HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE IOWA BUREAU OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

Law enforcement and the protection of life and property is an administrative function of primary importance. In Iowa, the history of law enforcement shows that this function has become increasingly difficult. A more urban, heterogeneous population, a greater number of laws, an increase in leisure time, a decrease in the influences of home and church, and a decided increase in economic instability have contributed toward an increase in the difficulty of law enforcement. Since transportation facilities have greatly increased, crime is no longer localized and the apprehension of criminals has become more difficult. modern lawbreaker, with his high-powered automobile and other means of escape, has no respect for State and county boundary lines. The old-fashioned machinery of law enforcement has not been adequate to cope with the spreading evil.

PRELIMINARY STEPS

In the frontier communities, the preservation of law and order was a relatively simple problem. Before civil government was established the pioneers enforced what they conceived to be the law, and often administered "rough justice" by means of voluntarily organized associations. When the local officers failed to control the law violators in a community, vigilance committees came into existence to protect life and property. Sometimes these committees took the law in their own hands; on other occasions, they aided civil officers in capturing felons. Present-day pro-

tective associations, such as those organized against bank robberies, are comparable to the vigilantes of old.¹

The framework for law enforcement in early Iowa included sheriffs, coroners, and county attorneys in the counties, constables in the townships, marshals and policemen of cities and towns, and the Attorney General of the State. Each officer was completely independent of all other law enforcement agencies. The county officials have been elective in Iowa since the early territorial days and were responsible to no one except the voters of the particular voting district.²

Similarly, the police organization of the city or town was made independent of all other law enforcement authorities. Several methods of selecting the marshal in cities and towns were tried in Iowa, including popular election, appointment by the trustees, by the council, and by the mayor; but in 1897 the power to appoint the marshal, who was also made ex officio chief of police, was given to the mayor in all cities and towns. The mayor earlier possessed the power to appoint policemen also, but beginning in 1902 he gradually lost this power to the police and fire commission, later termed the civil service commission. The mayor, through the marshal, became the real head of the police department and as such directed the law enforcement policy of the city or town. Popular election of the

¹ For extended accounts of vigilance associations see: Grahame's *The Vigilance Committees* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. VI, pp. 359-370; Robeson's *Justice in Early Iowa* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. V, pp. 102-113; and Robeson's *Rough Justice* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. VIII, pp. 51-54.

² The constable was made an elective officer in 1839.—Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839, pp. 71, 72. The office of sheriff was made elective in 1840.—Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1839-1840, p. 79. For a description of the coroner's work in Iowa see Sherman's The County Coroner in the Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. IV, pp. 280-293. For the county attorney, see the Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Article V, Sec. 13, fourth amendment of 1884, and McVicker's The County Attorney in the Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. IV, pp. 203-239.

mayor assured complete independence of the law enforcement organization in each city and town.³

Though a degree of centralization has since been effected by changes to be described later, this system has remained fundamentally unaltered to the present time. The lack of coördination and supervision of the local peace officers by some central agency which prevailed in Iowa before 1920 meant that any coöperation among the law enforcement authorities was entirely voluntary. "Each of the officers named herein is left unto himself, and in his isolated place, works as best as he can in his small way. Through no fault of his own, he is bounded and limited to a certain territory."

An investigation made by the Attorney General's office during 1907-1908 revealed a shocking state of affairs in relation to law enforcement and led to the decision that better enforcement must be secured. The statutes affecting prostitution, gambling, and liquor were especially being disregarded by local officials who were in many cases in league with the law violators. Several respectable citizens were assaulted because of their law enforcement activities against violators of the liquor laws, and in some places, particularly in the river cities, the only regulations enforced by the peace officers were those previously agreed upon with the saloonkeepers. Before the Attorney General's office could do anything to remedy the whole system, "a storm of indignation that had been brewing for months" broke over the State and the press, almost without exception, began a campaign for law enforcement.⁵

³ For an account of the police department see the *Iowa Applied History Series*, Vol. VI, pp. 225-277.

⁴ Biennial Message of Governor William L. Harding, 1921, p. 22. This description was given in the Governor's biennial message in 1921, but it accurately characterizes the situation of 1910.

⁵ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1907-1908, pp. 5-9.

Steps were taken to remedy the situation. Nearly all county attorneys responded to a request by the Attorney General's office to employ the injunction process against liquor violators. Efforts were also made to bring about better conditions by sending an Assistant Attorney General to several cities. There he coöperated with citizens who were trying to bring about enforcement of the laws by public officials and helped the citizens organize to bring pressure on the authorities. The situation prompted the Attorney General to suggest in his biennial report that the "entire force of constables, sheriffs, marshals, inspectors [oil and food inspectors], county attorneys and attorney general, should be organized into one harmonious working force for the enforcement of the laws".6

The laxity in law enforcement led the Thirty-third General Assembly to enact several laws designed to provide for the better enforcement of State laws. The duties of the sheriffs and county attorneys were broadened. The Attorney General was authorized "to exercise supervisory powers over county attorneys in all matters pertaining to the duties of their offices". The most important of this series of laws was, however, the Cosson removal law, the first important step toward centralization of the law enforcement agencies.

Under the early Iowa code, the only means by which any law enforcement officer could be removed was upon preferment and proof of charges by a citizen against the official. Original jurisdiction of these cases lay in the district court, and the costs of the case were assessed against the losing party. Naturally the method was rarely used. Citizens waited until the next election to remove incompetent and

⁶ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1907-1908, pp. 9, 11; personal interviews with George Cosson, Attorney General of Iowa from 1911 to 1917, on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935.

⁷ Laws of Iowa, 1909, Chs. 9, 17, 34, 78.

corrupt officials. Later it was made mandatory upon the county attorney to file a petition against any delinquent officer when he believed just cause for such action existed.8

That this method of removal was inadequate is evidenced in the suggestion of Attorney General H. W. Byers (1907–1910) in his report for 1907-1908, that the Governor be given power "to remove peace officers, mayors and prosecuting attorneys." Governor Warren Garst recommended to the Thirty-third General Assembly that they enact such a law and Mr. Cosson, who had been Assistant Attorney General before being elected to the State Senate, introduced and championed the passage of the removal act.

This law, which is still operative, provides that any county attorney, sheriff, mayor, police officer, marshal, or constable may be removed upon proof of: (1) wilful neglect or refusal to perform duties; (2) wilful maladministration; (3) corruption; (4) extortion; (5) conviction of a felony; or (6) intoxication. A complaint or petition may be filed by five qualified electors, by the county attorney, or by the Attorney General, upon his own initiative or when so directed by the Governor. Costs of the case may be assessed against complaining parties if it appears to the district court that there was no reasonable cause for filing the complaint.¹⁰

The real "teeth" provided by this measure was the power given the Attorney General to go into the local areas and enforce these provisions. The attitude and activity of the Attorney General, therefore, determines to what degree centralization is effected and how successfully the law is to be administered. Only when local peace officers are

⁸ Code of 1851, Ch. 31; Code of 1897, Sec. 1252.

⁹ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1907-1908, p. 15; Patton's Removal of Public Officials in Iowa in the Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. II, p. 405.

¹⁰ Laws of Iowa, 1909, Ch. 78.

grossly lax in the performance of their duties may the Attorney General take removal action against them; no centralization is achieved beyond these limits. After a few successful removal cases, these laws of the Thirty-third General Assembly seem to have resulted in better law enforcement, at least for a time.¹¹

George Cosson, author of the removal law and former Assistant Attorney General, was elected to the office of Attorney General in 1910 and served in this capacity from January, 1911, to the end of 1916. Sensing the need for centralization of law enforcement and the creation of a State law enforcement agency, he devoted his untiring efforts toward a realization of these ends. It was through his work that a valuable beginning in State law enforcement was inaugurated.

Backed by the power given to the Attorney General and confident that the removal law would compel coöperation of local officers, Attorney General Cosson, beginning in his first term, appointed a few special agents to investigate cases of sensational crimes and to aid local officials in law enforcement. They were paid out of the Attorney General's contingent fund. There was no statutory authorization for the appointment of these agents, but Mr. Cosson felt that he could use the money in the contingent fund for any necessary service and his action was not challenged. Governor Carroll aided the Attorney General by using his contingent fund on one occasion to pay one of the Attorney General's assistants, thus giving more money for the special agents.¹²

These special agents were appointed as the occasion demanded, but so heavy were the demands that one or two were usually employed all the time. The small sum available, however, limited the number so employed to three at

¹¹ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1909-1910, pp. 15, 16, 20.

¹² Personal interviews with Mr. Cosson on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935; Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1911-1912, pp. 14, 15.

any one time. This small staff necessitated that investigation be limited to the important major crimes. At times, however, these agents collected evidence to be used against officers in removal cases. On one occasion a private detective agency was hired to conduct criminal investigations for the Attorney General's office.

Though these investigators possessed no police powers, their work was not impeded in any manner. Local officials coöperated with the agents, and county attorneys conducted prosecutions whenever requested by the Attorney General's office. The removal law — a "gun behind the door" — was, in the opinion of the Attorney General, greatly responsible for this coöperation.¹³

This small force proved to be inadequate, and the Attorney General, in his 1913 and 1915 biennial reports, recommended the passage of a law authorizing the appointment of special agents with the same power to make arrests as peace officers. He conducted a State-wide campaign¹⁴ to this end and in 1915 the Thirty-sixth Assembly passed a special agents act.

This legislation empowered the Governor to appoint not more than four State law-enforcing agents who, under the direction of the Governor, were "to aid in the capture, detention, arrest and prosecution" of criminals. These agents were given the same power to enforce State law in any part of the State as peace officers and county attorneys have in each county, and they were authorized to call any county attorney or peace officer to aid them in the performance of their duty. Neither the county attorneys nor any peace officers were, however, relieved of any duties by this act.

¹³ Personal interviews with Mr. Cosson on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935.

¹⁴ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1911-1912, p. 27, 1913-1914, p. 18, 1915-1916, p. x.

The law further provided that the Governor, with the approval of the Executive Council, was to fix the salaries of these agents. They were also to receive expenses contracted in the performance of duty. Not more than one special agent could be hired for more than thirty days without the consent of the Executive Council.¹⁵

The act placed control of these agents in the hands of the Governor, but during Mr. Cosson's term of office they were actually under the Attorney General's direction. The Governor (B. F. Carroll, 1909-1912, and G. W. Clarke, 1913-1916) appointed as agents the men desired by the Attorney General and then left them in charge of Mr. Cosson. In his 1915-1916 report, the Attorney General commented: "There is no governor who will personally care to direct the special agents in the enforcement of the law.'' It may seem peculiar that the legislature framed the law as it did when the Attorney General was the one who had worked for its passage. Mr. Cosson is of the opinion that this action resulted because some of the more powerful political figures believed he was too radical to be given control of such a force. There was also much opposition to Mr. Cosson because of his liquor law enforcement work, especially in the river cities. 16

In addition to the four agents whose employment by the Governor the law specifically authorized, the Attorney General continued the earlier practice of appointing men and paying them out of the contingent fund. Thus the Attorney General had under him a force of some five or six men.¹⁷

¹⁵ Laws of Iowa, 1915, Ch. 203. The section of the law dealing with salaries was amended by the Extra Session of the Fortieth General Assembly.

¹⁶ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1915-1916, p. x; personal interviews with Mr. Cosson on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ Personal interviews with Mr. Cosson on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935.

No rule was followed in assigning these agents to cases. Requests for assistance by sheriffs and chiefs of police were granted if the crimes involved were of a serious enough nature. The Attorney General also sent out men on his own initiative, especially in cases where local officials did not act promptly and efficiently, but local officers usually coöperated wholeheartedly with the Attorney General's office and the special agents. In some instances coöperation may have been a direct result of the Cosson removal law, but in most cases it was sincere because local officers really wanted the crime cleared up.¹⁸

Aside from collecting evidence to be used against local officers in removal cases, the Attorney General's staff of special agents conducted investigation of flagrant major crimes and secured evidence against violators of the liquor and gambling laws. During the biennium ending on December 31, 1916, evidence was secured against more than forty persons accused of felonies, over four hundred bootleggers, and more than one hundred gamblers. Twenty-five confirmed criminals were sent to the penitentiary as a result of the agents' work, and thousands of dollars in fines were paid. Two men were assigned for over three months to investigating violation of the motor vehicle law. This assignment also netted thousands of dollars in fines.¹⁹

Experience having proved that the existence of a staff of special agents was more than justified, there was a demand that it be expanded, and in April, 1917, important legislation relating to law enforcement was enacted, further centralizing authority in the hands of the Governor and Attorney General. By this act, they or either of them could call upon any peace officer in the State to aid them in law enforcement. It was made the duty of peace officers

¹⁸ Personal interviews with Mr. Cosson on December 26, 1934, and February 1, 1935.

¹⁹ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1915-1916, pp. x, xi.

to comply with such requests, and when so called they have the same powers in any part of the State as a sheriff has in the county. The sum of \$25,000 per annum was appropriated which the Attorney General or Governor could use to employ persons for purposes of law enforcement.²⁰

This appropriation proved to be inadequate to meet the demands for special agents, and in 1919 the Attorney General requested that the expenditure of not to exceed \$75,000 annually be authorized. Though it did not fully comply with this request, the General Assembly further strengthened the agency by increasing the annual appropriation to \$37,500.²¹

As to the appointment and direction of the special agents, certain available records would seem to indicate one administrative practice while other sources imply a policy quite different. It is implied in the records for the first Harding-Havner administration (1917–1918) that the special agents were under the direction of the Attorney General. In his report for the biennium ending on December 31, 1920, Attorney General Horace M. Havner wrote: "While there was \$37,500 appropriated for law enforcement, about \$17,600 was expended by the governor and this department has no record of the work of his agents." Governor William L. Harding, in his second biennial message delivered in 1921, records the law enforcement work done by several State men, the implication being that such men were under the direction of the Governor.²²

The following expenditures for the fiscal year 1919–1920, listed in the State budget submitted by the Governor,

²⁰ Laws of Iowa, 1917, Ch. 231.

²¹ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1917-1918, pp. 18, 19; Laws of Iowa, 1919, Ch. 327.

²² Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1919-1920, p. 27; Biennial Message of Governor William L. Harding, 1921, p. 23. Mr. Harding is deceased, so no check could be made from this source.

would seem to reveal the practice prevailing, at least as to the appointment of the special agents:

(1) Attorney General for special agents	\$19,901.19
(\$37,500 fund) (2) Governor for peace officers	\$19,595.49
(\$37,500 fund) (3) Governor for State agents	\$11,711.7328
(not more than four)	

The above testimony would seem to indicate that the Governor appointed certain special agents out of the \$37,500 fund given him and the Attorney General jointly. From the statement that the Attorney General's office had no record of the work of the Governor's agents, one might logically infer that such agents were not only appointed by the Governor but were directed by him as well and that a change in administrative policy occurred some time in 1919.

Correspondence and an interview with Mr. Havner, incumbent of the Attorney General's office in this period, revealed, however, that Governor Harding used only two State agents who acted for him during a part of the war activities. During the period they were working for the Governor they were not under the direction of the Attorney General in any manner whatsoever. The Governor appointed not more than four special agents, but, with the above exception, they were under the Attorney General's direction all the time. As to the men employed out of the \$25,000 (later \$37,500 fund), Mr. Havner says: "the Attorney General used this fund and the men who were paid out of this fund were employed by the Attorney General and were not included in the State Agents. This situation

²³ Iowa State Budget (prepared by Governor W. L. Harding), 1921–1923, pp. 9, 16.

remained as I have described it above during my entire term of office."24

Exercising the power given him by statute, the Attorney General frequently called local peace officers to aid him in law enforcement in other parts of the State. He soon learned the officials on whom he could depend and those on whom he could not. The officers so called supplemented the special agents force and, under the direction of the special agent or agents, conducted raids. If the sheriff of the county or chief of police of the city could be depended on, he was let in on the raid and given his proper position in the county or town, often leading the raid; if he could not be depended on and was corrupt or incompetent, the raid was, if no leaks occurred, conducted without his knowledge.²⁵

While the special agents force under Attorney General Cosson limited their activity to major crimes, the policy pursued under H. M. Havner was to enforce all the laws of the State, not merely flagrant abuses. The work of the special agents included such petty violations as vagrancy and disorderly conduct as well as such major felonies as murder, assault, and robbery. The special agents also acted to return fugitives from justice in extradition cases. The men chosen as special agents were all experienced in law enforcement; they had been sheriffs, deputies, or police officers.²⁶

The Governor's biennial message of 1921 contained the following report of the work of his special agents: "with but few State men cooperating with local officials, some \$740,000.00 past due auto license fees were collected for

²⁴ Personal letter from Horace M. Havner, Attorney General of Iowa from 1917 to 1921, dated February 6, 1935.

²⁵ Personal interview with Mr. Havner on December 27, 1934.

²⁶ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1917-1918, pp. 19-22, 1919-1920, pp. 25-29; personal interview with Mr. Havner on December 27, 1934.

the State during the past year, in a very short time. With two men and cooperation with local officers, some hundreds of stolen cars have been recovered, and seventeen men sent to the penitentiaries to serve sentences. With three or four men and cooperation with the local officers and the Bankers Association, some forty bank burglars have been sent, or are on the way, to the penitentiary to serve time."

Apparently there was some friction between the Governor and the Attorney General over the use made of the special agents at this time. Referring to the Attorney General's supervision over special agents, Governor Harding said: "There has been an effort made to transfer the constitutional provision to see to it that the laws are faithfully executed from the office of Governor to that of Attorney General. The net result of this effort has been chaos and failure. The 'lawyer' for the State has been converted into a detective, and at great expense to the tax-payers."

Lack of adequate funds greatly handicapped the work of the special agents during this period. In 1917–1918 the Attorney General reported that hundreds of requests for special agents from local officials and citizens could not be granted because of the limited number of men. Not only was the \$25,000 spent each year, but the department's contingent fund was also used to a great extent. Even by drawing on this fund, not over 25 per cent of the demands on the Department of Justice could be taken care of. During six months of the fiscal year 1919–1920, no special agents could be employed because of lack of funds.²⁸

ORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

Although, as we have seen, the Attorney General and

²⁷ Biennial Message of Governor William L. Harding, 1921, pp. 22, 23.

²⁸ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1917-1918, pp. 18, 19, 1919-1920, p. 27.

Governor appointed State law enforcement agents as early as 1911, these agents did not form a distinct administrative unit until 1921. At that time the Iowa legislature authorized the Attorney General to organize in his office a Bureau of Criminal Investigation and it consolidated in that Bureau all the peace officers appointed by the Governor and the Attorney General. The peace officers included were: (1) those the Governor or Attorney General could employ out of the \$37,500 joint fund provided annually; and (2) the "not more than four special agents" whom the Governor was authorized to appoint. No change was made in the appointive power, but the Attorney General was empowered to choose one of these peace officers as Chief of the Bureau.²⁹

Although the division of authority between the Governor and the Attorney General in the appointment of the law enforcement agents remained a theoretical weakness of the machinery, this defect was somewhat obviated by the provision permitting the Attorney General to appoint the Chief of the Bureau, who was to be in charge of all the agents and the Chief was given considerable discretion in the direction of the Bureau personnel. Furthermore, the weakness in theory did not usually exist in fact. The Attorney General became the sole user of the \$37,500 fund provided, and the Governor, after appointing his four special agents, did not interfere with their direction. The Executive Council, moreover, though it possessed power in relation to the Governor's agents, did not concern itself with the matter.³⁰

The Code Commission created by the Thirty-eighth

²⁹ Laws of Iowa, 1921, Ch. 186, Sec. 1. This law had been sponsored by the Iowa Bankers Association. — Personal letter from Frank Warner, Secretary of the Iowa Bankers Association, dated February 14, 1935.

³⁰ Personal interview with Neill Garrett, Assistant Attorney General under Ben J. Gibson and John Fletcher, on December 29, 1934.

General Assembly to compile, revise, and codify the statutory law of Iowa, declared, however, that the laws concerned with the appointment of special law-enforcing agents were in a very unsatisfactory condition. Divided authority in the appointment of these officers violated principles of good administration. Of the continuing annual appropriation of \$37,500 from which the Attorney General and Governor could draw to pay their law enforcement operatives, the Commission observed: "The expenditure of this latter appropriation might, instead of being judiciously expended, easily result in a race between bitterly hostile officials to see who could first spend it."

The extra session of the Fortieth General Assembly, which completed the work of code revision, amended the laws in regard to the appointment of the special law enforcement agents financed by the \$37,500 appropriation. The Attorney General was given the power to appoint the special agents, instead of sharing the appointive power with the Governor. He could appoint as many special agents as he judged necessary "to effect the capture, detention, arrest, and prosecution" of those persons violating the State law, but the total cost must not exceed the appropriation for the salaries and expenses of such agents. The Governor retained his power to appoint "not more than four special agents".

The salaries of these agents had previously been fixed by the Governor with the approval of the Executive Council; this provision was amended by the code revision session and the power to fix these salaries was given to the Executive Council. Though administratively unsound, this change has proved to be unimportant because the Executive Council has approved salaries as suggested by the Governor. The continuing appropriation was discarded

³¹ File of Code Revision Bills, 1923, Bill No. 250, general explanation.

for a biennial appropriation. No changes as to appointment of members of the Bureau of Investigation have been made since.³²

The first Chief of the Bureau of Investigation was Oscar O. Rock, in the opinion of those familiar with criminal investigation,³³ one of the most capable men ever associated with the Bureau. Rock, one of the first special agents and a former sheriff, served as Chief from the time of the Bureau's inception in 1921 to his death in January, 1924. His successor was James E. Risden, another capable leader who had been on the special agents force from the first. Both of these men were appointed by Attorney General Ben J. Gibson.

John Fletcher was elected Attorney General in 1926 and continued in office until January, 1933. This change of incumbents did not affect either the personnel or the administrative policy which had been followed in the former administration. James E. Risden continued as Chief of the Bureau throughout the incumbency of Mr. Fletcher as Attorney General and pursued the same general tactics as he had under Attorney General Gibson.³⁴

With the incoming of Mr. Fletcher, the special agents force expanded into a group of eighteen operatives, four being agents of the Governor. Beginning with the fiscal year, 1927–1928, the force was again increased to twenty-four investigators. This expansion was made possible by

32 Code of 1924, Secs., 13407, 13412; Laws of Iowa, 1924, Extra Session, Ch. 4, Sec. 116; personal interview with Mr. Garrett on December 29, 1934. The change from continuing to biennial appropriations came in 1924 with the creation of the office of Director of the Budget. It did not affect the appropriations for the Attorney General's special agents until the 1925-1926 fiscal year.

³³ George Cosson, H. M. Havner, Neill Garrett, and James E. Risden were unanimously of this opinion.

³⁴ Personal interviews with John Fletcher, Attorney General of Iowa from 1927 to 1933, and James E. Risden, Chief of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation from 1924 to 1933, on December 27, 1934.

an increased appropriation providing \$50,000 annually for the special peace officers, an addition of \$12,500.35

The increase in personnel made possible an expansion in the scope of activities of the Bureau and more thorough work in those things which had been done before. A survey of the Bureau records of this period reveals not only an increase in the number of convictions as a result of the special agents' assistance but also a greater number of types of crimes investigated.³⁶ Progress was made in the development of the Division of Identification³⁷ until it became one of the most complete in the country and initial steps were taken in a new field relating to the detection of criminals — police radio broadcasting.³⁸

In the fall election of 1932, the Iowa electorate changed the political complexion of popularly chosen State officers from Republican to Democratic. The new Attorney General, who assumed office in January, 1933, was Edward L. O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor soon fulfilled one of his campaign promises by effecting a program of economy in the Department of Justice. In the previous fiscal biennium, 1931–1933, the legislature had appropriated \$109,950 a year for the Department of Justice. Mr. O'Connor reduced this sum in his first appropriation asking to \$86,973, a saving of more than twenty thousand dollars, and to \$93,500 for each year of the 1935–1937 biennium.³⁹

³⁵ Budget Report, 1924 (prepared by the State Director of the Budget for the biennium ending June 30, 1927), p. 167, 1926 (biennium 1927–1929), pp. 74, 75, 1928 (biennium 1929–1931), pp. 68, 69; Laws of Iowa, 1927, Ch. 275, Sec. 26.

³⁶ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1926–1927, pp. 30, 31, 33, 1928–1929, 31–37, 1930–1931, pp. xxxv-xli.

³⁷ See below pp. 283-291.

³⁸ See below pp. 294-301.

³⁹ Laws of Iowa, 1931, Ch. 257, 1933, Ch. 188, 1935, Ch. 126. Of this appropriation for the Department of Justice for 1931-1933, \$64,254.44 was spent annually under Fletcher for peace officers and \$10,793.97 for State agents;

An inevitable consequence of this decreased allotment was a reduction of personnel in the Bureau of Investigation. Under Attorney General Fletcher, the staff of operatives in the Bureau had numbered twenty special peace officers of the Attorney General and four Governor's State agents. Under the new appropriations only twelve special peace officers and three State agents were employed in the Bureau.

In selecting the personnel for the State Bureau of Investigation, Attorney General O'Connor retained only one employee—a fingerprint expert—of the former Bureau staff. Park Findley, a former Polk County sheriff who had spent most of his life dealing with crime and criminals, was chosen Chief of the Bureau. Mr. Findley died in June, 1935, and Glen L. Schmidt who had been assistant chief, was appointed to succeed him. J. S. Gladstone, the present head of the Identification Division, and E. F. Brown, chief radio engineer, are commissioned as State agents but do not act in an investigatory capacity. Aside from the investigators, the Chief's secretary, two filing clerks, and an expert fingerprint classifier complete the present personnel. The filing clerks and fingerprint expert are employed in the Identification Division.

The salary range of the Bureau's staff indicates that the members are reasonably well paid for police work. The Chief of the Bureau' receives an annual salary of three thousand dollars; the chief radio engineer, two thousand dollars; and the head of the Identification Division, one thousand eight hundred dollars. Two of the Attorney General's special peace officers are paid two thousand dollars a year, and the other operatives eighteen hundred a year. The Governor's agents receive two thousand dollars

during 1933-1935 this was reduced to \$43,886.40 for peace officers and \$8,001.17 for State agents.—See *Budget Report*, 1935 (for the biennium 1935-1937), p. 32.

annually. In addition to this salary, an investigator is furnished with a car and expenses. Meals and hotel expenses are not to exceed four dollars per day. Necessary equipment is also furnished the officers. Personal equipage includes a revolver and pocket gas guns. Riot guns, rifles, sub machine guns, and a supply of tear gas are available to the agents when needed.

ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

The work done by the State Bureau of Criminal Investigation since its organization in general follows five lines: field work in the solution of crimes and in law enforcement; identification of criminals by scientific methods; records and reports of cases, crimes, and criminals; radio broadcasting; and education of local officials through schools of instruction. These activities are often interrelated, but each will be discussed separately.

Field Work. — The first duty of the special State agents was the detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals and this has continued to be the main function of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation. The emphasis placed on the various details of this work is largely determined by the attitude of the Attorney General.

The administrative policy pursued by Ben J. Gibson (the first Attorney General to supervise the new Bureau) was primarily to use the small, well-organized group of experts to combat crime of a major nature. Liquor laws were enforced, but this activity was subordinated to major crimes. Another activity was returning fugitives from justice.⁴⁰ The fact that the investigation force was comprised of only twelve special peace officers and three State agents neces-

⁴⁰ Personal interview with Mr. Garrett on December 29, 1934, for this material.

sarily meant that its activity must be limited. An additional duty was added in 1924 when the State Treasurer was authorized to call members of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation to his aid in the enforcement of the cigarette stamp law.⁴¹

Generally, investigators were assigned following requests of local officers, sheriffs, and police chiefs, for extra help. Requests of private citizens for aid were sometimes granted if the situation, in the opinion of the Bureau Chief, warranted investigation by the State agency. Aid was also given, as a matter of comity, to authorities in other States and Federal authorities when occasions arose. Whether or not such work would be done depended upon the Chief of the Bureau, who was given full authority to direct this force.

The practice of calling peace officers to aid special agents and other peace officers in different parts of the State, begun by Attorney General Havner, was continued by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Fletcher. The sheriff or chief of police in the county or city raided knew of the raid and usually participated in it. Instances in which they had no knowledge of coming raids were the exceptions to the general practice.

The present policy of the Department of Justice is to have the Bureau of Investigation aid local peace officers only when so requested and not arbitrarily interfere in the investigation of local crime situations. As a consequence of this "hands off" policy the Bureau's agents are used almost solely to combat organized crime of a major nature. The only deviation from this practice occurs in cases where a series of minor offenses, such a chicken stealing, are committed, and the local authorities are unable to cope with the situation. In a few instances, special agents are assigned

⁴¹ Code of 1924, Sec. 1576.

The policy of calling peace officers to aid State agents in other parts of the State, begun under Attorney General Havner, has now been abandoned. The present Attorney General is of the opinion that the local sheriff does not want his county invaded by outside peace officers doing his work. Another objection to such practice is that it leaves the county from which the sheriff is called without a law enforcer.

Appointees in the Bureau of Investigation are experienced in this kind of work, most of them being former sheriffs and deputies. Those appointed are developed as experts in specialized types of criminal investigation and identification and are assigned to the cases which fit their particular training. An expert in ballistics, for example, would be assigned to a case in which the identification of the firearm used was important.

It is the policy of the Bureau of Investigation, when working on a case, to credit the local officers for the work accomplished as much as possible. In most instances local officers and special operatives work together harmoniously. The sheriff or chief of police usually looks to the State men to take charge of and direct the investigation work. Daily reports relating to what is being done and the progress achieved are made by the State agents. When the assignment is completed, a final report is handed in to the Chief.

A brief description of the general routine followed in a case will give some idea of the field work done by the special agents. Generally one man is assigned to an investigation, and he works on the case until it is completed. In serious

felonies, as bank robberies or murders, more than one operative is sent to investigate. When several investigators are assigned, one is designated to be in charge, and it is he who is the last one to leave the case. The routine of questioning suspects and following leads varies with the case. Agents other than those assigned to the job contribute any information relative to the investigation which they may discover, and this report is made available to the investigator. The Bureau also receives clippings from a news syndicate giving crime news from all papers within the State. These are sent to the agents concerned.

On emergency occasions, men may be called off their cases temporarily, but they retain charge of the investigation. If some new development should arise during their absence, another special operative may be sent to get the "dope", but this information is merely gathered for the investigator originally assigned to the job.

Daily reports showing where the agent is located and progress effected up to date are made by the operative to the Chief. Upon the completion of the investigation, a final report incorporating a description of the investigation, the final disposition of the case, with affidavits and letters attached thereto, is written up and placed in a file, arranged according to counties, for possible future reference.

Criminal Identification. — In the law providing for the Bureau of Criminal Investigation, the Attorney General was authorized to provide a system of criminal identification and to adopt the necessary rules and regulations. County sheriffs and the chief of police of each city and town were required to furnish criminal identification records and other information as directed by the Attorney General.⁴²

⁴² Laws of Iowa, 1921, Ch. 186, Sec. 2.

The significance of this legislation can not be overemphasized. "Criminal identification is indispensable in the combatting of crime", asserts J. Edgar Hoover. It is the most potent factor in securing the apprehension of the criminal. No law enforcement agency is complete without a system whereby those accused or suspected of criminal activities may be identified by such means as fingerprints, photographs, and criminal records. Iowa, by establishing a State identification service, became the fourth State to recognize the need for such work.⁴³

A State criminal identification agency serves the purpose of gathering in one central depository criminal information invaluable to police officials throughout the State. information is made available to all law enforcement agencies within the State and is often exchanged with other States. Law enforcing agencies, instead of remaining isolated and doing their own criminal identification work inadequately, become unified in the work of detecting criminals. Referring to the establishment of the Iowa criminal identification division, the Attorney General, in his 1921-1922 biennial report, explained: "The primary thought and purpose was to create a central clearing house for the use and benefit of the local governments of the state, and to stimulate and foster among the various officers, both local and state, a spirit of mutual assistance and coöperation." Recognizing that no State identification service can succeed without the whole-hearted cooperation of local officers and that officers can not coöperate unless they know something of the means and methods of identification, schools of instruction were held throughout the State. These schools were attended by sheriffs, chiefs of police,

⁴³ Hoover's Criminal Identification in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. CXLVI, p. 205; Robinson's Criminal Statistics and Identification of Criminals in the National Municipal Review, Vol. XVI, p. 775.

and other police officers. Though primarily devoted to instruction in criminal identification and investigation, these schools were also "part of a general plan of statewide attack upon all violations of the criminal law."

By August, 1921, a complete Division of Identification had been established under the direction of Harry Passno who remained in charge until October, 1929. Files were kept "for identification purposes containing the finger prints and photographs of all persons arrested and convicted of felonies, of fugitives from justice, of inmates of all the penal institutions of the state, as well as of other persons arrested for crime." Fingerprint records, received from sheriffs, police, and penal institutions, totaled almost six thousand the first year. Through this one file alone 411 persons accused of crime were identified. A file of "persons wanted" was also established by the identification service. During the first biennium of this service, Iowa peace officers were placed in touch with the identification files of the Federal government, as well as other city and State bureaus.45

A law passed by the Forty-second General Assembly required county sheriffs and the chief of police of each city having a population of ten thousand or over to fingerprint all persons held for investigation, all those charged with a felony or with the violation of certain liquor laws, and those held as fugitives from justice. They were also to take the fingerprints of all unidentified dead bodies in their jurisdiction. These prints were to be forwarded, in whatever manner the Attorney General should prescribe, to the Bureau of Investigation within forty-eight hours after they were taken. The prints of any person acquitted of the offense charged were to be destroyed by any officer having

⁴⁴ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1921-1922, p. 5. Further details of these schools are given on pp. 301-306.

⁴⁵ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1921-1922, pp. 13, 43.

them. All equipment necessary to comply with this law had to be furnished by the supervisors and city councils affected.⁴⁶

As soon as this act went into force — in April, 1927 — the Attorney General adopted a set of rules and regulations in accordance with the power given him by statute.⁴⁷ These rules provided that four sets of fingerprints records should be taken of each person arrested, subject to limitations provided by the above law. One set was to be retained by the local peace officer for his own files, one set was to be sent to the Division of Identification maintained by the Federal government at Washington, D. C., and two sets were to be forwarded to the Iowa Bureau of Criminal Investigation.

Another regulation declared that records must be made on fingerprint blanks furnished by the Iowa State Bureau, and such information as indicated on the blanks should be put thereon. Every officer was required to put his name and address on all records sent to the State Bureau, such records being numbered consecutively by the officers sending them. The final disposition of the case pertaining to each subject fingerprinted must be reported to the State Bureau within forty-eight hours thereafter. Finally, in regard to fingerprints, it was enjoined upon the peace officers to send "one photographic copy of each latent print photographed at the scene of a crime" to the State Bureau and include the following information: "date taken, by whom taken, nature of the crime, and a description of the object from which the latent print was photographed."

Attorney General Fletcher ordered that all persons bound over to the grand jury should be photographed, front and profile views, and two copies of these photographs,

⁴⁶ Laws of Iowa, 1927, Ch. 241.

⁴⁷ For the power given him in the law setting up the Bureau of Criminal Investigation and the identification agency, see Laws of Iowa, 1921, Ch. 186.

with the name and number of the person photographed, should be sent to the State Bureau within forty-eight hours after grand jury action.⁴⁸

In May of 1931, these rules and regulations were reissued and included two additional requirements: (1) officers were instructed to designate on the reverse side of the finger-print blanks whether or not photographs are to be taken; and (2) the description of the person photographed, as well as the name and number, are to be recorded on the back of the photograph. Permission was given local officers to place the number on the subject while he was being photographed. No other rules or regulations have been issued by the Attorney General's office since, and the orders adopted in 1927, as supplemented in 1931, govern peace officers in Iowa at the present time.⁴⁹

Harold Gesell succeeded Mr. Passno in October, 1929, as head of the Identification Division. Not only were the former services continued under Gesell, but several new developments were inaugurated. Another file, the latent fingerprint file, was established as a permanent feature of the Bureau. Gesell also organized the ballistics department and bought the equipment necessary to conduct this specialized type of identification work. Handwriting and typewriting identification services were organized under his direction, and some work in hair identification was started. Furthermore, the ultra violet ray was brought into use in the detection of evidence hidden from the human eye. With all these services established, the Iowa State Bureau has secured one of the best and most complete identification divisions in the United States. In only a

⁴⁸ Rules and Regulations Adopted by the Attorney General, Rule Bulletin No. 1, 1927. See also Code of 1924, Ch. 616, Sec. 13416.

⁴⁹ Rules and Regulations Adopted by the Attorney General, Rule Bulletin No. 2, 1931; personal interview with Miss Irma H. Wegman, Secretary to the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, on December 29, 1934.

few instances, such as in certain types of chemical analysis of evidence, does the Identification Division ever require the assistance of outside experts in facilitating the solution of crimes.⁵⁰

L. W. Neary, who was appointed head of the Identification Division in January of 1933 to succeed Mr. Gesell, resigned at the end of the year to accept a position with the police department of Berkeley, California. Since December, 1933, the State identification service has been under the direction of Special Agent J. S. Gladstone, who is assisted in the administration of this agency by a finger-print expert and two file clerks.

It is a well-known fact that the fingerprints of no two persons are identical. Because of this circumstance, fingerprint classification and identification constitutes the most potent and valuable means of combatting crime and the Iowa Identification Division has made fingerprint classification and identification its paramount function. Iowa's files include more than 118,000 fingerprint records. Prints are received from Iowa sheriffs and police, from penal institutions, and from law enforcement agencies of other States.

Fingerprint classifications are made according to patterns. The old way of classifying prints was known as the Henry system. A relatively new development, the one now employed by the Iowa Bureau of Identification, is known as the Reno extension of the Henry system. This modern method of classification is the procedure used by the Federal Bureau of Identification.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Personal interview with Mr. Harold Gesell, head of the Identification Division of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation from 1929 to 1933, on December 27, 1934.

⁵¹ The Henry system had six patterns — arch, tented arch, radial loop, ulnar loop, whorl, and accidental; the Reno extension includes: plain arch, radial arch, ulnar arch, tented arch, radial loop, ulnar loop, turn loop, lateral loop, central pocket, whorl, and accidental.

Whenever fingerprints are received by the Identification Division, the first step taken is to search the name index file, which is arranged in alphabetical order, for that particular individual. Finding an index card of such a criminal permits the gathering of his complete criminal history from the Bureau's file system. If this procedure is unsuccessful, the prints are classified, and the fingerprint files are searched for a record of these prints. Should this method prove successful, the Identification Division by its file system is able to look up that person's complete criminal record. A complete report of this record is mailed to the officer who sent in the prints, and if a conviction or an arrest has been reported along with the prints, it is added to his criminal record in the Bureau. A man assuming an alias may not be found in the Bureau's name index file but nevertheless be housed securely in the fingerprint records file. Fingerprints have no aliases.

If the State Bureau has no record of prints sent in, they are mailed to the Federal Bureau of Identification at Washington, D. C., where a record of the individual may possibly be housed among the more than five million prints. If so, Washington sends a complete criminal history of the felon to the State Bureau which forwards it to the local officer. Should there be no record of the individual reported to the Bureau, his prints are put away in the file system of the Identification Division.

Fingerprint forms on which prints are sent in are furnished to the local peace officers. In addition to the fingerprints, certain other information concerning the individual is to be included on this blank.⁵² The prints are classified and filed according to fingerprint classification. Each print

⁵² These include the person's name and alias, residence, place and date of arrest, criminal charges, disposition of case, sex, build, color, age, if photos are to be taken, height, color of hair, beard, color eyes, complexion, married or single, occupation, sears, and criminal history.

also receives a Bureau or index number which acts as a guide to other files concerning the same individual. When the Bureau gets information that a man is dead, all of his regular files are taken out and put in the "dead" files.

Local law enforcement officers often send to the Identification Division objects found at the scene of the crime which they have reason to believe are marked with the fingerprints of the criminal. The Identification Division, if it can find prints, takes photographs of the prints and classifies them. Usually prints of only one or two fingers are found; sometimes only part of a complete print can be discovered. These objects of evidence are filed away according to case number, and the photographed prints are filed separately according to counties. Whenever the peace officer sending the object in gets a suspect, he prints him and sends the fingerprints in to the Bureau where they are compared with those found on the object. Since the establishment of the Identification Division, 106 identifications of latent prints have been made.⁵³

An expansion of the identification service occurred in July of 1934. Following the lead of the United States Department of Justice, the Iowa Identification Division began the single print system. Iowa is one of the first States to adopt this system. Under this system criminals may be identified, if they leave the imprint of only one finger; under the prevailing system now in use, the imprint of all fingers and the thumb is required to check identification. According to the single print system, the print of each finger is filed separately. Thus, each individual to be completely single printed would require ten file cards and ten classifications. Because of the enormity of the task involved the policy pursued by the Iowa Identi-

⁵³ Bureau of Investigation, Identification Division, Statistical Tabulation from December 31, 1933, to December 31, 1934, and Identification Division Summary, July 15, 1921, to December 31, 1934.

fication Division is to single print only habitual criminals or those who have committed especially heinous crimes. The single print system has been administered entirely under the direction of Mr. Gladstone who was responsible for its adoption.

Records and Reports. — Crimes sometimes remain unsolved for months or even years. In such cases local officials may change and the records may be lost or destroyed. Crimes committed in various counties of the State may be committed by the same criminal or gang. Moreover certain habitual criminals may return after several years absence or imprisonment and commit new crimes. All these possibilities have emphasized the need of some central clearing house for information concerning criminals in addition to the identification service.

Soon after the organization of the Bureau (in 1921), two files were established to assist in the enforcement of certain laws. One of these was a list of motor vehicles reported stolen either within or without the State and their recovery, if recovered, with other information about each case. The second file established was a list of persons convicted of violations of the liquor laws. Both files were open to all Iowa peace officers. These files enabled officers to determine who were "repeaters" and the fact that such a file was in existence might, of itself, deter some persons from a new violation of these laws.⁵⁴

In 1925 a law was enacted making it the duty of all sheriffs and all chiefs of police in cities to report all motor vehicle thefts and recoveries to the State Bureau of Investigation. Forms are now provided for theft reports and recovery notifications. These reports are arranged ac-

⁵⁴ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1921-1922, pp. 11, 12.

⁵⁵ Laws of Iowa, 1925, Ch. 8.

cording to the makes of cars.⁵⁶ When a report is first sent in, the Bureau's radio network broadcasts the information. Monthly bulletins concerning cars reported stolen and recovered are sent out to all sheriffs and chiefs of police in Iowa and to the motor vehicle departments in other States. *The Iowa Sheriff* also carries this report.⁵⁷

It was not until 1927, however, that the Forty-second General Assembly made it the duty of the clerk of the district court to report convictions of any violation of the intoxicating liquor laws of the State to the Bureau of Investigation. Standard forms furnished by the Bureau must be used and reports must be sent in within forty-eight hours after judgment of conviction.⁵⁸

These reports are filed in alphabetical order of the persons convicted. Since the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the creation of the State Liquor Commission, the volume of these reports has dropped considerably, but the Bureau continues to file reports sent in.

During the 1923–1924 biennium, the Bureau of Investigation began the practice of issuing circulars of fugitives from justice. This procedure, during the first four years of use, resulted in the apprehension of more than half of the fugitives for whom circulars were issued.⁵⁹ Such circulars are now sent out upon the request of the county or institution from which the criminal escaped and the county or institution pays the cost. The present mailing list numbers some 3750, including the ninety-nine sheriffs and some

^{56 &}quot;Stolen" blanks are white; "Recovered" forms are red. Information asked for includes: make of car, type, motor number, color, model, serial number, license number, reward, identification marks, name of insurance company, date stolen (or recovered), where, owner, address, sheriff or chief of police, with county and eity.

⁵⁷ Personal interview with Mr. Garrett on December 29, 1934.

⁵⁸ Laws of Iowa, 1927, Ch. 47.

⁵⁹ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1923-1924, p. 36, 1925-1926, p. 21.

six hundred chiefs of police in Iowa, all sheriffs in the other States, and the chiefs of police in the principal cities of the United States and Canada.⁶⁰

A permanent file of these circulars is maintained by the Bureau, in which white guides indicate the fugitives still wanted and red guides show that the circulars have been cancelled. A file of "circulars of criminals outside of Iowa", filed according to States, is also maintained. Police department bulletins received from State law enforcement units, city police departments, and private protective associations are also permanently filed by the Bureau.⁶¹

Beginning in 1925, a file of all prisoners discharged from Iowa penal institutions has been kept by the Bureau. 62 Fort Madison sends a card of three photographs, one with a hat or cap facing front, one facing front uncovered, and one profile uncovered; Anamosa furnishes only two photographs, not including the picture with hat or cap. Both institutions list the same information concerning the criminal. This material, which is written on the back of the photograph, presents the convict's number, name, date received, county received from, crime, sentence, parole or discharge, to whom paroled, where paroled to, certain details of identification, 63 and former convictions. The importance of this file is somewhat lessened by the complete file kept in the Identification Division of the criminal

⁶⁰ Data given by the State Printing Office.

⁶¹ Filed according to the place from which received. The bulletin file includes the following senders: the State law enforcement units of Ohio, Louisiana, Nebraska, Illinois, and Minnesota; the city police departments of San Diego, Oakland, and Los Angeles, California, Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri, and Vancouver, B. C.; the Auto Protective and Information Bureau; the American Bankers Association; R. R. Agents Association; and the Missouri Crime Prevention Bureau.

⁶² Personal interview with Miss Irma H. Wegman on December 28, 1934. The first record received for this file is dated July 16, 1925.

⁶³ Age, height, weight, complexion, color eyes, color hair, fingerprint classification, marks, and scars.

records of such men. One important contribution, however is that the file affords a check upon a criminal as to whether he was paroled or had completed his sentence.

The coroner is required to report to the Bureau, on forms provided, all deaths in his jurisdiction due to accidental or violent means. The report, besides indicating whether the death was due to murder, suicide, or accident, includes: the county, place of accident, name and address of deceased, date of death, coroner, and any remarks or explanations deemed necessary. These coroner's reports are filed according to counties. The purpose of this law was to afford the Bureau a sure means of getting reports of all homicides. Though county attorneys usually reported these cases, such a means could not be depended upon.⁶⁴

Once a week the Iowa Sheriffs Association prepares a bulletin of criminal information. The Bureau of Investigation coöperates with the Sheriffs Association by furnishing material relating to crime, such information being incorporated in this weekly statement. This report is issued to sheriffs, chiefs of police, chambers of commerce, and credit bureaus within the State, and a few places outside the State.

Police Radio Broadcasting. — The beginnings of this new law-enforcing enterprise may be traced back to 1924. In that year, soon after the establishment of radio station WHO at Des Moines the company operating that station permitted the broadcasting of news of bank robberies when requested by the Iowa Bankers Association. Mr. Kuhns, president of WHO, promised that when fifty counties agreed to buy receiving sets for sheriffs' offices, his station would give twenty-four hour protective service.

⁶⁴ Laws of Iowa, 1929, Ch. 143; personal interview with Mr. Risden on December 27, 1934.

But demonstrations in December, 1925, showed conclusively that the receiving sets had to be further perfected to be adequate and that a lower cost price was necessary.

WHO continued to give service to State law enforcing units by broadcasting news of bank robberies when requested by the Iowa Bankers Association. Though this practice demonstrated the possibilities of a State-wide police radio system in combatting crime, it was apparent that to be effective a broadcasting station devoted solely to police information had to be established. WHO was a commercial station, and programs could not be interrupted to broadcast information about crime, but the loss of an hour or two often meant the difference between the apprehension of criminals and their escape.

The Bankers Association, however, continued the attempts to connect local officers with the Bureau of Investigation by radio. By 1930, radio receiving sets had been adequately developed, so attention was turned to the broadcasting phase. Inquiries were made in July as to how much one central high wave broadcasting station sufficient to cover Iowa would cost. Estimates received showed that the cost of such a station was prohibitive. Attention was next turned to low wave broadcasting transmitters.

By January, 1931, plans were completed for the establishment of a State-wide low wave police broadcasting station of one transmitter unit. County bankers associations, according to the plan, were to request the local supervisors to join them in purchasing for the local sheriff's office a receiving set which would be "locked in" with the central transmitter. The Attorney General was requested to ask the General Assembly, then in session, to pass legislation necessary for the creation of the proposed system, with the understanding that the Iowa Bankers Association would furnish free to the State the

necessary broadcasting equipment and provide for the operation and maintenance of the station.⁶⁵

The Forty-fourth General Assembly authorized the Attorney General to enter into contracts necessary "for utilizing a special radio broadcasting system for law enforcement and police work". The only expenses permitted the State in creating such a radio system were those involved in buying a radio remote control system and installing it in the office of the Bureau of Investigation and these expenses were to be paid from the peace officers appropriation. Furthermore, it was made the duty of the boards of supervisors, upon notification from the Attorney General that broadcasting facilities were established, to install in the sheriff's office and in at least one motor vehicle used by the sheriff, a "locked-in" radio receiving set as prescribed by the Attorney General. It was also made incumbent upon city councils to establish at least one receiving set; such action by town councils was to be optional.66

Meanwhile, investigations of low wave radio stations continued and a transmitter was purchased by the Iowa Bankers Association in December of 1931. Member banks contributed pro rata the cost of this unit. The transmitter was installed in February of 1932 in the Liberty Building at Des Moines. Its operation at this time was merely for testing purposes — to find out how much of the State was being covered and to try out various receiving sets. In the fall of 1932 a lower frequency was, upon request, assigned to this station, as it was believed the lower frequency would give a more consistent coverage of the State, and further tests were conducted on this lower fre-

⁶⁵ Report of the Insurance Committee of the Iowa Bankers Association, February 14, 1934, pp. 1-4.

⁶⁶ Laws of Iowa, 1931, Ch. 241.

quency. These tests were completed in March, 1933, and the official receiving sets were designated.⁶⁷

With the necessary preliminary testing finished, the first unit of the Iowa police radio system, station KGHO at Des Moines, began regular operation on May 15, 1933, and has been in continuous operation ever since.⁶⁸

When Governor Herring summoned the General Assembly into special session in November, 1933, the Iowa Bankers Association and the Attorney General's office agreed to prepare a bill appropriating money necessary to establish at least two more low wave police broadcasting transmitter units to augment the Des Moines unit. The bill as passed authorized the Attorney General to enter into necessary contracts for installing a police broadcasting unit in northeastern Iowa and one in northwestern Iowa. These stations were to be located wherever the Attorney General decided was best. An appropriation of \$15,000 was made to carry out the act. 69

Extensive surveys were made in the summer of 1934 throughout northern Iowa to ascertain the most favorable location of these two units, and Storm Lake and Waterloo were chosen. Assembling of equipment and its installation was made in the late fall of 1934 under the direction of E. F. Brown, supervising radio engineer, and regular operation of these two units began on December 29, 1934.

The law made no provision for the maintenance of these

⁶⁷ Report of the Insurance Committee of the Iowa Bankers Association, February 14, 1934, p. 4; personal letter from E. F. Brown, Engineer in Charge of the Iowa Police Radio System, dated February 20, 1935.

⁶⁸ Report of the Insurance Committee of the Iowa Bankers Association, February 14, 1934, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Report of the Insurance Committee of the Iowa Bankers Association, February 14, 1934, p. 5; Laws of Iowa, 1933-1934, Extra Session, Ch. 142.

⁷⁰ Personal letter from Mr. Brown, dated February 20, 1935; personal interview with Mr. Brown on December 27, 1934; Des Moines Tribune, December 25, 1934.

two stations, but coöperation of the local communities with the State made possible the operation of the transmitters. The Waterloo station was (and is) housed in the studios of WMT. Mr. Shaw, former WMT owner, agreed to furnish an operator for the police radio unit until the legislature would make provision for his salary. When the Register and Tribune bought WMT, that firm assumed the contract Shaw had made with the State. KNFO, Storm Lake, is located in a courthouse room donated by the Buena Vista county board of supervisors. The operator and announcer was, at first, furnished by the business people of Storm Lake.

After the new stations were in operation there was still a police radio silent zone in southern Iowa, however, and the Forty-sixth General Assembly authorized the Attorney General to contract for the installation and maintenance of two additional police radio broadcasting units, one in the southwestern part of the State and the other in southeastern Iowa. These stations were to be established in such locations in these parts of the State as the Attorney General might decide would best serve the local peace officers in transmitting information to them. After much discussion Fairfield and Atlantic were selected as the sites of the southern Iowa stations.

Furthermore, the Attorney General was authorized to install, rearrange, or interchange police radio broadcasting equipment among the various stations. The act also authorized the Attorney General to pay needed maintenance costs for the operation of KNFN, Waterloo, and KNFO, Storm Lake, police radio units, until June 30, 1935, after which the general appropriation for the Department of Justice was to take care of it. Twenty thousand dollars, or as much thereof as was needed, was appropriated to carry out the provisions of this legislation.

This was five thousand dollars more than that in a similar measure authorizing the setting up of two transmitters in northern Iowa, but this increased appropriation was necessary to carry into effect the plans of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation to make the Des Moines unit the central and controlling station. Maintenance costs for the northern Iowa units hitherto not provided by law were also a factor causing the additional appropriation. It was planned to install in Des Moines a 1000 watt unit as a monitoring or controlling station over the four district police radio transmitters, thus obviating the expensive practice of using the telephone or telegraph service to communicate with local peace officers.

Following the establishment of the Storm Lake and Waterloo stations, the State added equipment for intercommunication. This last item has been the only equipment expense of the State in connection with the unit in the Liberty Building. The KGHO operator and announcer is appointed by the Attorney General of Iowa. Since September, 1934, his salary has been paid jointly by the Bankers Association and the State of Iowa.

In addition to the major KGHO equipment, receiving and broadcasting facilities have been assembled in the State House headquarters of the Bureau of Investigation. This machinery has been set up at State expense, as authorized in the original law, and constitutes the remote control position of KGHO. A circuit is also run from the Bureau's radio room to the offices of the Chief and his secretary, enabling them to hear any broadcasts sent out over the system.⁷¹

⁷¹ Laws of Iowa, 1933-1934, Extra Session, Ch. 142, 1935, Ch. 124; memorandum submitted by Attorney General O'Connor and Park Findley, Chief of the State Bureau of Criminal Investigation, to the General Assembly explaining plans for carrying out provisions of Senate File 321 of the Forty-sixth General Assembly; Journal of the Senate, 1935, pp. 966, 967; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1935, pp. 1716, 1717.

Iowa's State police radio system is now (1936) under the supervision and direction of E. F. Brown, chief radio engineer, who is appointed and paid by the Attorney General's office. He is commissioned as a special agent and is subject to the direction of the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation. Included in the Iowa police radio network under Brown's superintendence are the five stations: KGHO, Des Moines, the central and key station; KNFO, Storm Lake; KNFN, Waterloo; KACC, Fairfield; and KACD, Atlantic.

Each station has an engineer in charge. Though Iowa could qualify by having operators with a second class government radio telephone operator's license, it is the policy of the Department of Justice that their radio operators hold a first class license. Each of the five units has complete broadcasting and receiving facilities.⁷²

The messages sent over the State police radio network are picked up by Iowa's four municipal police radio stations⁷³ and rebroadcast for the information of local authorities. There is also intercommunication between the State and municipal units, the Fairfield and Cedar Rapids stations intercommunicating daily. State police radio units are exchanging information with the Minnesota State Bureau station and similar exchanges with other States is anticipated in the near future. The exchange of crime news by the Des Moines municipal station and five out-of-State police radio systems⁷⁴ aids in combatting crime

⁷² Intercommunication facilities provide a rapid means of turning the transmitter off and automatically opening the receiver. When the transmitter is used, the receiver shuts off.

⁷³ KGZC, Des Moines, KGOZ, Cedar Rapids, KGPK, Sioux City, and KGPM, Davenport. All four stations operate with 400-watt power on a frequency of 1682 kilocycles. Information relating to the municipal police radio units was taken from an article in *The Des Moines Register*, February 24, 1935

⁷⁴ This hook-up, which will be expanded from time to time, now includes

and in disseminating information which the Des Moines station picks up from the Iowa State police radio broadcasts. The policy of the Iowa Department of Justice is to encourage municipalities, especially those of 40,000 or over, in the establishment of municipal police radio stations and their coöperation and intercommunication with the State police radio network.

Though the law requires that the board of supervisors and city councils install radio receiving sets for use in connection with the State police radio system, this provision has not been enforced because of the restricted scope of broadcasting facilities, but since the installation of the stations at Fairfield and Atlantic - giving complete State coverage — receiving sets are being installed rapidly. At the present writing, there is estimated to be some two hundred radio receiving sets used by Iowa peace officers in connection with the State radio system. 75 Some of the sheriffs' automobiles have receiving sets. All of the Bureau of Investigation's agents are equipped with receiving facilities. These latter sets can be adjusted by the agents to receive municipal police radio broadcasts when they are located in such cities. The Iowa Highway Safety Patrol also has its cars equipped with radio sets adjusted to the frequency used by the State broadcasting stations.

Schools of Instruction. — Parallel with the development of the police radio broadcasting system, desire for better law enforcement led to expansion in another direction — the establishment of schools of instruction for local peace officers of the State.

For several years prior to 1927, the Iowa State Sheriffs Association, which — as the Bankers Association with the

the municipal stations in Duluth, Minnesota; Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska; Kansas City, Missouri; and Memphis, Tennessee.

⁷⁵ Data on receiving sets was furnished by Glen L. Schmidt, May 1, 1936.

radio movement — was the moving force behind the schools of instruction, was affiliated with the County Officers Association, an organization including all county officers except county attorneys, who held their convention in connection with the State Bar Association Convention. At the County Officers Convention a joint meeting of all officers was held, following which each group of officers, sheriffs, auditors, treasurers, etc., met in separate sessions. Thus was begun the getting-together of the sheriffs. These first meetings were no more than conventions, and their value was limited to whatever the sheriffs got from each other by association. These assemblages were sparsely attended, only about 20 sheriffs coming to the 1923 convention.

At this time, the law was interpreted that expenses of county officers attending conventions were properly payable out of county funds, but in 1923, the Fortieth General Assembly passed an act which provided that expenses incurred by county officials attending State conventions or group meetings could not be paid from county funds. An opinion given by Attorney General Ben J. Gibson interpreted this law to mean that county officers could receive expenses only where such expenses were expressly provided for by statute or were incurred in the performance of a duty imposed by law. In spite of this development "a small group of Iowa Sheriffs met in council of war, in 1924. They recognized the absolute necessity of better training and set themselves to the task of working out a plan of operation."

Beginning in 1924, annual schools of instruction have been held by the Iowa State Sheriffs Association. The first session was small in attendance, but the value of the plan was recognized, and sentiment was all for its con-

⁷⁶ Personal letter from R. W. Nebergall, editor of *The Iowa Sheriff*, dated February 25, 1935; *Laws of Iowa*, 1923, Ch. 106; *Biennial Report of the Attorney General*, 1923-1924, p. 136.

tinuance. The convention and the school of instruction were held on different dates until 1927 when the sheriffs withdrew from the Association of County Officers and concentrated their efforts on the instruction work.⁷⁷

Realizing the great necessity of educating the sheriffs and chiefs of police in law enforcement and identification instruction, the Attorney General recommended in his 1924 and 1926 biennial reports that a law be enacted providing schools of instruction for sheriffs. He stated that the getting together, exchange of ideas and information, and instruction resulting would be well worth the expense involved.⁷⁸

In 1925, at the regular convention of county officers, the sheriffs adopted a resolution requesting the Governor to call the sheriffs "to a series of meetings for the purpose of instruction in law enforcement and to devise a plan of statewide coordination in the enforcement of law". On August 19, 1925, Governor Hammill issued the proclamation, by authority given him in the law, that the Governor and Attorney General shall each have the power to call any peace officer to their aid in the enforcement of the law. This meeting was the second school of instruction and marked the beginning of the cooperative movement between the Sheriffs Association and the State. Since Attorney General Gibson ruled that the expenses of sheriffs in attendance at the sheriffs' convention could not be paid from county funds even though they were called by the Governor to it as a law enforcement meeting, the expenses of the individual sheriffs at the 1925 and 1926 sessions were paid by the officers themselves. Other expenses, as for speakers, were taken care of by the Iowa State Sheriffs Association.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Personal letter from Mr. Nebergall, dated February 25, 1935.

⁷⁸ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1923-1924, p. 15, 1925-1926, p. 9.

⁷⁹ Personal letter from Mr. Nebergall, dated February 25, 1935; Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1925-1926, p. 153.

In 1927, a change of incumbents in the Attorney General's office was accompanied by a change of opinion in regard to the annual schools of instruction and a difference between schools of instruction and conventions was recognized. Attorney General John Fletcher rendered an opinion which declared that the sheriffs were entitled to reasonable and necessary traveling and other expenses when called by the Governor or the Attorney General to schools of instruction and stated that the sheriff under these conditions was obliged to be present at the school as a part of his official duties.⁸⁰

With the coöperation of the Attorney General and the Governor, the school of instruction was held as usual by the Iowa State Sheriffs Association. This coöperation has continued to the present time. Each year the Governor or Attorney General, sometimes both, in exercise of their power to call peace officers to aid them in law enforcement, have sent out the call for peace officers to attend these schools of instruction. Theoretically attendance is compulsory, but there has never been any occasion to enforce this mandate — attendance has been practically 100 per cent since the State has coöperated.

The cost of the speakers at these sessions has always been financed by the Iowa State Sheriffs Association, and the expenses incurred by the sheriffs in attendance have been paid out of county funds. None of the expense is borne by the State. Programs for the sessions are arranged by the Association in coöperation with the Attorney General's office and the Bureau of Investigation. These programs include such features as: addresses by nationally known specialists in various fields of law enforcement followed by general discussion, round table exchange of ideas among the sheriffs on some selected general topic,

⁸⁰ Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1927-1928, pp. 96, 97.

open house at the Bureau of Investigation, and exhibitions by experts in different phases of law enforcement, etc.⁸¹

Beginning in 1928, the county attorneys adopted the plan practiced by the sheriffs and have since held their school of instruction on the same dates as the sheriffs, omitting the old convention. Joint sessions of the two bodies are held when lecturers of natural reputation speak in their respective fields.

Other peace officers, town marshals, police officers, constables, have been invited to these schools of instruction for the past several years. Complete accord among peace officers in the work of law enforcement is the aim of such a move. Numbers of them attend even though they must pay their personal expenses; this fact seems to indicate they derive some worthwhile benefits.

As Iowa officers had trouble in getting coöperation from neighboring States, it was believed advisable to invite heads of the principal law enforcement units of nearby States to attend these schools of instruction. These men were invited, and their expenses paid. This brought about the Mid-West Law Enforcement Conference in 1929 and 1930, which was held in connection with the annual instruction school. At this conference, plans of coöperation which gave splendid results were worked out by out-of-State officers meeting with the Chief of the Iowa Bureau of Investigation and officers of the Iowa State Sheriffs Association.⁸²

After the Iowa State Sheriffs Association had blazed the way—the State soon coöperating—in the matter of schools of instruction and after the beneficial results of

⁸¹ Personal letter from Mr. Nebergall, dated February 25, 1935; personal interview with Mr. Nebergall on December 27, 1934; programs kindly sent me by the Iowa State Sheriffs Association through Mr. Nebergall.

⁸² Personal letter from Mr. Nebergall, dated February 25, 1935; Program of Sixth Annual School of Instruction of Iowa State Sheriffs Association, p. 5.

such schools were plainly shown, it was thought desirable that other peace officers be afforded the same opportunity. With this end in mind, the Forty-fourth General Assembly authorized any county sheriff, with the coöperation of the Bureau of Investigation, to hold a school of instruction for all peace officers, including regularly organized vigilantes, within his county.⁸³

R. W. Nebergall, at this time a State agent appointed by the Governor, was assigned to coöperate with the sheriffs in conducting these schools. At each of the sessions he was assisted by a man from the Iowa State Sheriffs Association. Mr. Nebergall began making the rounds of the counties in September of 1931 and completed his work in November of 1932.

All counties except Polk and Ida held schools of instruction, and some few counties had more than one meeting. More than forty-five hundred peace officers attended these schools. All this work was done in a little over a year due to the splendid coöperation of the Bureau of Investigation.⁸⁴

COMMENTS AND PROPOSED CHANGES

The growth of administration in modern times has been prodigious, but instead of properly integrating the new services into existing agencies whenever possible, legis-

⁸³ Laws of Iowa, 1931, Ch. 132. As a part of his work in law enforcement, the Chief of the Bureau reported, in 1925, that he had assisted in promoting vigilantes movements. Such organizations played a part, according to the Chief, in the discouragement of bank robbery. An increased interest in getting better law enforcement officials also was attributed to popular participation in law enforcement activities.—Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1925-1926, pp. 22, 23.

⁸⁴ Personal letter from Mr. Nebergall, dated February 25, 1935; personal interview with Mr. Nebergall on December 27, 1934. Sectional schools, conducted and financed by the Iowa Sheriffs Association, have been held during the past three or four years. The peace officers who attend pay their own expenses.

latures generally create a new, independent unit for each additional function or place it in an unrelated department. This piecemeal fashioning in administration leads to the development of a cumbersome administrative machine. In Iowa this observation holds true in connection with law enforcement activities. There is a lack of integration, concentration, and centralization.

Because "the cost of government has been steadily increasing" and "it is desirable that the expenses of government be reduced without decreasing its efficiency", the Forty-fourth General Assembly established a committee on the reduction of expenditures, composed of six members. Though this committee, by its study during the interim between sessions of the legislature, was able to suggest reductions in governmental expenditures, the Forty-fifth General Assembly believed it advisable to have a more thorough and extensive study made and another joint legislative committee was created and given full authority to investigate and recommend such changes relative to structure and organization as they believed were conducive to greater efficiency and economy. This committee hired the Brookings Institution to make a survey of administration in Iowa.85

One of the conclusions expressed in the report of the Brookings Institution was that "law enforcement is of all the major functions of the state organized the most illogically and administered in general with the least basic efficiency." The investigators found that, on the State level, law enforcement is scattered among a multitude of agencies—the Governor, the Executive Council, the Department of Justice, the Secretary of State, the State Fire Marshal, the Board of Railroad Commissioners, the High-

⁸⁵ Laws of Iowa, 1931, Ch. 336, 1933, Ch. 270, and the Brookings Institution's Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa, p. iii.

way Commission, the Department of Agriculture, and the State Department of Health—all exercising some functions relating to law enforcement. Local law enforcement, not centralized with the State units, is entrusted to sheriffs, county attorneys, coroners, constables, police chiefs, and town marshals, all independent of each other and in no manner effectively coördinated or supervised from above.⁸⁶

In the opinion of the Brookings staff, the State Department of Justice provided a possible foundation for an integrated State-wide agency of law enforcement. "In the creation of the Bureau of Investigation and in the establishment of a centralized system of criminal identification and a radio broadcasting system, both operated by the bureau, Iowa has already taken important steps toward the construction of an adequate state law enforcement department. The Bureau of Investigation represents a valuable beginning".87

The arrangements for law enforcement should, suggested the Brookings report, definitely locate responsibility for general direction and control in the Governor. Their investigators would create in the Iowa Department of Justice a Bureau of Safety under the administration of a Commissioner of Public Safety, appointed for an indefinite term by the Attorney General with the approval of the Governor. The Commissioner, removable by the Attorney General or the Governor but only for cause after written notice of charges and a public hearing, would have authority to name the necessary officers and employees. The proposed Safety Bureau would embrace a State Highway Patrol and absorb the present Bureau of Criminal Investigation, the Fire Marshal's office, and the present law enforcement functions

⁸⁶ The Brookings Institution's Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa, pp. 90-93.

⁸⁷ The Brookings Institution's Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa, p. 99.

of the Secretary of State, the Railroad Commissioners, the Department of Agriculture, and the State Health Department. Some of the inspection duties of the Labor Commissioner and the State Highway Commission were likewise to be transferred to the Bureau. State control was provided for local law enforcement agencies.⁸⁸

The Interim Committee also prepared a plan for a revision of State government. It used the Brookings report as a basis but enlisted also the aid of various civic organizations, the personnel of State institutions, and persons interested in problems of government. Less comprehensive than the Brookings suggestions and differing in a few major aspects, the Interim Committee's proposals in relation to law enforcement were nevertheless similar to the general outline indicated in the Brookings report. The final report of the Interim Committee proposed that there be created a Department of Public Safety under the administration of a Commissioner of Public Safety, to be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. The Commissioner would be chosen for six years and could appoint such officers as would be required to discharge the duties of the Department. Divisions of the proposed unit were to be: (1) highway safety; (2) fire protection; and (3) criminal investigation. Transferred to the new Department would be all traffic and road laws now administered by the Secretary of State, the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and the State Highway Commission, all powers and duties of the State Fire Marshal and those of the Labor Commissioner relating to fire, and all of the powers and duties of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation.89

The major differences between the Brookings suggestions

⁸⁸ The Brookings Institution's Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa, pp. 100-113.

⁸⁹ Final Report of the Interim Committee on Reduction of Governmental Expenditures.

and those of the Interim Committee were: the Interim Committee would have a new department created rather than integrate all law enforcement agencies into an existing agency—the Department of Justice; and the Interim Committee's changes did not involve local peace officers. Both reports would have merged the Bureau of Criminal Investigation into the suggested State law enforcement agency. What both suggested was no more than the expansion of the Bureau of Investigation into a complete State police system, integrating all State law enforcement activities therein.

The Forty-sixth General Assembly, however, adopted neither the recommendations of the Brookings Institution nor those of the Interim Committee, but it did, apparently, agree that "one of the most urgent problems is the obvious necessity for an adequate state patrol system on our highways." Two highway patrol bills were brought up for consideration during the session. One, which was rejected, contemplated the creation of a State highway patrol as an independent department to be under the supervision of a superintendent appointed for four years by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. This department would have absorbed the Motor Vehicle Department of the Secretary of State's office, but would have left other State law enforcement agencies intact. 91

The bill finally adopted by the Forty-sixth General Assembly established a fifty-three man Highway Safety Patrol under the supervision of the Secretary of State. Enforcing the laws of the road and the regulation of motor vehicles are the primary duties assigned to this new agency, but patrolmen have the power, and are required, to arrest without

⁹⁰ Final Report of the Interim Committee on Reduction of Governmental Expenditures, p. 10.

⁹¹ Senate File No. 196, of the Forty-sixth General Assembly; Journal of the Senate, 1935, pp. 437, 451, 1067-1069.

warrant persons violating the law in their view. Cost of the administration of this agency is to be paid from the maintenance fund of the Motor Vehicle Department.⁹²

Although the passage of the above described law satisfies the need for a State highway patrol, the defeated measure placing this agency under the Governor would have provided arrangements more consistent with the principles of good administration. Law enforcement properly belongs under the direction of the Governor or Attorney General. The legislature in creating this new administrative activity has, as in the past, disregarded completely the principles of integration.

Another feasible alternative to the action taken, and one in harmony with sound administrative principles, would have been the expansion of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation into taking over the duties of highway patrolling. A degree of integration would have been accomplished by such a movement and this compromise action would have left the way open for future piecemeal integration of the law enforcement activities of State government.

ROBERT WALLACE SHEA

IOWA CITY IOWA

92 House File No. 67 of the Forty-sixth General Assembly; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1935, pp. 655-668; Journal of the Senate, 1935, pp. 1067-1069, 1215-1219. Governor Herring signed the Highway Patrol bill. This bill was sponsored by Mrs. Alex Miller, Secretary of State, who had initiated highway patrol work as part of the activities of the Motor Vehicle Department.—Iowa Automobile Accident Report, 1934; Iowa City Press-Citizen, January 25, 1935; The Des Moines Register, February 3, 1935.