow, and red, is unquestionably incompetent to drive a squad car especially when frequently called upon to give chase to law violators.

Good eyes may be more important today in a modern police force than good feet. Yet the vision of several policemen in Davenport was bad. This was shown when the Observation Test was given. Several admitted that their eyesight was faulty and that they could not read license plate numbers on moving cars at a reasonable distance. Records made at target practice seem to indicate that greater emphasis should be placed upon the vision of policemen. With the population of today moving about in high powered automobiles and where the apprehension of a criminal depends to a great extent upon the ability of a policeman to obtain the number on the license plate, police administrators of the future must pay more attention to good eyesight.

Schooling and Training of Police.—*The Police Manual* of Davenport provides for some schooling for members of the force. It states that “they shall be drilled in such manner by such officers and at such hours and place as the Chief of Police may designate from time to time, using the standard *United States Manual*. They shall report for gymnasium, target practice or school of instruction at such times as may be ordered by the Chief.”¹³

So read the by-laws. In reality, the department has no gymnasium, no school of instruction is maintained, and no drills are held except target practice. Drivers of police automotive equipment receive some verbal instructions from the officer in charge of the Patrol Barn relative to daily, semi-monthly, and monthly care of cars and motorcycles. They are given some instruction in driving and some information as to tires and carburetors.¹⁴ Each member of the force is expected to school himself in mat-

¹³ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 13.

¹⁴ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 40.

ters contained in the *Rules and Regulations* in any manner relative to his duty and strictly conform thereto.¹⁵

In Davenport, as in nearly all other cities in the United States, there seems to be an idea that any physically fit man, who can read and write and is of fairly good morals, if dressed in a uniform, given a gun, star, and club, will function adequately as a policeman. Usually cities have too few policemen, and every available man is assigned to immediate duty. What educational training is offered is dull and perfunctory. As a result, the recruit simply "drifts", following the example set by older members of the force. If he is ambitious and possesses the proper educational background, he may for a time train himself. It pays in dollars and cents as well as in promotions — two promotions being possible in eighteen months. But after a man becomes a first grade patrolman, promotion upon merit alone comes slowly, if at all. Older men in service, men more or less incapacitated in line of duty and no longer able to walk a "beat", or men who have somehow made a favorable impression upon the chief get the advancements. The once ambitious recruit finally becomes just another half-satisfied, half-discontented first grader.

The efficiency of a policeman depends much upon his ability to observe quickly, accurately, and fully, to record or recall the major things which actually took place, to testify intelligently, and to relate his observations before the court. Men and women who have only education enough to read and write seldom perform the above functions satisfactorily. Tests have been given which seem to prove conclusively that the ability to recall observations accurately tends to fade with the passing of time and the lower the mental age the poorer, on the whole, is the memory.

¹⁵ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 13.

Crime can no longer be considered a purely local function: the State must assume its share of the burden. Until necessary legal changes can be made so as to secure a higher type of policeman, something must be done to train the existing members of the force. The State of Iowa could, through its educational institutions, give much aid in training police and in solving crime, by coöperating with all city police administrators. These local officials have discovered their helplessness in combating crime. They realize that the majority of their force are unschooled, untrained, and often unfit to perform modern police functions. They stand ready to be instructed, yet either because of pride or lack of coöperation and understanding, they have failed to petition the State legislature for aid.

Iowa cities are still relatively small and major crimes have not been committed in sufficient number in such places to force a realization of the present trend in criminal activities. Gangsters and hoodlums have found it more profitable to buy protection and operate in the larger metropolitan areas. But in the last few years, these cities have started organized warfare against gangsters and while the results are meager, there seems to be sufficient evidence to warrant a guess that gangland, driven from its centers in the great cities, will attempt to migrate to smaller cities and there erect bases for operating. With gangsters come organized, shrewd criminals and the commitment of major crimes.

Most police officers fear this migration, realize their inability to cope with modern criminals, and stand ready to do the next best thing — that is, increase the efficiency of their present personnel to the maximum.

The University of Wisconsin has done some pioneering work in this field and now offers two courses, one supplementing the other, of eighteen lectures during the year.

The State of Iowa might well study the results being obtained in Wisconsin, profit from her experiences, and adopt the features applicable to her own needs.

The Extension Division of the University of Iowa might furnish police administrators with material relative to social sciences, criminology, penology, detection of crime, testimony, and kindred subjects. Professors might in their respective fields prepare short courses in printed form to be furnished the cities at cost. Better still, let the teacher prepare one or more lectures in his specialized field and deliver it before the police groups. Since cities are under-policed, men can not be sent to a training center for six or twelve weeks schooling, but one lecture per month by a specialist would greatly aid in broadening the viewpoint of the rank and file, create interest which would lead to discussions and further reading by some members at least, and a little publicity would no doubt arouse interest in the citizenry which would be beneficial.

There is, under the civil service law, no provision for a period of probation in the appointment of police officers in Davenport. A man, once appointed, can be dismissed only for cause and after a hearing, yet probation is almost indispensable in a system where there is no training, and examinations are not truly selective. If properly used it would eliminate the most conspicuously unfit candidates for police service.

Members of the Davenport police force, police officers, and department administrators, although contending that their department is superior to that of the average city of similar size, realize the need for some such method of training. Since the city is too small to maintain a separate police school and, like the cities of Iowa in general, it is under-policed and can not therefore send men to take advantage of short courses offered in other States, some pro-

vision should be made whereby the school could be taken to the respective cities.

Some current writers believe that the function of policing all communities will become a duty of the State in relatively few years. Many Commonwealths have already adopted State police. Should Iowa in the future follow the lead taken by the more populous States, the plan mentioned above would give her invaluable experience in handling police problems.

DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE PERSONNEL

Unfortunately the administrators of police in Davenport have never made a survey to ascertain the hours when most crimes are committed in the city, nor has any special attempt been made to have the greatest number of policemen on duty at the busiest hours. It is generally known that police are busiest during the second shift which works from three to eleven P. M. It was possibly for this reason that the radio was put to work during this shift. The personnel is, however, divided into three shifts as nearly equal as possible, with the exception of the traffic squad which works daylight hours.

To the casual observer it would seem that there are too many officers and patrolmen around the station and too few actually out doing patrol duty to give the city the best possible protection for the money expended. If we do not consider the traffic squad, which pays only casual attention to crimes other than traffic, there remain sixty members of the police force. If these men were equally divided we would have twenty per shift. If we made a survey of the police department at almost any time, where would we find these twenty men and what would they be doing? The two ambulance men and the two patrol wagon men would be sitting in the car barn waiting for a call — unless they

happened to be out on a call. The captain would be in his office doing some clerical work or giving instructions. The sergeant would be in his office doing some clerical work or waiting for a complaint. The switchboard operator would be sending out messages to the patrolmen or checking calls from them. The motorcycle officer would be sitting around the station waiting for an emergency call. The policewoman would be in her office doing clerical work, interviewing delinquents paroled to her, and the like, going out on active police duty only when ordered to do so by the chief or when a case has been brought to her attention by some complainant. The lieutenant would be in his office, developing pictures, "mugging" prisoners, sending out fingerprints and photographs to the State and National Bureau of Identification, going out only when he has a chance to photograph fingerprints. Two detectives would be somewhere in the city looking for law violators or ferreting out crooks. They might be working alone or together. Four squad cars carrying eight patrolmen would be out cruising. Thus, for each eight-hour shift we find only ten men actually policing in a city which covers nearly eighteen square miles. Eight of them would always be in pairs, and the other two might be. Five groups of ten men, regardless of their vigilance, efficiency, distribution, or means of locomotion can not adequately suppress crime in a city which boasts of over two hundred and fifty miles of streets and alleys. Rest days, vacations, sick leave, appearance in court, and the like further reduce the number who are actively engaged in policing. The writer does not, however, wish to convey the idea that the officers and patrolmen at the station are not performing duties absolutely necessary to police administration, nor does he wish to leave with the reader the idea that their work could be done by a smaller office force. The sole purpose of this comment is to show

that the city is inadequately policed and though the office work might be so arranged as to give two more men to patrol duty, this number would not greatly relieve conditions. The problem is aggravated and the criticism more justified when one realizes that the metropolitan area consists of approximately 150,000 population. The problems confronting the police of Davenport are not, therefore, those of an isolated city of 60,000 people — but those of a city of 150,000 since only a free bridge across the Mississippi River separates Davenport from the Illinois cities opposite.

Before the best results can be obtained more men actually engaged in policing must be employed or the present system altered. Everyone will agree that two men are required to perform ambulance work and patrol wagon work. For the three shifts this requires the efforts of twelve policemen. The records from April 1, 1930, to March 31, 1931, indicate that there were only 2235 ambulance alarms or 6.1 calls per day, yet six policemen devoted their entire time to taking care of these six calls per day. For the same period the records indicate 3222 patrol wagon alarms, or an average of nine calls per day. This again required the time of six more policemen.

There can be no doubt that this phase of work is important and requires immediate attention. But when we consider that in Davenport the ambulance service is available for anyone upon order from any doctor or from the overseer of the poor, or when any invalid desires to be moved from one place to another, it is evident that very few of these are emergency cases which require immediate service. In all these cases the patient is taken to or from the hospital or moved to a new location without a charge of any kind, regardless of the ability to pay.

With these facts in mind, it would seem possible that the

work of the ambulance and patrol wagon might be combined. In so doing the men would be far from overworked. Two men for each shift could easily perform both duties. If an ambulance call came in, they could step into the ambulance and take the sick individual to the hospital. If the patrol wagon was summoned they could serve in this capacity. On an average there are only fifteen calls per day or five calls per shift. If this policy were adopted six patrolmen would be available for actual police duty. Thus, without increasing the costs one cent, the active force would be increased one-sixth. An efficiency expert might suggest other changes by combining the duties of men doing clerical work and thus make more men available for patrol work.

Railroad and Private Watchmen.—Many cities have added somewhat to their police work without additional expense by swearing in railroad crossing guards, railroad policemen, privately employed watchmen, merchants, school janitors, and the like, who might well function as protectors of life and property while following their own private vocations. A conspicuous example of this may be found just across the river in Moline, Illinois, where all the railroad policemen are sworn city policemen, dressed in regular police uniforms, but they serve without cost to the city. They frequently make arrests and, by mere show and coöperation, strengthen the entire department.

Davenport tried this plan years ago but the experiment was not favorable. Such individuals, the administrators claimed, were constantly overstepping their authority. They kept the department in tumult and did more harm than good. As a result the idea was discarded and the plan has never since been given another trial. The administrators also felt that the liability of the city for the torts of

such agents would more than offset the service which such policemen would render.

Vigilance committees, minute-men, or other civic organizations frequently used by cities to reënforce the police at critical moments have not been organized in Davenport. The only special sworn officers in the city are three merchant policemen hired and paid by business men to watch and protect their property at night.

Before leaving the subject of personnel distribution it seems only fair to say that the present chief does make some attempt to use his force at advantageous points during peak hours. His traffic men are placed to keep traffic moving in downtown areas. During conventions, fairs, and other big days, they are placed where traffic is heaviest. The motorcycle officer is stationed at the Iowa end of the Mississippi River bridge when workmen are going back and forth from one city to the other. Detectives may be dispatched to work among the crowd when a circus is in town. A policewoman may be sent to a dance hall if the crowds are reported as "rough". It is only on such special occasions, however, that conscious effort seems to be made at distribution.

CHARACTER AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION

Good character is one of the foremost prerequisites of any policeman. He is subjected to temptations and corrupting influences to a greater degree than the ordinary citizen. Since he is expected to enforce laws and ordinances establishing personal and social conduct, he must be in sympathy with those laws and abide by them in his every-day life. An applicant's character should be thoroughly investigated for the preceding ten years at least.

Character Investigation in Davenport.—In Davenport

the duty of investigating the character of applicants for places on the police force is not assigned definitely to any officer or board. The police and fire commissioners do, however, have printed on each "Application for Examination for Appointment", a form given to each applicant, the following statement: "The undersigned respectfully requests you to appoint _____ a member of the _____ department of the City of Davenport, and individually and each for himself states and represents, that he has known the said applicant intimately and well for the number of years stated below and is qualified to speak intelligently in relation to his character and habits, and states and represents that he is a man of good moral character, correct and orderly in his department, and not in any respect a violator of the law or good order, that he is a man of sober, temperate, and industrious habits, and not addicted to the habitual use of intoxicating drink or other injurious habits. They further represent, as aforesaid, that they are willing and ready at any time to appear before you and make oath or affidavit to the truth of the matters herein stated." Below this statement is space for the names and street addresses of three signers, with the number of years each has known the applicant.

This is the extent of character investigation made by the board. They do not themselves check up the signers nor do they authorize anyone else to do so, before submitting the list of approved candidates to the chief. The requirements are so simple that they constitute no check whatsoever. Any individual in any city can obtain three signers. Since police and fire commissioners serve without pay and usually are too busy with private business to perform this important function, the investigation of character should be turned over to some other agency.

In practice this is what is done by the chief before mak-

ing any appointments. He attempts to learn something about the approved candidates. His search is not exhaustive nor thorough, as a rule. If he personally knows any of the signers on the applications he may talk with them. Naturally they can say nothing but good things about the prospect for they have signed the application. Generally the prospective appointee is called in and interviewed by the chief. If the chief does not know any of the signers he naturally falls back upon his political acquaintances for information. In nearly all cases, the mayor is consulted. Consciously or unconsciously, political influences enter into the appointments of most recruits. It can not be otherwise in a system where a political officer makes the final selection. The situation is aggravated when the political officer is appointed by and solely responsible to an elective officer, and where he must consult others to determine character, habits, and other qualifications.

After a man is once appointed nothing is said or done about character qualifications unless the individual is arrested, reported by the sergeant for being off duty, or some outsider makes a complaint.

The commissioners, in formulating the *Rules and Regulations*, had character in mind, for they said, "you must never forget that your character is your capital. Deal honorably with all persons, and hold your word sacred, no matter when, where, or to whom given."¹⁶ They also warn policemen never to become personally obligated to anyone, for if duty demands it, they must act in opposition to any individual interest.¹⁷

Character Records.—The character of police in Davenport is unquestionably above the average of cities of sim-

¹⁶ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 5.

ilar size. Good character seems to have been secured not because of the system of investigation, but in spite of it. Forty-four members, or sixty-six per cent, have clean service records, having never been suspended or fined a single day's pay. Only twenty-one have blemishes on the records which range from suspensions for one day up to seventy days. Of these twenty-one men, twelve have been disciplined once, seven twice, one four times, and one five times. The charges which produced the above penalties were failure to report, reporting late, drinking, intoxication, neglect of duty, and "not given".

This record is not bad when one considers that the time served in the department by the sixty-five men ranges from one-half a year to thirty-seven years, with an average of thirteen and one-half years. One captain has served thirty-seven years without being disciplined. The youngest member in service who has been penalized has served only one and one-half years. The patrolman who has forfeited sixty-two days pay on five offenses has served ten and two-thirds years, while the four-time offender, forfeiting seventy days pay, has served thirteen years. In the thirty-five times that disciplinary action has been taken against members of the police force an average sentence of eleven days suspension has been imposed. The records indicate that only one man of the present force has been discharged and later reinstated.

It is questionable whether patrolmen should be retained after having been disciplined several times for the same offense. Undoubtedly these men have violated the same rule many times without being detected, or if detected, not punished.

Disciplinary action in Davenport is not, apparently, a continuous process — but periodical drives are made. One-seventh of the disciplinary cases were brought in one week

in September, 1930. This was the result of a new chief's determination to "clean up". The penalties imposed at this time were small, but they served as a sufficient warning that there would be no more drinking on duty, a violation of rules which in former years went for the most part unheeded. The odor of liquor on the breath of policemen before going on duty was not uncommon during past régimes.

Not a single case was found in city or county court dockets in the decade from 1920 to 1930, where a member of the police department was found guilty of committing a felony. One member was suspended, charged with the commitment of larceny, but the case was not sustained and the accused was reinstated four days later.

The Police Roll-Call Record revealed that only four members have been discharged between 1920 and 1930: one in 1920, two in 1922, and one in 1926. The reasons for discharges do not appear on the records and in less than half the cases of suspensions are reasons given. Not infrequently a patrolman will resign and be reinstated when a new political party or faction comes into power. Again, no reasons are given for the resignation, but personal inquiry leads one to believe that usually the member has gained the ill-will of the chief, the mayor, or a member of the commission and is afraid of being spied upon and discharged at the first opportunity.

In the past eleven years fourteen members have resigned: five in 1920, three in 1921, and one each in 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1929, and 1931.

Investigators and research students frequently look only for bad conditions and therefore fail to observe good points. Pages might be written on the excellent character of some of the members who have served from thirty-seven years down to ten years without producing a single de-

merit; traffic policemen who smilingly serve as information bureaus or leave their posts to aid the aged or infirm across the street; policemen who daily take chances of being injured to protect others; or officers, who in the face of uncrystallized public opinion conscientiously attempt to enforce the law.

HOW DAVENPORT IS ACTUALLY POLICED

Foot Patrol.—Until very recently Davenport was policed entirely by foot patrolmen. There were three eight-hour shifts and each patrolman was assigned to a charted "beat". He was expected to cover each street and alley regularly, calling in to the main station at a specified time from call boxes arranged at regular intervals. This system gave the office a check on each individual on duty; it assured the officers that each patrolman would make his rounds on schedule; it gave them a chance to communicate any desired information to the personnel; and above all it forced the policeman to stay on the job. If the calls were not on time, a motorcycle officer was dispatched to that area to ascertain the trouble. The two-man system (foot policemen patrolling in pairs) was never used, because this would have required twice the number to police the city. Though a few cities still retain this method it has been for the most part discarded, because it is wasteful. It also promotes inefficiency, and divides responsibility.

Davenport has now completely motorized its police force and the only footmen left are traffic workers — one sergeant and five men.

Just what effect taking foot patrolmen off regular "beats" will have on crime conditions remains to be seen. No one can deny that the ever present, uniformed, conspicuous, club-swinging policeman constantly patrolling each nook and corner of a given area was a powerful deterrent

to crime. His presence was a continuous warning to obey the law. His intimate knowledge of and acquaintance with the citizens on the "beat" made the law enforcing agency a human institution. His friendship, timely warnings, advice to parents, and many other services gave the public an opportunity to better understand the police system. The policeman patrolling his "beat" had greater opportunities to study his area and to become more intimately acquainted with its particular needs. While he could not cover as many square miles as the patrolman on horseback or in a car he could cover it more thoroughly. Foot patrolling has, however, rapidly given way to motor patrolling in the past few years. Today only traffic policemen do their work on foot in many of the smaller American cities.

The Traffic System in Davenport.—Less than ten per cent of the Davenport police personnel is engaged in traffic work, yet the judgment which they exercise in making arrests determines to a considerable degree the reputation of the entire police department as well as that of the city. Some attention, therefore, should be given to the system employed. The traffic policeman works from 9:30 A. M. to 6:30 P. M. during the week and on Saturdays from 9:30 A. M. to 9:00 P. M. He does not work on Sundays or legal holidays.

Davenport has an efficient traffic department. Its personnel is conspicuously courteous and experienced. During the American Legion Convention, Circus Day, and Fair Week the writer had ample opportunity to observe them in their work. They succeeded in keeping traffic moving when less skilled men would have produced hopeless "jams". They were never heard to abuse a single driver, regardless of what he did or failed to do. If time permit-

ted they informed the driver that he had violated a traffic rule, gave him a smile and a right hand salute, and motioned him on. Nor did the writer see a single instance of forcing the driver to the curb and ordering him to stay there until traffic slowed up enough to permit the officer to give vent to his feelings. Many violators are, however, arrested and forced to pay a "courtesy" fine.

Business men of the city realize the effect of harsh treatment to visiting shoppers, and as a result, the Chamber of Commerce has had windshield stickers printed which can be purchased at cost by any merchant and given to out-of-town shoppers. If the merchant gives them out indiscriminately to local patrons, the Chamber of Commerce buys his remaining stickers and withdraws the privilege. A "Day Guest Card" costs two cents and contains the name of the issuer, date issued, and the name of the one to whom it is issued. Each card is numbered and the perforated lower quarter is torn off and retained by the merchant. The other part may be attached to the car and permits the car to be parked on the streets for an unlimited time. Such a card does not, of course, confer any immunity as to offenses against State laws and a car bearing a sticker must not be parked in safety zones, in front of theaters, or near fire hydrants. On the back of the card is printed a list of places of interest in the city, a notification that near the business district one may park for an unlimited time on the paved levee which is under police supervision, and the words, "Our traffic officers desire to help you. Ask them for information."

Individuals who live fifteen or more miles from Davenport may obtain "Permanent Guest Stickers" from merchants. They are good for the entire year and when a sticker is pasted on the windshield the visitor is granted the privilege of parking in the "one hour zone" without

time limitation. These are furnished to the business men at a cost of four cents each.

This privilege, greatly appreciated by out-of-town guests who are unacquainted with the parking zones, is sometimes abused by local residents. Cases are recorded of merchants who bought their cars in another county, obtained "Permanent Guest Stickers", and escaped the overtime parking law for a year. Traffic officers are now alert to this form of cheating and it has been almost entirely curbed.

Each traffic officer carries a number of different printed forms with him and, exercising discretion, uses the form which is most applicable to the offense.

If an out-of-town individual violates a parking law, the officer usually ties a white "Police Department Welcome Visitor Card" on the car. In bold type it says, "This is not a summons", but it explains that the car owner has inadvertently violated one of the local traffic rules. The department apologizes for the difference in traffic regulations in the different cities, and again in bold type proclaims "You are excused in this first instance". It continues with a wish that the visitor be free from unpleasant experiences, but warns that public safety demands traffic regulation. On the back is a summary of local rules and the violation is checked.

The "Police Warning Sticker" is another form frequently used for out-of-town violators. This was formerly used for all violators, but proved unsuccessful. It is a pink, four by five sheet of paper, upon which is printed eighteen of the most common violations. In front of each is a square. This sticker informs the person that he has violated the ordinance checked below, and that, if this is his first offense, he should kindly take warning. If this is his second offense, he will be notified when to appear. A similar blank is retained by the officer. Blank space on

each is left for writing in the charge, the number of the car, the date, and the name of the arresting officer.

At the close of the day, the officers turn over the stubs to the traffic sergeant who enters them in a book. If this is a second offense the owner is summoned by post card. At first, trouble was encountered in using this form, for the owner frequently stated that his wife, son, or daughter was using the car on that date, so the entire family might have to be notified before a fine could be assessed. A new form was printed which merely stated that the license number of a car owned by the person addressed had been taken for violating a traffic rule and he must call at once at the police station. A blank was left for the date and the name of the arresting officer. On the stub retained by the officer was a place for the date, license number, location, offense, and the name of the officer. This proved inadequate because many persons could not appear "at once" without undue inconvenience. Furthermore, it was an easy matter for the officer to accept a few cigars or a malted milk from the violator and in return both tickets would be torn up.

In 1929 a new form was printed which said, "You have violated a traffic rule" and ordered the person to call at the police station with the ticket within twenty-four hours for further information. Blank space was left for the date and the name of the officer. On the officer's stub were blank spaces for the date, license number, location, offense, and name of the officer. Both forms have corresponding numbers and the traffic officer must account for each stub or pay the customary fine of one dollar. At present, when a car is tagged, the owner must appear at the station. If he fails to appear within twenty-four hours a post card is mailed, warning him to appear within the next twenty-four hours. If he fails to heed this, a warrant is issued for his arrest and the case goes before the police judge where a

minimum fine of four dollars and eighty-five cents is assessed.

If a violator appeared at the station without a warrant he was formerly assessed a "courtesy" fine of one dollar by the sergeant. This eliminated cost charges, congestion in police court, waiting, embarrassment, and issuing warrants, but State auditors in 1931 notified the department that traffic fines were not being properly handled; that the police had no legal right to assess a fine; and that in the future they must make out warrants and have the police judge assess the fine.

Only the chief and the traffic sergeant can excuse traffic violators, and then their reasons for so doing must be placed on the records.

The system of bookkeeping is excellent — simple and efficient. The double check system eliminates most of the chances for graft.

One of the traffic officers is located at the Municipal Levee Parking where cars may be parked for an unlimited time under police supervision. This seems only fair since business men who have cars have been driven from the streets close in by the "one hour parking law".

Another officer is located at the Iowa end of the Mississippi River bridge connecting Davenport with Rock Island and Moline, Illinois.

The other three are used to mark cars during certain hours of the day. The sergeant remains at the police station, has charge of all the traffic records, collects fines, and gives instructions approved by the chief. During peak hours the car markers are stationed at busy intersections to aid in directing traffic. The city has twenty-eight well-timed automatic signal devices to aid in the direction of traffic. The names of streets are plainly marked, and countless "Stop" and "Warning" signs, well located,

make Davenport one of the easiest cities in Iowa for driving.

Motor Patrol.— Since the day of foot patrolmen has passed in this city, nothing more need be said about this once important phase of police work. Modern conditions demanded that if the city was to be adequately policed more patrolmen had to be added or a different system devised. After considerable reflection it was deemed advisable both from the standpoint of economy and efficiency to completely motorize the police force.

The area within the city limits of Davenport covers seventeen and three-fourths square miles. There are a hundred and ninety-seven miles of streets, one hundred and thirty-eight being paved. Seventy-seven miles of alleys are also paved. To police this area there were in continuous service, in 1931, four regular squad cars, one emergency squad car, three motorcycles, one patrol wagon, one ambulance, and the chief's car. Four of the squad cars were "A" model Fords — three coupes and one coach — and the other was a Chevrolet sedan. The ambulance was a 1929 Studebaker and the patrol wagon was a 1927 Graham Brothers truck.

Squad car No. 1, at that time, patrolled the business district and had the smallest area to cover — the "beat" being twenty-eight blocks east and west and five blocks north and south. The remainder of the city was charted into nearly equal rectangular plots and each car was required to patrol its specific "beat". The usual method of patrolling was to drive from the east to the west to the end of the area, go north or south one block and then drive from the west to the east. This was continued until all east and west streets were covered. Then they started in a like fashion to cover the streets running north and south. Next all alleys

and parks were patrolled. There were three eight-hour shifts and each one was expected to cover every street and alley at least once. The more important thoroughfares were naturally given greater attention.

Such cars are equipped with a radio and carry two uniformed policemen. Each drives four hours while the other observes. Within the car are riot guns, tear bombs, arm and leg straps, first-aid kits, and necessary equipment to combat criminals. The cruising speed is from eight to fourteen miles per hour. Only one radio operator was employed in 1931 but two more were to be added as soon as the economic depression subsided. In cruising, each shift is expected to visit the sixteen pull-boxes and communicate with the main station. This requires approximately three minutes of time per box. The morning shift is expected to spend not less than half an hour in cleaning the cars.

The following table shows the number of miles traveled by each car from April 1, 1930, to March 31, 1931.

MILES TRAVELED BY POLICE AUTOMOTIVE EQUIPMENT, 1930-1931

	Chief's Car	Car No. 1	Car No. 2	Car No. 3	Car No. 4	Chev. Sedan	Ambu- lance	Patrol Wagon
April	717	2440	2261				1012	764
May	461	4355	4848		622		783	551
June	2	4535	4477		866		972	615
July	951	4149	4533		2264		988	612
Aug.	297	5095	4813		2514		886	673
Sept.	281	4796	3961		3003		746	592
Oct.	172	4782	4393		2259		949	531
Nov.	235	4568	3828	1130	2547	1130	765	441
Dec.	56	4321	3248	4234	1407	4234	767	339
Jan.	23	4349	5354	3931	1307	3931	1113	454
Feb.	71	3866	4105	3963	1136	3963	978	306
March	5	4765	4431	4672	1817	4672	1042	374
Total	3271	52021	50252	17930	19742	17930	11001	6252

The mileage in the above table is probably not indicative of the miles driven today for the system is new and alterations are made with experience. But by simple arithmetical

means it is easy to show that if cars numbered one and two were indicative, the four squad cars did not drive over each street and alley once per shift. One must also realize that the cars are not moving on the "beat" all the time. When an arrest is made the men must call the patrol wagon or bring the accused to the city lock-up. Serving warrants, time in court, car repairs, "pulling boxes", making investigations, and the like, necessarily take time and also keep the squad cars from performing their primary purpose which is cruising. More recent reports indicate that squad cars cover approximately sixty miles per shift per day.

There is a motorcycle policeman for each shift who remains at the station and handles emergency calls. These men are skilled riders and are better versed on all phases of police work than the ordinary officer. Their work is more hazardous and their clothing costs are twice as great (they are required to possess two complete, different uniforms) consequently the average man prefers regular patrol duty. It is the motorcycle man who must rush up to Blank Addition and pick up a drunken driver reported by someone in the neighborhood, or hurry to 610 Main where a drunken brawl is going on, or down to Credit Island where a hold-up is being staged, or out to 2642 X street where some jealous husband is beating up his wife, or down along the river where two negroes are fighting with razors. To him variety is the spice of life.

In 1931 it was difficult to determine whether the detectives were footmen or motorized. They had no regular car assigned to them but whenever they started out to run down a clue they usually took the emergency squad car or asked the motorcycle officer to give them a ride. In minor cases, they generally worked single handed, but if circumstances seemed to warrant assistance, they teamed up with another detective or with a policeman.

Advantages of Motor Patrol.—There seems to be considerable divergence of opinion regarding the efficiency of motorization. The system is new and has not yet reached the peak of efficiency. Changes produced by experience will no doubt better the system in the next decade. No accurate data has yet been obtained to compare the costs or efficiency of motor patrol with foot patrol. Yet certain obvious advantages and disadvantages have appeared.

It is generally admitted that a single policeman can not cope with modern criminals. This is especially true where organized crime prevails. Bank robbers, stick-up men, auto thieves, liquor runners, gangsters, and the like seldom work single handed but go in pairs or trios, or even in larger groups. If this is true, policemen should work in pairs. No one can drive and observe at the same time, therefore pairs are essential under motorization. Many police administrators feel that this makes the work more effective and does not divide responsibility as under the two-man foot-patrol system. Unquestionably an officer will take greater chances in getting his man if he has another officer near by to back him up.

When traveling in cars policemen are not so likely to be noticed by the person or persons committing crime. Thus they are able to get nearer the perpetrator before being detected. In case the criminal attempts to flee on foot, one policeman can give chase while the other in the car can cut off any avenue of escape. Many violations of law are committed in cars or by persons in cars, or escape is made with the aid of a car. Foot patrolmen are helpless in such cases while motor patrolmen can easily follow the criminal.

A foot patrolman can not carry the necessary equipment to combat hardened criminals. His only protection is a side arm and a club. Any attempt to shoot it out with men armed with sawed-off shot guns is suicidal. He can not

carry gas bombs which today are so effective in dispersing mobs, forcing criminals out of buildings, and the like. He may and does carry gas shells which are fired from his side arm, but they are ineffective at a distance or in a crowd. In the squad car, riot guns, bombs, rope, and all kinds of equipment can easily be carried.

A foot patrolman on the average covers less than two miles per hour, while a squad car cruises from eight to fourteen miles per hour. If circumstances warrant it, the car can be driven a mile a minute, while a corpulent patrolman would make little impression upon that distance in a similar time. A given area can be cautiously patrolled by a squad car seven times as frequently as by a foot patrolman. In Davenport police administrators firmly believe that patrolling is done more thoroughly and more quickly now than under the old method.

Disadvantages of Motor Patrol.—The disadvantages of motor patrol thus far observed are few in number. The most glaring defect is the fact that it is more difficult to observe everything that happens. Reflections from the windshield and door glasses add materially to the difficulty. Driving rains, snows, or frosted glass make observation impossible at varying distances. The handling of the car must necessarily detract attention. Furthermore, the foot patrolman walking on the sidewalk at slow speed can observe through the windows more that is going on in public and private buildings than can the observer in a motor car in the street.

Policemen have already found that crooks soon learn to "spot" a squad car. This is particularly true in cities where glaring insignias are used. In Davenport the identity is concealed as much as possible but an official car plate is attached below the auto license plate. On the other hand,

it is unquestionably easier to see a uniformed foot patrolman than it is to "spot" a squad car.

METHODS OF POLICE COMMUNICATION

Davenport has a large investment in equipment used for police communication, the amount running well up into six figures. Formerly two complete communication systems were constantly maintained, so that if one was out of order the other could be put to work immediately. The annual maintenance was thought to be more than it would cost to install and maintain a radio system, so a radio was installed about the time the force was completely motorized. Today all three signal systems are in use.

Police Alarm System.— A network of sirens scattered at convenient locations throughout the city and controlled by a switchboard operator at the police station are used during daylight hours. They may be easily heard a distance of eight blocks and the sound of a siren is a notification for the patrolman to rush to the nearest call box and communicate with the switchboard operator. The average time from the call to a response is approximately two minutes. There seems to be no difference between the time response obtained from the present day cruising cars and that from foot patrolmen in former years.

During the night, red lights strategically located are used to attract the attention of policemen. They are visible, on an average, only from a distance of two blocks. In the summer time, the heavy foliage of the trees and the fog from the Mississippi River greatly reduce visibility. The time response is slower than when the sirens are used. Cruising cars, because of their speed, now respond more quickly to the red light than did the foot patrolman. When the light is blinking it is a notification that the patrolman is to com-

municate with the switchboard operator. If a crime is reported to the station, the switchboard operator immediately starts calling the patrolman on that "beat". When the patrolman gets the signal, he rushes to the nearest call box and is given the necessary information. Then he proceeds to the scene of the crime. If a serious crime is reported, the motorcycle officer will also be dispatched to that place, and on many occasions he arrives in time to aid the officer in making the arrest. In emergency cases or where the officer fails to respond to the red signal, both sirens and lights are used at night. The sirens, however, are an annoyance when people are asleep and they are seldom used at night.

The Radio.— Although the old system of communication gave service adequate to take care of the needs of a city of 60,000 population, the up-keep was thought to be greater than the original cost and maintenance of a radio system. After motorization, better service was thought to be possible from using the radio than by using the siren and light system.

Little need be said about the history of radio and its relationship to police departments. After much experimentation the Detroit police department successfully put such a system into operation in 1928. They encountered the usual difficulties. There were "dead spots", and patrolmen tuned in on national hook-ups, thus missing broadcasts of local hold-ups. Gradually the glaring defects were eliminated and some remarkable "catches" were made. Publicity caused other cities to try the new idea.

Early in May, 1931, the Davenport police department purchased and installed modern broadcasting equipment. A licensed operator was employed and the system was given a trial. In all the police automotive equipment ex-

cept motorcycles, receiving sets locked to the station wave length were installed. The plan was successful, but financial conditions prevented the immediate employment of two additional operators. The radio is, therefore, used today only on the second shift which works from three to eleven P. M. The dispatching room is located in the main office of the station, and the operator gives his orders through the microphone instead of telephoning as when the old system is used. The operator takes care of all repairs and services all receiving sets.

Concealed in the top of each squad car is a copper aerial. The receiving sets are firmly fastened to the dash of the car while the loud speakers are attached on the left hand side above the door. While the car is cruising the radios are tuned in and each message can be distinctly heard. As much volume as desired can be obtained.

The Federal Radio Commission requires that the announcer broadcast once every fifteen minutes. This serves as a test of operation when there are no orders to be broadcast. Every quarter hour the operator calls "Attention Squad Cars". If the order is a general one, he reads it to all. If he has a message for a specific car he says, "Attention Squad Car number three", or four, as the case may be. Then the message is read three times after short intervals. The only check which he has to determine whether or not the car received the order is that if a message is not received every fifteen minutes the observer in the squad car must go immediately to a call box and notify the announcer that the message at such and such a time was not received. If the receiving set is out of order the car is driven to the station where necessary repairs are made. After investigating the complaint, the observer in the squad car dispatched to the scene of a crime reports back to the operator by phone, giving his whereabouts. "Pulling" boxes is

unnecessary for the patrolmen who work on the radio shift, but the practice has been continued in Davenport.

Some administrators claim that the radio is as advantageous to the criminal as to the police, since it is possible for ordinary sets to pick up police messages. Thus, it is claimed, intelligent crooks may start a fight at a far corner of a beat and after hearing the squad car dispatched to that place, they may go out and commit a robbery somewhere else in comparative safety. They might, of course, do the same thing with foot patrolmen. At any rate, the men in a squad car can get to the scene of a crime, do their duty, and be back cruising in much less time than the foot patrolman would require. Furthermore, the ordinary receiving set can not pick up low wave length broadcasting. And if listening in on police calls constitutes a serious defect, the government could easily set aside channels in the short wave bands which could not be picked up by the ordinary set.

Some critics maintain that the equipment for either sending or receiving may refuse to function at the exact moment when most needed. This is true, but the same might be said about any signaling device.

While the radio is not a cure-all, it has produced remarkable results. The most outstanding advantage is the great saving in time necessary to respond to calls. The message sent out is received immediately by all patrolmen in the city. If a "hit-and-run driver" or an auto thief evades one squad car, the others have a chance to apprehend him before he gets beyond the city limits. Furthermore, squad cars may be quickly dispatched to other "beats" in emergency cases.

The radio may serve as a deterrent to crime. If offenders believe that the chances of apprehension are greatly increased, some of them may look for a new profession.

Even the most sturdy adherents to the old school admit that the radio makes it more difficult for the criminal to operate.

One admirer says, "it gives the maximum mobility in the handling of scout cars, and puts them where they are needed, the most quickly of any system yet devised."¹⁸

The Davenport police radio station KGPM operates on 121½ meters (2470 kilocycles); it is a 50 watt machine; 100 per cent modulation; and crystal control. The system includes a modern transmitter and ten Delco receiving sets. Seven police cars and the fire department chief's car are equipped with receiving sets. The other two are kept at the station for replacing out of order machines.

The system, completely installed, cost approximately \$6000. The estimated annual up-keep is less than \$200. The entire amount is smaller than the average up-keep on the old Gamewell system.

The desks of the sergeant and the radio operator are pushed together. When a complaint comes to the sergeant over the phone, the operator starts warming up the machine, if it has been turned off. This requires twenty-five seconds. The message is then put on the air and repeated three times after short intervals. Immediately thereafter a complaint report is made on a blank furnished the operator.

During the month of June, 1931, 206 complaint calls were broadcast to the second shift. There were 233 in July, and 201 in August. The longest time interval between broadcasting a complaint and the reporting back by the patrolman was seven minutes, while the shortest was two minutes. The average time was approximately three and a half minutes.

¹⁸ Shenefield's *How the Radio Aids Police Work* in the *National Municipal Review*, May, 1931, p. 270.

Five "dead spots" have been charted within the city limits where the receiving is faint or completely inaudible. The areas are small, however, covering from one-half block to a block and a half in length.

A few samples of the complaints broadcast to cruising cars, with the responses may be cited here.

1. To all squad cars — pick up stolen Whippet Coach 1928 Gray — 82 — 15222 (Car picked up and at police station — time 2½ min.)
2. Squad cars No. 2 and No. 3 — hold-up — 2113 Gaines (No report)
3. Squad car No. 2 — man having fit or going crazy — 1523 West High (Drunk — taken home)
4. Squad car No. 4 — bathers — no suits — St. Park (Kids, chased — time 2 min.)
5. Squad cars No. 2 and No. 5 — accident at 3800 Rockingham Road (Arrested reckless driver — time 2 min.)

Some humorous remarks are to be found on the patrolmen's reports back to the operator, for example — "Fight at ——— Main Street — both drunk — put 'em to bed". "Disturbance at 2553 Middle Road — made them put soft pedal on noise."

The radio system, too new to be highly efficient, has not devised adequate reports, nor have the patrolmen in all cases given whole-hearted coöperation. Only during the first month did the patrolmen call back to the operator and state what disposition had been made of the complaint. The individual complaint sheets for August, 1931, are incomplete and the time interval between broadcasting the complaint and final disposition is omitted in the majority of cases. Unquestionably, better forms, reports, and coöperation will be forthcoming when two more licensed operators are employed and these operators are appointed as

policemen. There will then be no object in forcing motor patrolmen to "pull" boxes as is the case today.

The reports indicated that several messages were not received because the "switch was off" on the receiving sets. This is the result of inexcusable negligence on the part of patrolmen. It should be the business of the observer in each squad car to see that such mishaps are few and far between. For such acts of carelessness or inefficiency the chief would be justified in taking disciplinary action. As the force becomes more acquainted with the system better results may be expected.

POLICE EQUIPMENT

The efficiency of a police department depends to a considerable degree upon the kind, amount, and upkeep of equipment furnished the men. Davenport has not hesitated to spend money for modern equipment.

Automotive Equipment.—In 1931, five squad cars, all less than a year old, were at cruising work twenty-four hours per day. They were light, speedy cars (four Ford coupes and one Chevrolet sedan), kept immaculately clean and in perfect running condition. Each one was supplied with the following equipment: a Delco radio receiving set and a loud speaker; a twelve gauge, six shot riot gun; leg and arm straps which are used on desperate or insane individuals; large and complete first-aid kits; a club; a siren; a spot light; and a clock. In addition, each patrolman carried a side arm, a sap, and "come-alongs".

The ambulance was a 1929 model Studebaker, equipped with a radio, a first-aid kit, arm and leg straps, a suit case containing basins, bandages, and the like, a club, and a stretcher with adequate bedding material. No riot guns or side arms were carried by the ambulance men.

The patrol wagon was a 1927 Graham Brothers chassis and carried the same equipment as a squad car. It was strongly constructed, with the windows and rear entrance covered by heavy iron bars.

Three motorcycles with side-car attachments completed the automotive equipment. They were 1929 models and fully equipped for police work.

All repairs are made at the municipal garage where competent work and speedy service is maintained.

Signal Equipment.—This subject has been partially treated under the heading *Methods of Communication*. No attempt is made to report the miles of aerial lines, underground high and low voltage cables, number of telephone circuits, number of police signal circuits, number of police reporting stations, number of police call systems, traffic signal control stations, and the like, nor will any attempt be made to describe the physical property required to maintain a modern police signaling device. It is sufficient to say that it is an intricate network of wires, cables, large and small mechanisms, batteries, switchboards, and the like. The original cost runs well up into six figures. Its maintenance cost for 1929-1930 was representative and amounted to \$6340.

With this expensive equipment on hand the police department in 1931 thought it wise and economical to install still more modern equipment — the radio.

Defensive Weapons.—Modern machine guns have been purchased for emergencies. Thus far they have never been used and they seem to be a poor investment for at least two reasons: (1) the men have not been competently trained in the use of such arms, and would be generally incompetent should the occasion arise; and (2) they are kept

under lock and key at headquarters, and could seldom be used even if an emergency arose to require them.

Riot guns, sometimes known as sawed-off shotguns, are to be found in each police car. They are easily carried, require no special training in their use, and can be used effectively at close range even by an amateur. They are probably the most deadly weapon used in law violation or law enforcement. The shells are heavily loaded with buckshot.

Tear bombs are most effective in dispersing mobs, forcing criminals out of buildings, or halting the escape of prisoners. Those supplied for the police department in Davenport are locked in the police vault and only under certain conditions could they be put to work. Each patrolman, however, carries tear gas shells which can be fired from his side arm. These are sometimes used if an insane or drunken man resists the policeman, or to force a person out of a locked room. Motorcycle officers have found them to be effective on dogs. When these shells are fired at close range the gas will irritate and inflame the eyes producing temporary blindness. After a few hours, however, no ill effects result.

Three fountain pen gas guns are also available at headquarters. They are harmless looking, but when the trigger is pulled an explosion takes place which sprays tear gas and produces results similar to those described above.

Side arms are not furnished by the department but must be purchased by the policeman. This gives an opportunity for a vast array of different kinds of pistols, revolvers, and automatics. No specifications are demanded but it is recommended that the calibre be a 38 or a 45. A policeman's life sometimes depends upon his ability to shoot and to hit first. Therefore, it is said, each one should be given an opportunity to select and carry the gun which he handles best. The same argument might be used concerning soldiers but

the military authorities determine the kind of gun to be used in the various services. Some members carry side arms which are completely out of date, ill-balanced, and unworthy of service. Such conditions are to be expected where side arms are the private property of each patrolman. The department should furnish each man with a new, modern, heavy calibre automatic, hold the individual responsible for its return and condition, and train him in the art of using it. If need be, a part of his salary could be withheld to insure this responsibility. It seems strange that uniformity is closely guarded in wearing apparel and neglected in this important instance. With up-to-date city-owned equipment, greater enthusiasm might result. A "make believe" inspection is held monthly by the police and fire commissioners, but it is hardly worthy of the name.

Pulmotor.—A modern up-to-date pulmotor is kept at police headquarters, and one man on each ambulance shift is trained in the use of this machine. Davenport, built on the Mississippi River, has many drownings. The pulmotor has saved several lives since being added to the police equipment. Its greatest service is in reviving those who are overcome by gas.

Personal Equipment Furnished by the Department.—Each member of the force is furnished a baton, a Sam Brown belt, "come-alongs", a rubber coat, a book of rules and regulations, a patrol-box key, a notebook, a shield, and a cap badge bearing a serial number. These things remain the property of the department and each officer must account for this equipment when he leaves the department.

Personal Equipment Purchased by Each Member.—The ordinary patrolman, after being sworn in, must spend ap-

proximately two hundred dollars for clothing and equipment before assuming his new duties. The standard equipment and the current prices in 1931 were as follows: blue uniform, \$52.00; cap, \$4.00; leather coat, \$28.00; black shoes, \$10.00; handcuffs, \$6.50; shirts, \$4.40; flannel shirts, \$10.50; summer hat, \$3.00; overcoat, \$45.00; side arm, \$32.00; holster, \$3.00; shells, \$1.50; shell belt, \$2.00; sap, \$2.50, a total of \$204.40. If the officer is assigned to emergency duty he must expend nearly a hundred dollars more for motorcycle clothing. Some of this equipment will last a lifetime but police work is hard on clothing and few men are able to obtain a year's service from a suit. Policemen in Davenport keep their clothes well cleaned and pressed and their shoes shined.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE POLICE

Cities bordering on the boundary line of a State encounter more difficulties in police administration than do inland cities. This is more noticeable when there are one or more cities on the border line of the other State. Habitual criminals soon learn that their chances of apprehension are considerably reduced if they can cross over into another State. Petty thieves, auto thieves, stick-up men, burglars, and "hip pocket" bootleggers, appreciate such geographical locations and often choose them as a base of operation.

Long ago the quad-cities (Davenport, Rock Island, Moline, and East Moline) realized that in order to produce results the various police departments must cooperate whole-heartedly. They have developed a criminal report exchange and a finger-print exchange between these cities, and each police department gives conscientious aid to the other. Only once in recent years has ill feeling arisen between quad-city police administrators. This was during the "Looney days" when Rock Island found herself held firmly

in the grasp of Looney — “a blackmailing, scandal sheet newspaper operator”. After the gang was overthrown in Rock Island, coöperation was again resumed.

If a Moline citizen commits a crime, or is thought to have committed a crime, in Davenport, and crosses the river before being arrested, the chiefs get into communication and the individual is arrested by the Moline department on a charge of being a fugitive from justice or a suspicious character. When he has been picked up, the Davenport police are notified. The accused is then brought to the Davenport station where proper charges are filed or where he may be questioned. Strange as it may seem, this procedure goes on from year to year, no one, apparently, demanding extradition papers.

Some illegal, or extralegal, practices in regard to the theory of hot pursuit have developed in these cities, but thus far not a single case has been contested. For instance, if a squad car in Davenport gives chase to a car and it crosses the bridge into Illinois the Iowa policemen follow. They may have to run through Rock Island, Moline, East Moline, and on to Silvis before making the capture or giving up the chase. If the offender is overtaken, he is taken into custody, the policemen using all force necessary to accomplish their aim, and the accused is taken to the nearest Illinois police station where the desk sergeant officially makes the arrest. The accused is then taken from Illinois back into Iowa where he is again officially arrested. Davenport grants the same privileges to Illinois police departments. Many of these arrests could no doubt be contested in court. Administrators on both sides of the river agree that their difficulties would be increased were it not for the bridge, where traffic is always heavy, the speed slow, and officers constantly on duty. A telephone call to the bridge officer telling him to close the huge iron gates has made

escape impossible for some desperadoes. This procedure is not used for minor violators, however.

PREVENTION VERSUS DETECTION OF CRIME

Fifty years ago detection of crime was the all important factor. Very little time, effort, or money was devoted to prevention. In recent years prevention has been given greater publicity and earnest attempts are being made to discover the causes of crime and to prevent its occurrence. To reduce crime, at least three distinct objectives must be considered: (1) to minimize the incentive to crime; (2) to set up far more effective deterrents to the commission of crime; and (3) to restrain the freedom of individuals whose emotional or moral characteristics are such as to predispose them to crime. Until progress has been made in these directions we can not hope to accomplish a great deal in crime prevention.

In none of these fields can the policeman with his scant amount of education accomplish much. Administrators in Davenport use the phrase "prevention of crime" in its narrow sense. Rule three (*Rules and Regulations*) explains that the prevention of crime is the most important object in view, and urges that the exertions of each policeman be constantly used to this end. The absence of crime on his beat will be considered the best proof of his efficiency. He must watch the conduct of all persons of known bad character, "and in such manner that it will be evident to said persons that they are being watched, and that certain detection must follow any attempt to commit crime." The only attempt in this direction is by the mere show of policemen and its effectiveness has been nearly destroyed by motorization, since patrolmen in cars try to be as inconspicuous as possible. The result is greater effort placed upon quick apprehension and less attention to prevention.

In Davenport the only outstanding preventive work is performed by the policewomen. This will be discussed under another heading. Only the most obvious mental defectives are examined when arrested by police, and those who conduct the examinations are not thoroughly competent to do this type of work. No provisions are made for psychopathic observations before sentencing or binding over to the grand jury. Thus we may say that Davenport, like the whole State of Iowa, has made very little progress in crime prevention. Patrol duty is monotonous; detection is interesting. The policeman who ferrets out a gangster or a "fence" becomes a hero, eligible for promotion; the officer who prevents ten boys from becoming criminals is labelled a "Dad". Many of the "old timers" frown upon preventive work, but it is truly as much a part of their responsibilities as it is for the fire department to prevent fire, or a board of health to prevent disease.

Poverty is one cause of crime, and while policemen are not expected to prevent or solve the problem of poverty they may prevent some persons who are forced to steal or starve from committing crime. Aiding the needy ones in finding employment, or directing one of the many charitable organizations to aid them, is one form of prevention.

Mental deficiency frequently results in criminal inclinations. A weak mind is easily tempted and may become the tool of a master mind. A child's mind in an adult's body is a bad combination. Our legal system recognizes the irresponsibility of children but takes little or no cognizance of the morons or the feeble-minded adults who frequently become habitual criminals. Confinement does not help them. They need hospitalization rather than penalization. Here again the policeman may prevent crime by knowing such individuals who live in his district and reporting them to the proper authorities where treatment may prepare the

defective to take his place in society. A study of this type of criminal, plus constant agitation by the police, might result in needed legislation to segregate or sterilize the incurables, thereby keeping them from reproducing their kind in ever increasing numbers.

Drug and liquor habits have enslaved many men and women. "Drink and drug are silent partners in many a crime". Confinement in ordinary penal institutions will not cure such addicts and policemen can not destroy the individual's desire by making arrests. Police can, however, make an honest effort to enforce the laws which regulate or prohibit the traffic in liquor and drugs and thus help to prevent their use.

Individuals, branded as convicts, are likely to be repeaters. It is difficult to live down a prison record. Policemen could reduce crime if they would pay especial attention to released prisoners and, instead of hounding them, aid them in obtaining a new lease on life.

SPECIAL SERVICES

The mere policing of a city today is not enough. Modern cities must offer special services to their citizens. Several years ago, Davenport recognized the need for additional protection to women and children, especially those who become entangled in the meshes of the law. Conscientious citizens felt that a better method of handling female and child law violators should be established, that such offenders ought not to be in the custody of male police, and that complete segregation of male and female, adult and youth, was essential for proper corrective treatment.

The Policewoman.—A policewoman was first employed in Davenport in 1922, and the same woman continues to serve in that capacity. It was necessary at first to prove

her value to a hostile police force. She soon demonstrated that she could get more information from female and juvenile prisoners because she knew how to question them, and there was no chance for them to evade explanations, to appeal for sympathy, or to make charges of misconduct on the basis of sex, as had been done when women prisoners were handled by male officers. Such prisoners both love and fear the policewoman, for she can aid those who truly need help and she can see that the unworthy are punished. They dread the woman questioner because she can ask questions, and expect answers, which men can not.

Careful selection as to personality, training, and experience is necessary before the policewoman can contribute to this specialized work. It is essential that the appointee be unimpeachable in character, and that she study changing social conditions.

The policewoman in Davenport is greatly interested in her work of saving boys and girls from the human scrapheap and she devotes more hours to her work than any other member of the police force. To better prepare herself she took night courses in sociology at St. Ambrose College. Her previous training had been obtained from helping her father rear a large family of brothers and sisters and later adopting two more children. She reads widely on protective police work; questions those brought before her intelligently; and offers parental sympathy and advice to all. Even though she falls short of the minimum standards set up for policewomen at the National Convention of Chiefs of Police in 1922, her tireless efforts and love of her profession make her thoroughly competent to serve.¹⁹

In the beginning her major work was supervising dance halls. Gradually these places were cleaned up and public

¹⁹ Haynes's *Criminology*, p. 95.

dances in Davenport became the "most respectable in Iowa". With the addition of another policewoman the duties were greatly broadened. The policewomen now take charge of all complaints brought to the police station involving women and children, lost children, problem children, truants, neglected children, leaders of boy gangs, immoral youths, thieves, runaways, dependency, immorality, and domestic difficulties.

Complaints which deal with community conditions require much of their time. Among these are disorderly houses; prostitution; "speak-easies", where liquor and drugs are sold to women and juveniles; or violations of the liquor and drug laws by women and youths. Other complaints deal with crimes committed against minors, and still others reveal crimes committed by women and children.

When time permits the two policewomen do patrol duty. They visit any public place which may prove harmful to women and children. They visit downtown streets, parks, hotels, rooming houses, boat excursions, dances, street carnivals, "blind-pigs", depots, burlesque shows, and the like.

Young girls who come out of suspected disorderly houses are frequently questioned and arrested. Some are found to be pregnant or afflicted with venereal diseases. Out-of-town girls known to be unemployed and without visible means of support are jailed or "run out of town".

The policewoman and matron are regular officers in the police department and receive the same rate of pay as the men. The status of the policewomen on the regular force has suffered because they are unsuited to a semi-military organization and because they are more interested in prevention work than in the detection of criminals. The Davenport force, composed for the most part of "old timers", has not been entirely in sympathy with this new movement.

Several of the officers interviewed complained that the women were not competent to go out on the streets and make arrests and that they generally required male officers to accompany them when raiding or visiting "tough" places; that they were too sympathetic with law violators; and that much of their work should be and was being adequately cared for by local social welfare groups.

A few hours work on the records kept by the policewoman would seem to disprove the last assumption completely. The overseer of the poor, the county probation officers, the Lend-a-Hand Club, the Catholic Society, and the Industrial Relief Society are important local organizations interested in preventive and protective work. For the most part, the members are untrained social workers. There is much overlapping of services and a noticeable lack of coöperation. The policewoman has gradually become the coördinating factor among these societies.

Less than seventy-five per cent of the cases handled by the policewoman had been reported to the police department. For minor violations and first offenders, honest attempts are made to adjust the complaints without taking the case to court. There is a follow-up on all cases where the violator is paroled. It is generally conceded that the policewoman has more control over, and better success with, the youths than does the male county probation officer.

Although the policewoman in Davenport has saved her salary many times in the past ten years in correcting wayward children rather than making them inmates of State institutions, the records are too incomplete to determine scientifically the true value of her work. In the first six months of 1931 she handled and solved forty-one cases. Hundreds of other cases were handled in which recommendations or advice were given children or parents and no

record was retained. Only records of the more serious cases are kept on file. The following is typical: A sixteen year old high school girl from an Illinois town, who had been kept out all night by her boy friend and was afraid to go home, came to Davenport. She soon ran out of money and a local man paid her room rent for a week at a cheap rooming house, later taking her to X's Place (a known prostitute). The girl was picked up by police. The policewoman took the case and obtained the confidence of the girl. She listened to her story, had the local man arrested, and assisted in his conviction. She also got in touch with the girl's mother who immediately came to the city. The mother, a refined woman, was told of the girl's sex experiences, and though deeply grieved she took the girl home where she is now ready to start life anew.

Attached to many of the cases disposed of by this woman officer were letters from the offenders. They reveal the true value of policewomen. The writer also had opportunity to interview over twenty girls who had either been arrested by the policewoman or had been paroled to her. All but two spoke very highly of her efforts. Several praised her enthusiastically for putting them on the "straight and narrow path". Others declared that she had treated them more kindly than their mothers would have done under similar conditions.

Since both the district judge and the police judge frequently parole offenders to the policewoman, this phase of work deserves some consideration. Real probation means more than a scolding or a chance to escape imprisonment. It means more than periodical reporting to the parolee. It must include the untangling of causes which brought the youth before the court. This requires time, for not infrequently the parents of the delinquent must be studied and advised. "Pitfalls can only be avoided by friendly, pa-

tient, and sympathetic parolees". In Davenport there is no definite period of probation, consequently the offender may be forced to report for years unless a readjustment is made. On some days much of the policewoman's time is consumed in interviewing paroled boys and girls, giving them words of encouragement, helping them solve their problems, or in aiding them to find employment.

Is this work worth while?²⁰ It has been estimated that the average per capita cost to the State of each prisoner for a year is approximately \$500. If the duties performed by a policewoman keep four individuals per year from being confined in prisons she has saved more for taxpayers than the amount of her annual salary. Furthermore, she has made useful citizens out of some of her wards and kept them from a life of crime. Such gains can not be measured in dollars and cents.

Since the only truly preventive work done in the city of Davenport is performed by the policewoman, it would seem advisable to increase their number and to organize under the "Unit Plan" whereby the women officers would operate as part of a separate bureau with a commanding officer responsible to the chief.

Ten years experience as an officer of the law has led the policewoman to certain conclusions, among which are the following: the youth of today is worse than the youth of ten years ago; many girls who attend public dances will take a drink — some will get drunk; prostitution is worse than it was in the days of the "red light districts"; enlightening the youth on sex problems has contributed to early delinquency; and most youthful prostitutes are mentally deficient.

²⁰ The report of the policewoman's division for the year 1930-1931 shows the following cases handled: court cases 92, non-court cases 206, cases with other officers 36, cases adjusted in office 93, cases referred to other agencies 92, investigations out of office 162.

The Police Matron and the House of Detention.—In order to segregate male and female prisoners completely, the city of Davenport has established a House of Detention in which short-time female offenders serve their sentences, and where female witnesses or girl delinquents are detained. Female prisoners who receive sentences for periods longer than five days are sent to the Scott county jail, the Juvenile Home, or some State institution.

The House of Detention is in charge of a matron who ministers to the well-being of the women in her custody and accompanies them when it is necessary for a prisoner to leave the detention quarters during her sentence. She has the same power and authority as a policeman. The present incumbent has served in this capacity for eleven years and holds a first-class rating. She is directly responsible to the chief of police and is on duty continuously, being subject to call at any time during the day or night. She may not absent herself from the House for longer than four hours without permission from the main station. It is, therefore, necessary for her to live in the House of Detention. Comfortable quarters have been provided with a hallway dividing her rooms from the cells. On one side of the building is a row of three cells, each large enough to care for four prisoners. All are spotlessly clean, freshly painted, with clean windows barred from within. When the cells are occupied the windows are kept open in warm weather. Each cell has a clean wash bowl, a stool, running water, drinking cups, coat hangers, and cloth towels. In two of the cells there are bunks on each side, each with a thick pad, good clean blankets, pillow, and white pillow slip. The bedding is changed when prisoners are released.

There is one well equipped cell for witnesses or the better class of women. It contains a three-quarter bed, pad, mattress, pillows, sheets, blankets, spread, chairs, and a table.

Each cell is well lighted and the lights are controlled from the hallway. The women may use them until midnight if they so desire.

The entire building is disinfected regularly and is free from vermin. Due to the energy of the matron, the House is kept as clean as any home. She, herself, has painted the cells and furniture. She permits the inmates to use her private library and subscribes for magazines which particularly interest women prisoners such as *Love Stories*, *True Confessions*, *Photo Play*, and *True Story*. Few inmates enjoy *The Ladies' Home Journal* or *Good Housekeeping*, but some will read them in preference to sitting around idle.

Those confined may write letters but no inmate is to be given a pencil without the matron's consent. She has learned that many of these women enjoy writing filthy verses on cell walls. Now a writing hour has been established and the matron sees that the scribbling is done on paper. A crystal radio set is furnished by the matron to the better prisoners for their entertainment.

At the west end is a barred laundry room with adequate equipment and running hot water so the women may wash their clothing. Prisoners are given all the hand and laundry soap needed to keep themselves clean.

Meals are not cooked for the inmates but are brought in from a nearby cafe. Each prisoner is given three good substantial thirty-five cent meals per day. The food is the same as that served to the policemen at the Car Barn.

Some of the women confined have venereal diseases and are treated by the city physician. The matron's records²¹ indicate that intoxication, investigation, and disturbing the

²¹ There were 184 females confined in the House of Detention during 1930-1931, the most common charges being: intoxication, 33; investigation, 32; disturbing the peace, 22; vagrancy, 13; larceny, 12; inmates of disorderly houses, 11; immoral life, 9; and 5 each for forgery, fraud on rooming-house keeper, and keeping a disorderly house.

peace, in the order named were the charges on which the larger number of these women were committed.

The majority of females taken to the Detention House are arrested and brought there by the policewoman, but some drunks or "bad actors" are taken in by policemen. The House of Detention is adjacent to the Car Barn where the ambulance squad and the patrol wagon squad remain awaiting calls. If the matron needs help some of these policemen are always present and ready to render assistance. When taken before the court or the probation officer the woman prisoner is accompanied by the matron or the policewoman.

Scott County Juvenile Home.—Although the Juvenile Home is a county institution it harbors few wards who live outside the city limits of Davenport. Both juvenile delinquents and dependents are temporarily detained there. The records over a period of years indicate that sixty per cent of the cases handled are of a criminal nature and therefore should be considered in this survey.

Juveniles, both boys and girls, who are being held for investigation or detained until the court determines what disposition shall be made of their cases, are confined in the Juvenile Home, but seldom for a period as long as thirty days. Most of the cases are disposed of in from three to five days. Dependents are sometimes kept for longer periods. The minor criminal delinquent is placed under the care of a matron at the Juvenile Home. Cells similar to those found in the ordinary jail are used for the older and more hardened youths. After sentence is passed the offender is taken to the county jail where a juvenile section is maintained or to one of the State institutions. Sufficient protection is afforded by completely segregating the youthful delinquents from the youthful dependents. All are

cared for by the matron and a female cook. The only man about the Home is the husband of the matron.

The delinquent girls are escorted to and from the Home by the matron, the policewoman, or the female probation officer; while the boys are escorted by policemen or the male probation officer.

Because of the short period of detention, no work is provided for either group, and little or no education or training is given them. The matron permits the older girls to sew and read, and sometimes teaches them the fundamentals of needlecraft.

The Home, formerly a private house, is located on the outskirts of the city and has been remodeled to meet the needs. Dependent children are permitted to play in the adjacent vacant lot during the summer months, but delinquents are confined at all times.

The Home is kept neat and tidy by the matron who has served twelve years in this capacity. Each incoming juvenile is deloused and bathed in the basement. Their clothing is kept clean and the food served to the inmates is ample and wholesome.

Through the policewomen, the House of Detention, the matrons, the Juvenile Home, and the female probation officer, the city of Davenport has offered special protection to women and children so that in nearly all cases they are handled from the time of arrest to the final disposition of the case by competent, experienced women. Segregation is excellent, for the young are kept from the old and the males are separated from the females at all stages from arrest to release.

Ambulance Squad.—The most unique service offered by the police department is performed by the ambulance squad. When the ambulance was first purchased the city calls were

insufficient to keep two men busy. The service was extended, so that citizens, by paying a reasonable fee, might use it. This practice was followed for a number of years until the Socialist party came into power. At that time the fee was dropped, and since that time anyone, on order of any doctor, either private or hospital, or on an order from the overseer of the poor, may ask for this service. Anyone needing hospital or medical treatment is hauled without charge. Any invalid who desires to be moved from one place to another is taken care of by the ambulance squad. When one is discharged from the hospital a call to the police station will insure a free ride home. Any emergency case within or without the city limits (up to fifteen miles) is serviced. During the year 1930-1931, however, \$103.00 was collected by the squad. During that time the ambulance traveled 11,000 miles; carried 935 sick or injured to the hospital; 1170 sick or injured home; 72 sick or injured to the depot; 24 sick or injured to the station; and made 83 "water hauls" or fruitless trips. In addition to this, the patrol wagon hauled some sick and injured to the hospital or to their homes.

Records were not available to determine the number injured on the streets which required ambulance service. It is safe to say that the vast majority were cases of sickness which in most cities would not have been handled by the police department.

The ambulance squad is composed of six regular uniformed policemen who work in three shifts of eight hours. They are assigned to this duty by the chief who informed the writer that it was not a place for the "sick, lame, and lazy". They are subject to call the same as any other policeman but seldom are they ever used for any other purpose. One member, though an honest old patrolman, is completely illiterate.

The "Flop-house".— At the lock-up in the City Hall, a large cell is reserved for the unfortunate men who find themselves in Davenport without the price of a bed. Here they may remain over night in a warm, clean place although it is devoid of beds, bedding, and other conveniences, except a toilet. The occupants sleep on newspapers laid on the cement floor or upon a wooden shelf built around the cell. Hardly a night passes without some lodgers. During cold and inclement weather the room is crowded. In 1930-1931, 5221 were registered, there being an average of thirty-one per night for February. Only the sick or most unfortunate ones are fed before being sent out in the morning. It is not uncommon for tramps to request and receive short county jail sentences on vagrancy charges so that they may bathe, wash their clothes, rest up, and get some food before going on the road again.

Auto Theft and Recovery Bureau.— Stealing and dismantling cars has grown to be a profitable business. Many gangs are engaged exclusively in this form of crime. Sensing the need for greater specialization, the Davenport police department created an auto theft and recovery bureau in 1931, assigning one first-class policeman to this duty. This officer now devotes his entire time to this work. The bureau has not yet had sufficient time to organize the work thoroughly nor to install adequate forms and reports to indicate its efficiency.

The Annual Police Report for 1930-1931 lists only thirteen cases of larceny of motor vehicles, and twelve cases of violation of the Dyer Act. These figures indicate only the number of cases tried before the court. An attempt was made to ascertain the number of automobiles reported stolen during 1931 but the records were in bad condition and it would have required many hours to obtain this in-

formation. No doubt this bureau will be made more effective and modern reports will be kept when it is properly organized.

Methods and Amounts of Stolen Property Recovered.—During the year 1930-1931, \$13,422.99 worth of property was reported to the police department as stolen. Of this amount, \$2,510.50, or 18 per cent, was recovered.

An ordinance of Davenport requires all pawnbrokers, loan brokers, second-hand stores, and junk dealers to make a daily report to the chief of police of all property purchased or pawned with a description of the merchandise and of the person pledging or selling it. Failure to make this report constitutes a misdemeanor and makes the individual liable to a fine of from one to one hundred dollars or imprisonment not to exceed thirty days.

The law is weak, however, in that there is no way to force these shops to submit a complete report. Loose diamonds, watches, rings, and other forms of jewelry are easily concealed. If the proprietor accepts a stolen watch which is later recovered, he is the loser. There is, therefore, an incentive to neglect to report "hot stuff", and it would be nearly impossible for the police to search every shop thoroughly each time articles are reported stolen. In going over the pawnshop daily reports on file in the day captain's office one feels that they either do not do much business, or their reports are incomplete. Some property, however, is recovered through these reports. A watch stolen in 1917 was recovered and the guilty party arrested when he pawned it on August 17, 1931.

Other forms of property are more difficult to trace. Uncut diamonds and auto parts defy identification by amateurs. Generally the detectives arrest suspects and bring them to the station where a barrage of questions by two

detectives, the chief, and possibly two other officers is fired at the accused. If he is able to withstand the fire without incriminating himself he is released. Many times a slip of the tongue gives the detectives a clue to the guilty party. If more than one person is involved and the officers succeed in getting a confession from one, it is generally easy to round up the entire gang. Twice during the month of September, 1931, the writer watched detectives clean up two groups of youthful thieves — one engaged in stealing automobiles and the other in stealing onions from farms in Iowa and Illinois.

CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION AND INVESTIGATION

Criminal law enforcement is seriously crippled unless some system is maintained whereby those suspected or accused of crime may be identified and their previous criminal record, if any, ascertained. This phase of police work has made rapid advancement in recent years, yet the United States, as a whole, lags far behind continental Europe. Photography, finger-prints, measurements, and rapid means of communication such as the telegraph, telephone, radio, and even the airplane have made it easier to follow the criminal. Rapid interchange of criminal records between cities and States make it more difficult for criminals to operate. Possibly television will, in future years, solve this need.

Some scientific method is necessary if the first offender is to be distinguished from the recidivist, or if stiffer penalties are to be imposed upon the individual who repeatedly violates the law.

In 1920, Iowa, sensing the importance of such an institution, established a State identification service, being the fourth State in the Union to do so.²²

²² Robinson's *Criminal Statistics and Identification of Criminals* in the *National Municipal Review*, December, 1927, p. 775.

Bureau of Identification in Davenport.—Some method of identification is an indispensable necessity in gaining and maintaining control over criminals. Consequently the police department of Davenport has established a bureau of identification in charge of the lieutenant. The taking of photographs, finger-prints and other measurements is known in the vernacular of the police as “mugging” the prisoner.

No photograph or measurements may be taken of a person arrested or fined for a violation of a city ordinance. Suspects are taken to the bureau only upon the order of the chief and no photographs are taken of them “unless they are held for investigation or bound over to the grand jury on a criminal or felony charge, or they are found to have a criminal record by Bertillon measurements, finger-prints or other means of identification except upon order of the chief.”²³

The dactyloscopis or the finger-print system has completely supplanted the old Bertillon method of bodily measurements. The ridges on the first joint of each finger produce patterns which are capable of accurate classification. “These patterns appear three months before birth and disappear after death only with the dissolution of the body.”²⁴

Even though these ridges be removed with acid or pumice stone they invariably grow out again exactly like the originals. They are, therefore, distinctive and constant and they furnish an absolutely scientific method of identifying an individual. Of all the prints taken, no two impressions have been found which were identical. A century ago, detection and identification was a skill acquired by practice. Today it has become a science, with a number of important subdivisions.

²³ *Rules and Regulations*, p. 23.

²⁴ Haynes's *Criminology*, p. 101.

The Davenport bureau of identification was established on May 20, 1916, and since October 11, 1927, it has been under the supervision of Lieutenant John J. McDermott who has spent the last thirteen years in the police department. He took a correspondence course at the University of Applied Science, Chicago, Illinois, and obtained a degree. The course dealt with finger-prints, measurements, and materials useful to policemen engaged in criminal identification. His knowledge of photography was gained through experience and outside reading.

All persons held for felony, fugitives from justice, all drunken drivers, all violators of State liquor laws, white slavers, those convicted of the Dyer Act (the national auto theft act), all Federal prisoners on whom such information is asked for by the government, and all those held for investigation or suspicion (if the chief so orders) shall be finger-printed and photographed.

All the identification work for Scott County, Iowa, is done by the local police department, the county paying half of the expense, not including salaries.

On an average, 176 criminals have been photographed yearly, but the average for the past three years was approximately 300. There are now 2632 photographs on file in the department.

A few more law violators are finger-printed each year than are photographed. The average is 325 per year and approximately 3000 finger-print records are now on file in the office.

The materials used for finger-printing are few and inexpensive — a piece of tin, some printer's ink, a rubber cylinder, some white cards, a little benzine, and some clean cloths. Any normal person can learn to take excellent prints in a relatively short time.

After the finger-prints are classified, it takes only a few

moments to run over the records and find duplicates, if any. The system is of great value to the police because they can follow a criminal, regardless of the names he uses, as he moves from place to place. It frequently results in the apprehension and conviction of criminals who otherwise have left behind no witnesses or evidence. The system has given a great impetus to the scientific study of crime and criminals.

A room in the police station has been remodeled for identification work and serves that purpose adequately. It contains the ordinary instruments found in police departments for taking the weight, height, photograph, fingerprints, and other measurements. Here the lieutenant takes all the photographs, develops the films, and prints the pictures. The size of film on which the photograph is taken is a 3x5½ producing a cut picture 3x5. The camera used is an Eastman product built especially for police work, using a sliding lens which produces two photographs on the same film — a front and a profile view.

The State law of Iowa requires that all law enforcing agencies forward two copies of finger-prints and one photograph to the State Bureau of Identification at Des Moines, and one copy of each finger-print and photograph to the National Bureau of Identification at Washington, D. C. This law is strictly adhered to by the department at Davenport and within twenty-four hours after taking, the required copies are in the mail. The city also has an exchange with Rock Island County, Illinois.

Davenport does not maintain a regular exchange system with any other city but coöperates with all asking for information. In return, it obtains good service from other cities.

The service given by Des Moines, for example, is excellent. If the individual has a criminal record on file there, Davenport, upon asking for information, will receive a re-

ply within two days. The service from Washington, D. C., is good but noticeably slow during the summer months. This is probably due to shortage of experienced help during the vacation period. From six to eight days are required to get a reply from the capital city.

Cardex cabinets are used for filing records. These small, compact, but efficiently arranged cabinets, 24 inches long, 22 inches high, and 6 inches wide, contain 22 trays with 64 complete records and pictures to each tray. Each record sheet gives a personal description of the individual, crime, sentence, occupation, date arrested, alias, name, arresting officer, finger-print classification, and remarks. Attached to this is an auxiliary sheet showing previous record, if any, the charge, a short history of the case, and its final disposition. Any record which might happen later is typed upon this sheet. A 3x5 photograph completes the record. All these records are kept permanently, and none have been destroyed.

A color scheme is used for locating information with greater speed. On each card is a colored celluloid tab which indicates the kind of crime committed.

The bureau performed the following work for the year ending March 1, 1931:

Persons finger-printed and pictured	276
Identifications during the year	109
Finger-prints and pictures now on file	2571
Trips made to scene of crime by finger-print expert	47
Latent prints photographed	7
Finger-print circulars received and filed	632

With a national clearing house established in the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice at Washington, D. C., identification of criminals is becoming easier each year. On July 1, 1929, this Bureau possessed 1,744,483 finger-print records of actual current

value, and 2,624,944 alphabetical record cards.²⁵ But the efficiency is hampered by lack of coöperation from local law enforcing agencies, each of which should follow up the sending in of finger-prints with the disposition made of the case. In Iowa, officials are required by law to do this, but this rule is not followed in all the States.

Criminal Investigation.— One of the most recent developments in police work is scientific investigation. This probably requires more scientifically trained workers and a greater outlay for instruments than any other police service. Three sciences — biology, chemistry, and physics — constitute the backbone of this infant in police technique. Where this work is undertaken we find ways and means of examining finger-prints, blood, hair, handwriting, poisons, dust, counterfeit coins, guns, bullets, stains, all kinds of exact measurements, and the like. Such services are available only to the metropolitan areas at present, owing to their costs. But since crime is increasing and each ten years finds our prison population doubled, it seems only fair to predict that in the future more attention will be given to investigation.

Since only about twenty-five per cent of the arrests are made at the time of the commission of the offense,²⁶ identification and investigation become important factors in police work.

Davenport, like hundreds of the other smaller cities, has lagged behind in this interesting and effective method of capturing criminals. There is no special investigation department. The work is being done by six plain clothes detectives and the other members of the police force. The

²⁵ Hoover's *Criminal Identification* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXLVI, p. 209.

²⁶ Haynes's *Criminology*, p. 100.

police department has never asked for aid from State investigators to assist in solving specific crimes, but the State on its own initiative sometimes sends special investigators into the city. Under such conditions they act independently of the local force instead of coöperating with them. State and Federal investigators have often come into Davenport to raid liquor law violators, independent of the local police.

The Bureau of Identification aids the detective investigators in every way possible. All information in the office is placed at their disposal. If a hardened criminal is sought, photographic prints are frequently given each detective. When a patrolman discovers that a store or home has been broken into and entered and he feels there is a chance of obtaining finger-prints or foot-prints, he immediately notifies the lieutenant who goes to the scene of the crime and exerts every possible effort to obtain clues through reproduction powder, photography, and the like. Such action frequently results in gathering evidence which permits the detectives to apprehend the guilty party.

Since criminals often commit the same crime in the same manner, the information obtained by the bureau of identification at the time of a former arrest may produce leads which will result in detection.

Criticisms of Investigation.—The selection of capable investigators has always constituted a major problem for police administrators. Thus far no tests have been devised which will, with any degree of certainty, determine the fitness of an individual to perform this task, and appointing officers have little to aid them beyond their personal judgment of men. In the last analysis the real test comes in the handling of cases assigned them. In Davenport, there are no available records to determine what per cent of cases are actually solved by the detectives, and one can only

estimate their capability. Once appointed, they are seldom reduced, regardless of the results obtained. The opinion of detective administrators is that only about 10 per cent of those originally selected prove equal to the demands of such exacting service.²⁷

In 1931, one-third of the detective force in Davenport were over seventy-three years of age and two-thirds were eligible for pension. Few authorities on police administration believe that men of this age are competent to do modern detective work. All these detectives have risen from the ranks of patrolman and have had no special training in this kind of work. None of them had gone beyond the grammar school in education. The results of an Otis Group Intelligence Test showed them to be considerably below the patrolmen in mental development. One would expect those engaged in detective work to be more alert on observation than the average person or policeman. When the Barry Observation Test was given, however, the detective group again stood lowest. Out of a possible score of 69 they scored from 34 to 9, the average being 19½.

CECIL F. MARSHALL

²⁷ *Missouri Crime Survey*, p. 48.