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Illinois Crime Survey, The

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The Illinois Crime Survey was conducted in 1927 and 1928 for the purpose of ascertaining and making known the factors responsible for crime conditions, which were regarded as sufficiently grave to justify the investigation.

For several years prior to 1927, when the survey was begun, professional and predatory criminals had been carrying on with such boldness and success and their exploits were so well advertised, that the attention not only of the nation but of the whole civilized world was directed to them and the State became the object of almost universal criticism. At that time Chicago was frequently referred to in practically every newspaper in the world served by press syndicates, as the Crime Capital of the World. English newspapers published in Bombay and Calcutta, India; Shanghai, China; London, Paris, Berlin, and some in Austria and Australia, and many other foreign countries pictured the city as a place where an orgy of crime was constantly in progress and where the gangster and bandit held full sway.

The conditions in Williamson County and surrounding territory, beginning with the mining massacres in 1922 and continuing down to the terroristic feuds carried on by the rival gangs headed by Birger and the Sheltons, were quite as familiar to the people of New York and San Francisco as to the citizens of Illinois. Numerous outbreaks of bootleg wars on the western border, adjoining the city of St. Louis, involving East St. Louis, Alton, the tri-cities and sometimes the State Capitol at Springfield, were not overlooked in the Illinois crime news. The metropolitan gangsters had turned to bank robbery and held up banks in a number of small interior towns, the losses being placed at nearly $600,000.00 in the fifteen months prior to 1926. The citizens of rural and smaller urban communities were thereby reminded that the finest hard road system in the country had brought the professional criminal very close to them, and that the crime problem was no longer to be regarded as exclusively a city problem.

When the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, which conducted the survey, was organized in the latter part of 1926, the situation in Chicago and Cook County was beginning to be recognized by the business and financial interests of the city as a real menace to prog-

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ress, and this was largely due to the fact that professional and organized criminals were extending their operations in so many directions and increasing in political and financial strength.

For many years, Chicago, like every other great city, has had its gangs and its underworld, but prior to 1920 the gangs were largely held together by neighborhood and racial affiliations and were dependent upon vice, gambling and petty thievery for their income. The real troubles of Chicago were ushered in with national prohibition. Simultaneously with this event came the murder of Colosimo, the king of the underworld, and the succession of John Torrio. With prohibition, came illicit brewing, distilling and bootlegging, and Torrio was quick to take advantage of the new source of riches and power. He organized a force of gunmen from the petty criminals of the underworld, took over several breweries, and became a manufacturer and distributor of liquor on an extensive scale. Then came "hi-jacking" gangs who raided Torrio's breweries and held up and robbed his trucks, and the war was on. From that time until the present day, the traffic in illicit liquor, bringing millions into the coffers of organized crime, has been mainly responsible for the excess of crimes of violence in this city.

Torrio carried on with unprecedented success until 1924, when he lost caste amongst his old followers, because after the election of Mayor Dever in the preceding year, he was unable to secure the protection for his enterprises which he had previously enjoyed. He was prosecuted and convicted for violating the liquor laws and was later shot and seriously wounded by rival gangsters. When he recovered and had served his time in jail, he was apparently happy to be able to get out of the city, and has never returned. Gang war after gang war followed his retirement, due to the efforts of various upstart leaders in the underworld to succeed him. By a process of direct action elimination, with the aid of machine guns, pistols and sawed-off shotguns, a former body-guard and aid of Torrio, one Alphonse Capone, Alias Al Brown, was selected as the underworld leader, and he has succeeded in evading assassination and continues to rule to this day.

In the period between 1920 and 1927 over four hundred gangsters had been killed by other gangsters and an additional two hundred had been killed by the police. A large number of policemen had also been killed in the war with these armed desperadoes. Some of the conflicts between rival gangs and between gangsters and policemen were carried on with machine guns firing from automobiles racing through the streets.
In April, 1926, William H. McSwiggin, an Assistant State's Attorney, was the victim of machine gun fire while in the company of two gangster bootleggers, who were also killed at the same time. This being the first instance of an attack upon an official, it aroused the city to action. A special prosecutor was appointed on the ground that the State's Attorney was not free, by reason of his alliances, to conduct a real investigation into the causes of the death of his own assistant. Six special grand juries, a coroner's jury, and a Federal Grand Jury, each in turn, took a hand in the investigations which followed. A number of arrests were made and some indictments were filed, but those murders, like all other gang murders in this city since 1920, remain to this day a mystery. The investigations did, however, bring to light a great many facts pointing very clearly to a close alliance of certain politicians and officials of the city and county with the leaders of the underworld, and these disclosures strengthened the determination of citizens to make further efforts to get the facts and apply appropriate remedies.

It was this state of affairs which confronted the members of the Illinois Bar Association when they resolved, at the annual meeting in July, 1926, that an effort should be made to enlist the interest of other civic organizations throughout the State in a movement to have the survey made. It was believed that the survey method of handling the situation was preferable for the reason that it had been plainly demonstrated, time and time again, and especially in the community reactions to the McSwiggin murder, that crusades were not effective. Even the grand jury investigations were fruitless. Public interest, after becoming inflamed to white heat, died down and nothing was done. It was believed that a thorough investigation, progressing without heat, with a view to getting all the facts to be had on every phase of the subject and making them known, would form the basis for intelligent understanding of the problems of excessive crime and for constructive suggestions for their solution.

It was obvious that organized crime and the criminal political alliances were too strongly entrenched to be dislodged by crusades. On the contrary these outbreaks were used to the advantage of organized crime. It was established beyond any doubt that the police in some instances, ostensibly responding to the demand for suppression of the unlawful enterprises which were the principal sources of income of the underworld, raided gambling and vice houses operated by competitors of the syndicate and jailed the members of rival gangs operating them, for the purpose of getting rid of competitors of the recog-
nized syndicate. Thus the indignant protests of the citizens were used by the powerful leaders of organized crime to further strengthen their position. So the survey was begun on April 15, 1927.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of the survey, a new municipal administration took office in Chicago. The incoming officials had been elected, curiously enough in view of the conditions, upon a platform which sanctioned a wide-open town. Almost immediately, the gangsters who had been driven by the previous administration to the communities in Cook County lying around the borders of the city, came back into Chicago and commenced operations upon a large scale. A new chief of police was appointed and his first act was to file charges against three of the best captains on the force, upon which they were tried by the Civil Service Commission. They were all found guilty and dismissed. It is interesting to note that a year later every one of them was reinstated by orders of the Appellate Court, and the commissioner of police who had filed the charges was himself out of a job. But I am getting ahead of my story. The point I wish to make is that while the survey was going on in 1927 and 1928, we had the best opportunity ever provided for a study at first hand of the multiplied ways by which a city can be misgoverned.

The survey covered so much ground that I am sure you will agree it would be impracticable upon this occasion to go into detail concerning the methods of research and compiling, analyzing and reporting the data gathered. Knowing, however, that many of you are interested in the mechanics of the survey, I think I should state as briefly as possible the general plan which was followed. That plan was mainly adopted from the one employed in the Missouri Survey. The work was divided into various sections according to the natural divisions of the operation of the machinery for the administration of criminal justice, and different persons were selected to prepare reports upon the various subjects allotted to them. The research was conducted by the headquarters of the organization along the lines of the general plan agreed upon in advance, supplemented by the advice and suggestions of the reporters in the several divisions. The first drafts of the reports were considered by sub-committees of the Survey Committee and were finally passed upon by the Survey Committee consisting of sixteen members, ten of whom were lawyers.

The survey reports have been grouped under three main divisions; namely, The Machinery of Justice, Specific Types of Offenses, and Organized Crime in Chicago.
The reports under this division are:

_Recorded Felonies_, an analysis and general survey of twenty thousand case histories of felony prosecutions in Cook County and in seventeen down-state counties, by C. E. Gehlke of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, who served as statistician for the survey. These cases represent all felony prosecutions begun in the several counties surveyed, in the year 1926, and also in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where the same class of cases was examined for purposes of comparison. The data compiled from the study of these cases are tabulated, the various tables showing where cases drop out, from the preliminary hearing to final disposition. Each table is analyzed; the responsibility of judge, prosecutor, and jury in the disposition of cases is discussed; and comparisons of judicial administration in the various jurisdictions are made. This includes a comparison of all phases of judicial administration and prosecution in Milwaukee and Chicago. The results were compared with those found in reports of state-wide surveys made in Missouri and New York.

_The Supreme Court, in Felony Cases_, by Albert J. Harno, Dean of the College of Law of the University of Illinois. In this report the decisions of the Supreme Court in felony cases for the period from 1917 to 1927 are analyzed. The decisions were classified for discussion, and after showing the number of cases affirmed and the number reversed in a series of tables, the report classifies those which were reversed as to grounds for reversal, which are: (a) violation of constitutional provisions; (b) defective pleadings; (c) erroneous instructions; (d) errors in admission of evidence; (e) variance; (f) conduct of prosecutor; (g) conduct of trial judge; (h) form of verdict; (i) insufficient evidence; (j) sundry grounds such as remarks by bystanders, intoxication of the accused, and ineligibility of the state's attorney. Cases reversed and remanded were followed through the trial courts to which they were remanded and final disposition is shown. The report concludes with a summary of findings and recommendations.

_The Trial Courts, in Felony Cases_, by former Judge E. W. Hinton, Acting Dean of the Law School of the University of Chicago. Judge Hinton discusses the laws regulating the procedure in criminal cases and the work of the trial courts throughout the State, as indicated by an analysis of the twenty thousand felony prosecutions already referred to.

_The Juries, in Felony Cases, in the Criminal Courts of Cook County_, by Gustave F. Fischer, Chairman of the Jury Service Com-
committee of the Industrial Club of Chicago. This Committee, under Mr. Fischer's direction, has for many years taken an active interest in the subject, and the report goes thoroughly into all phases of administration of the selection and service of jurors in Cook County, including Chicago.

*The Prosecutor (Outside of Chicago), in Felony Cases,* by William D. Knight, State's Attorney of Winnebago County. Mr. Knight discusses the duties of down-state prosecutors and the manner of their performance, based upon personal experience and observation, as well as a study of case histories in the various jurisdictions from the standpoint of prosecution.

*The Prosecutor (in Chicago), in Felony Cases,* by John J. Healy of Chicago, former State's Attorney of Cook County. The report contains a thorough analysis of all phases of prosecution in the city of Chicago during 1926 and 1927.

*The Police (Outside of Chicago),* by Bruce Smith of the National Institute of Public Administration, New York, an authority on state police organization. The report is based on personal contacts with sheriffs, constables, county police, private protective associations and the State Highway Police.

*The Police (in the City of Chicago),* by August Vollmer, Chief of Police of Berkeley, California.

*The Coroner, in Cook County,* by Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, famous Chicago Pathologist. The report is devoted largely to the medical aspects of the coroner's office.

*The Municipal Court of Chicago as a Criminal Court,* by Professor Raymond Moley of Columbia University, New York. This report is a thorough analysis of the municipal court in operation as a court of preliminary hearing in felony cases, based upon personal observation and study of a large number of cases handled in that court.

*Pardons, Paroles and Probation,* in five parts; the first, "History of the Probation and Parole System in Illinois," by former Judge Andrew A. Bruce, President of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology and member of the faculty of the Law School of Northwestern University; the second and third, "Experience with Paroles, 1917 to 1927" and "Operation of the Probation Laws," by Albert J. Harno, Dean of the College of Law of the University of Illinois; and the fourth and fifth, "Prison and Parole Methods, as Effective for Rehabilitation of the Convict" and "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," by E. W. Burgess, Professor of Sociology of the University of Chicago.
Record Systems, by W. C. Jamison, Assistant Director of Survey. The report contains a detailed analysis of the systems of keeping records pertaining to the administration of criminal justice throughout the State in Felony cases, including police departments, courts, and justices of the peace, with recommendations for uniform methods and specific forms for collecting and reporting criminal complaints and arrests made on such complaints, and the essential facts as to the offender arrested; for recording the facts as to disposition of criminal prosecutions by all the courts and the state's attorneys; and for recording facts pertaining to the treatment of convicts confined in state institutions, and methods for reporting such data; and for a state bureau of criminal identification, statistics, and investigation.

Specific Types of Offenses and Offenders

This division includes the following reports:

Homicide in Cook County, prepared by myself, dealing with all types of homicide in Cook County for the years 1926 and 1927, classified by grades of criminality, modes of killing, color and sex of victims, motives, and distribution as to localities and by months. The report also includes a discussion of police administration in murder cases with relation to unsolved murders, which are classified as to color and sex and mode of killing, and a comparison is made of unsolved murders and unconvicted murderers to the total of murders as well as to kinds of perpetrators. An analysis of the administration of the coroners' office in cases of felonious homicide is made. All cases of felonious homicide, in connection with which some person was charged with the offense of murder or manslaughter, were tabulated and followed through to final disposition.

The Juvenile Delinquent, prepared by the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, under the direction of a special committee consisting of Jessie F. Binford, Director of the Juvenile Protective Association, Chairman; Professor Edith Abbott and Professor E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago; Harrison A. Dobbs, Superintendent of the Juvenile Detention Home; and Joel D. Hunter, General Secretary of the United Charities. The report is in two parts; the first was prepared by Clifford Shaw, of the Institute of Juvenile Research, and pertains to the quantity and distribution of delinquency and the personality of the delinquent offenders; the second was prepared by Earl D. Myers, of the University of Chicago, and deals with the treatment of delinquents in the juvenile courts and
in the various institutions in which they are confined. This report also deals with truancy and incorrigibility of school children in Chicago, a study having been made of the records in the Bureau of Compulsory Education and the Chicago Parental School.

The Deranged and Defective Delinquent, by a Committee consisting of Doctors Ludvig Hektoen, Herman W. Adler, and H. Douglas Singer, all of Chicago. The report was written by Dr. Singer, and is prefaced by an introduction prepared by Col. John H. Wigmore, Dean of the Law School of Northwestern University, in which he discusses and compares the lawyers' and psychiatrists' theories of crime and punishment. A long time study was made of records in the criminal courts of Cook County, the Psychiatric Clinic of the Municipal Court of Chicago, the state penitentiaries at Joliet and Chester, the Asylum for the Criminal Insane, and the State Reformatory at Pontiac. The law and procedure in Illinois pertaining to the trial and disposition of insanity cases is discussed in relation to expert testimony and the proceedings for the treatment and commitment of insane criminals. All cases in Cook County from 1923 to 1927 in which verdicts of insanity were rendered are traced through the various stages, and the subsequent history of persons found insane, including those released by writs of habeas corpus, and subsequent mental histories of persons committed to penal institutions during the same period in cases where the issue of insanity was raised at the trial are discussed.

Organized Crime in Chicago

The third and final division of the survey is devoted exclusively to a discussion of this subject. The report, in twelve sections, was prepared by John Landesco, Research Director of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, under the direction of an Advisory Committee consisting of Judge Andrew A. Bruce, President of the Institute, Colonel John H. Wigmore, and Professor E. W. Burgess. The introductory passages were prepared by Judge Bruce and the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations by Dr. Burgess. The report is a detailed history of organized crime over a period of twenty-five years in the city of Chicago and surrounding communities. It takes up each phase of underworld organization and operation under various heads, such as exploitation of prostitution; the rule of the underworld, dealing with syndicated gambling, beer wars and gang feuds; terrorization by bombs; racketeering; the gangster and the politician; funerals of gangsters; the gangster's apology for his criminal career, and finally, a Who's Who of Organized Crime in Chicago.
The recommendations followings this report contain suggestions for official and citizen action calculated to break up the alliance between crime and politics in the city of Chicago, which has existed for so many years and has persisted despite the best efforts of the citizens to prevent it.

Viewing the survey in the retrospective, it seems to me that the most outstanding circumstance connected with it is the fact that so many interests were drawn into close co-operation in furtherance of its success. The Illinois Bar Association initiated the move in 1926, which resulted in the incorporation of the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice; the Bar of the State furnished some of the most outstanding contributors to the success of the enterprise. Mr. Rush C. Butler, President of the State Bar Association in 1927, became the President of the Association for Criminal Justice. Mr. Amos C. Miller, a Vice-President of the State Bar Association, was Chairman of the Survey Committee. The Board of Directors consists of seventy-nine representative citizens from all parts of the State. The Secretary, Mr. M. A. Graettinger, is Secretary of the Illinois Bankers Association. One of the Vice-Presidents, John H. Walker, of Springfield, is President of the Illinois Federation of Labor. The Presidents of the three great universities, the University of Illinois, Chicago University and Northwestern University, are members of the Board of Directors. The facilities of these institutions were placed at the disposal of the Association. You will note from what has already been said that the members of the faculties of those institutions assumed responsibility for preparing a number of the important reports. They all served without any compensation whatsoever. The American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology contributed ten thousand dollars toward the expense of the Organized Crime report from funds provided by the Carnegie Foundation. The Local Community Research Committee paid one half of the expense of the report on Juvenile Delinquency from funds furnished by the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation. The Industrial Club of Chicago, an organization of business and professional men, added to a long list of community welfare projects sponsored by it and contributed the sum of one hundred thousand dollars over a period of two years, without which the survey would not have been possible. The Chicago Crime Commission joined in the survey and made available its invaluable files of records upon the administration of the criminal laws in Chicago and Cook County, which have been accumulated since 1920. The Institute of Juvenile Research, the Juvenile Protective Association, the United Charities, and numerous
other agencies in the city of Chicago co-operated to the fullest extent. The judges of the courts and the state's attorneys, the Chairman of the Parole Board, the Director of Public Welfare, and the officials of the State Highway Police responded cheerfully to our every request for their co-operation.

I could not, without an unpardonable trespass upon your patience, undertake to outline in any comprehensive way the findings and recommendations of the survey. The scope has already been outlined to you, from which some idea of the product may be gained. The reports were based upon original research. They contain 204 tables and charts. The volume of printed reports will contain between one thousand and twelve hundred pages after being put through a strenuous deleting process. Without attempting to go into detail with reference to the specific findings and recommendations in the several reports, I should like to mention several fundamental propositions which seem to me to have been confirmed by the survey.

**Failures of justice are traceable more often to administrative defects than to weaknesses in the laws.** The situation in Chicago and Cook County has largely been the result of poor administration. There seems to be no doubt after making allowance for the maximum of inexperience and incompetence which will always be more or less in evidence in public office, and allowing for every failure of justice due to weaknesses and loopholes in the antiquated laws of criminal procedure, that no serious problem of crime exists in any community of this State, urban or rural, where the police and sheriffs, the prosecutors and the courts are all doing their duty honestly and to the best of their respective abilities. Problems of crime arise when one or more of these officials fails or refuses to do his or their duty. The need for better men and more honest, vigorous, and conscientious administration transcends the need for new legislation. However, I do not mean to depreciate the value of the modern codes of criminal procedure. Changes in laws made with a view to meeting modern conditions of crime and putting the state in criminal prosecutions upon a more even footing with the defendant will be a great help to honest, vigorous, and conscientious administrators of the law, but when placed in the hands of public officials who are disposed towards laxity of enforcement and leniency towards criminals, they become no more effective than the so-called obsolete criminal codes.

By far the greater number of recommendations growing out of the survey pertain to administration. The recommendations, both administrative and legislative, were made without regard to prospects
for immediate adoption. Some of them look far into the future; others appear ripe for present application. Amongst the recommendations are several which, if adopted and properly administered, would insure more promptness and certainty in the apprehension and conviction of guilty felons. Comparison of judicial administration in all parts of Illinois with Milwaukee indicates that the Wisconsin laws permitting the state’s attorney to charge in felony cases upon information, and authorizing the waiver of a jury by the defendant in such cases results in great speed in disposing of felony prosecutions. Effective application of the habitual offender laws now in force depend almost wholly upon adequate means for identifying criminals and obtaining their previous records. Prosecution under these statutes are seldom begun for lack of such information. The survey recommends that some means be provided for the accumulation of such material for the benefit of parole and probation officials, police, prosecutors and courts throughout the State.

The police do not catch more than twenty per cent of those who commit felony crimes. The number who escape can only be ascertained by a comparison of the number of crimes actually committed in a given community with the number of prosecutions started in the same classes of cases. This information was not to be had anywhere in the State, except in the city of Chicago, and even there the figures of felony crimes reported to the police were suppressed so that only seventeen per cent of complaints received in the city’s forty police stations during 1927 were entered in the only official public crime record maintained by the department in the office of the secretary of police. The record of suppression of criminal complaints in 1926 was about the same. These facts were ascertained by an investigation by the Chicago Crime Commission of the complaints at each station, and a comparison of the result with the official published records of the department. Taking, for example, the number of robbery and burglary complaints found to have been lodged with the stations during 1926, the period covered by the survey, and comparing them with the number of prosecutions started, it was shown that in Chicago during that year 21,301 robberies and burglaries were actually committed, but during the same period only 4,129 robbery and burglary prosecutions were started, indicating 80.61 per cent of persons committing those offenses were never caught. Of the total number of prosecutions started, 1,177 persons charged with those offenses in 1926 were punished, and that is only 5.52 per cent of those committing these crimes. Comparison of similar records in other large cities where they are available are
not greatly at variance with these figures and indicate that the weakest spot in the administration of the machinery of the law is in the detection and apprehension of criminals.

When prosecution fails, the whole judicial process fails. During the period covered by the survey, prosecution in Chicago was at a low state of efficiency. The state's attorney was a political boss and his assistants were appointed mainly on a political basis and without reference to their ability. The assistants having charge of prosecutions of felony cases at the preliminary hearing in the municipal court were particularly incompetent and indifferent. The report states that these officials "usually know nothing about the facts in the cases and are not prepared to and do not render efficient service." To this fact was largely ascribed the failure of fifty-six per cent of all cases to survive the preliminary hearing.

After the municipal election in April, 1927, the Mayor, the State's Attorney, the Coroner, the Chief of Police, the Sheriff of Cook County, and a majority of the judges of the criminal courts were all affiliated with the dominant political faction in the county, thus permitting a degree of co-operation between these various agencies seldom found in any large city. Their co-operation, however, did not result in greater efficiency, but rather in diminished efficiency, the report stating that "prosecution in Chicago and Cook County is generally ineffective and barren of reasonably substantial results." The records indicated that literally thousands of felons were being released outright by the prosecutor or given light punishment upon reduction of felony charges to misdemeanors and a plea of guilty in the criminal court. Some of Chicago's most dangerous criminals were the beneficiaries of this leniency. One did not have to go far beyond the results of the survey on prosecution in Cook County to find the reasons for the general state of lawlessness prevailing in Chicago in that period. The criminal who knew his way about had no fear of prosecution.

Acquittals by juries are relatively unimportant so far as the number of cases disposed of without punishment is concerned. Out of a total of thirteen thousand felony charges filed in Cook County in 1926, only five hundred were tried by juries and one half of those resulted in acquittals. Assuming that each acquittal is a failure of justice, which, of course, is not a fact, this would still account for only two per cent of all felony charges filed. Eighteen persons are released through the action or by the influence of the state's attorney to one person released by the jury. The failure of jurors to convict in the face of evidence clearly indicating guilt always attracts attention and
adverse public comment, and it is important, therefore, that jury trials
be conducted by competent prosecutors and under rules and laws pro-
viding for the procedure in such trials which give the defendant a fair
trial but no improper advantage. But the fact, nevertheless, stands
out that in the whole scheme of the administration of justice, the jury
is not nearly so important as is popularly believed.

In the city of Chicago organized crime presents the worst prob-
lem, and of all classes of organized criminals those who are engaged
mainly in the manufacture, distribution and sale of intoxicating liquor
constitute the greatest menace. Organized criminals are mercenaries.
Our reports show that the gangs of gunmen in Chicago and vicinity
are bound together and maintained largely by the profits of bootlegging
and gambling. It is under the bootleggers' banner that thousands of
minor criminals are constantly being recruited, attracted by the ease
with which enormous profits can be made. "They have not abandoned
their earlier criminal operations in which they were engaged," says
one of the reports, "but continue in these as side lines. Being immune
from prosecutions for their operations in the manufacture and dis-
tribution of beer and whiskey, they have been able to obtain protection
from the consequences of other crimes like murder, burglary, and
robbery because of their new political alliances and stronger financial
position." It was the bootlegger, the "hi-jacker" and the rum runner
who gave Chicago its reputation as a crime center. One would think
that the supply of gunmen would be exhausted when it is remembered
that some six hundred of them have perished since prohibition went
into effect, but there appears to be a never failing source of recruits.
If all the murders committed by gangsters in Cook County were elimi-
ated, the murder rate in this community would be reduced to normal.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that no one has
ever been convicted or punished for a gang murder in Cook County
for the period covered by the survey, indicating a complete failure upon
the part of detecting and prosecuting agencies. "It is respectfully sug-
gested," says the report on Homicide in Cook County, "that a becom-
ing effort by the police as a murder prevention agency would result
in suppressing public gambling and wholesale liquor manufacturing
and rum running, which would deprive these gangs of their main
sources of revenue, and when that it done, there being nothing left
to fight for, little will remain of the gang problem. In order to be
profitable both of these enterprises must be conducted in the most
flagrant and notorious manner. So conducted, they are as obvious to
the police as to anyone else; therefore it should not be difficult to suppress them if there existed the desire to do so."

It is said in the Organised Crime report, "There is no blinking the fact that prohibition has introduced the most difficult problems of law enforcement in the field of organized crime. The enormous revenues derived from bootlegging have purchased protection for all forms of criminal activities and have demoralized law enforcing agencies. Questions have been raised as to the practicability of the enforcement of prohibition in metropolitan cities, because of the wide-spread adverse sentiment. This skepticism only indicates that the enforcement of prohibition is a matter of public opinion. Once the relation between the profits of bootlegging and the activities of organized crime is clearly seen, there should be no insuperable difficulties in the way of some practical form of the control of the situation. A minimum program of prohibition enforcement in the interest of the control of organized crime might be to concentrate enforcement efforts upon the commercialization of bootlegging, especially in the hands of organized gangs. In this way the backbone of organized crime would be broken. Chicago can and should be rid of the mercenary criminal gangs that exist because of political alliances. But this cannot be successfully accomplished without frank recognition of the problem created by prohibition and the intelligence and courage to act upon this knowledge."

No better illustration of the interlocking connection between bootlegging and all other forms of commercialized crime can be cited than that presented in the person of Capone, the recognized leader of the bootlegging industry in this community. He is also the boss of the gambling syndicates and of commercialized vice. Lately he has appeared as the dominant factor in the control of gangsters who are engaged in "racketeering."

The reports of the survey on this latest phenomenon of organized crime in Chicago must be of great interest because of the spread of "racketeering" to other cities. The modus operandi is for the gangster to approach the owner of a service business, mainly those businesses employing drivers, with a proposal to organize a combination of owners of such businesses with a view to increasing prices. The gangster at the same time undertakes to get control of the drivers' organizations. If any person thus approached refuses to come in, his place is bombed or he is otherwise threatened and intimidated until he does come in. When control of the employers and employees has been obtained, the "racketeer" then demands a subsidy in the form of dues, and the re-
ports indicate that enormous sums of money have been taken in this way, reaching in some cases to hundreds of thousands of dollars per year. The public pays the bills in higher prices for the service. An illustration of the way it works:

One man engaged in the dyeing and cleaning business refused to come in. Bombs were placed in the suits that were sent to his establishment and they exploded when they were handled. On one occasion the driver of a truck loaded with suits to be cleaned and pressed was knocked insensible, placed in the back of the truck, covered with clothing, which was then saturated with gasoline and set on fire. He miraculously escaped death. Upon another occasion the driver of one of the wagons was "taken for a ride" and a bullet put in each knee, thereby rendering him a cripple for life. Instances of mayhem of this character could be multiplied. When this man got tired of applying to the police and the state's attorney for protection, he took the chief of the bootlegger gangsters into his company giving him a large block of stock in the concern and announced to the press at the time that he then had no further need of the Employers' Association or of the police department for he had the "best protection in the world." That happened about eight months ago. It is significant to note that within the past thirty days the warfare against this man's business has again broken out, notwithstanding the "best protection in the world." His gangster partner is now engaged in a war with another gang and the property of the man who took the gangster in is now being attacked as an incident of this struggle.

The genesis of this new manifestation of organized crime and its connection with the other activities is related in our report on "Racketeering": "In 'racketeering' the gunman and the ex-convict have seized control of business associations and have organized mushroom labor unions and have maintained or raised price and wage standards by violence, and have exploited these organizations for personal profit. This entrance of the gangster and gunman into the field of industry in Chicago seems to be due to two factors; first, the agreement to control competition under any conditions is difficult, and particularly when these agreements are in violation of the law. Where a line of action is outlawed, whether the manufacture and the sale of alcoholics or gambling, or trade or price agreements, a situation is created favorable for the entrance of the gangster on invitation or upon his own initiative; second, the gunman and the gangster with their tactics of intimidation and punishment were available to carry out strong-arm methods free from serious interference by the law enforcing agencies.
This survey of 'racketeering' in Chicago discloses the extent and degree of the breakdown of our local governmental machinery. The police, the state's attorney's office, and the courts are now failing to maintain law and order in the fields of labor and business as they have failed to repress the outlawed activities of vice, gambling, bootlegging, and robbery. As a result, the gunmen and gangsters are at present actually in control of the destinies of over ninety necessary economic activities."

I cannot, for lack of time, go any further into the findings of the survey. The reports will presently be printed in permanent form and will be available for those who may have a further interest in the matter.

In the beginning I referred to the fact that in April, 1927, coincidently with the beginning of the survey, a new municipal administration took office in Cook County and that the incoming officials had been elected upon a wide-open town platform. They proceeded to put that policy into effect. The result was chaos. There was little effective effort made to curb the activities of professional criminals and their politician allies. The reputation of the city, which had already been injured, sustained additional damage of far reaching consequences. You probably know the story as well as I, because the antics of high public officials and the generally demoralized condition of municipal government was, during that period, the subject of daily press comment from one end of the country to the other. Nowhere in the country, however, was the criticism so unsparing as that which was self-inflicted by the citizens and the press of Chicago. The Tribune on November 25, 1927, was moved to say:

"We do not know how much battering a city can give its reputation without paying a bill for damages, but Chicago seems about to make a fair test of it. Presently, if not now, a Chicagoan will have to ask people not to laugh when he is obliged elsewhere to confess his home town. Chicago exposes itself to enmity and ridicule. Its authority has no dignity, no self-respect, no effectiveness, and no capability. A city in which the citizenship energy displayed by individuals and by associations of individuals is remarkable is utterly shamed by its officialdom.

"It is a government of clowns with a supergovernment of crooks."

I think this comment just about sums up the views of the average, responsible citizens of Chicago at that time. The people were stirred to the depths by the spectacle of bold defiance and unchecked activities of the criminal classes, extraordinary waste and extravagance in all departments of the city government, the high taxe rate, and the injection of politics into school administration.
Then came the campaign preceding the primary election on April 10, 1928. The state's attorney, recognized as the main cog in the powerful political machine which he and his associates had constructed in the dominant political party, was a candidate for re-election. The campaign will linger long in the minds of the people of Chicago. It was characterized by much bitterness and invective. Shortly before the election, the homes of Judge John A. Swanson, candidate for the nomination for state's attorney against the incumbent, and of United States Senator Charles S. Deneen were the targets for bombs exploded but a few minutes apart. The election resulted in an overwhelming defeat of most of the machine candidates, including the state's attorney. This was the beginning. It was hailed as the dawn of a new day. The general election in November, 1928, swept into office practically every candidate on both tickets who had repudiated machine support.

The election may be taken as a decisive repudiation by the citizens of Chicago of all those forces and leaders which in 1927 and 1928 did so much to bring this magnificent city into disrepute. The power of the underworld has not yet been broken, nor will it be broken for a long time to come, because there are millions of profits involved and there yet remain many sinister influences which must be overcome before there will be any substantial improvement in the crime situation in Chicago. There is, nevertheless, much hope to be found in the present situation.

The new State's Attorney is a man of excellent qualifications, judgment and unquestioned ability and integrity. The new Sheriff of Cook County bears a similar reputation. The new Coroner, Dr. Bundesen, is one of the best known physicians in the United States. It is, indeed, fortunate that a man of his ability and standing would take the office of Coroner. Dr. Bundesen's election insures an honest, capable administration of the duties of that office. A new Commissioner of Police was recently appointed and his official acts up to this time give every indication of a firm purpose to administer the office honestly and fearlessly. The affairs of the school system appear again to be in competent hands after the turmoil and disgraceful proceedings attendant upon the farcical trial of former Superintendent McAndrew under the old administration. The Sanitary District and the taxing bodies are also under the control of new officials, who are proceeding as though they intended to eliminate the graft and favoritism which has characterized the administration of those important offices in the past. There are many things yet to be done, but the citizens of Chicago are justified in believing that a good start has been made and that with the opening
of the World's Fair in 1933 Chicago will be as clean and well governed a city as may be found in this country.

We, who have participated in the survey, do not make any claims of contributing to these splendid results. It is true that our reports, which were released from time to time for newspaper publication, were well received and the information contained therein was used throughout both campaigns by the victorious candidates and their friends and as the basis for many editorials. A very considerable number of the recommendations in our reports have already been put into effect by the new officials, not because they were contained in our reports, but largely because it was the natural disposition of these officials to adopt methods calculated to improve the administration of justice in this community. We believe that the reports contain a constructive program which will stand up under any test to which it may be subjected, and will continue to live as the product of diligent and painstaking research, and mature study and deliberation. It is the purpose of the Association to carry on with the object of urging the adoption of the legislative and administrative recommendations contained in the reports. If, happily, they have contributed, or do in the future contribute, to any extent to the improvement of the administration of criminal justice, those who have given so freely of their strength, time, and thought to the success of the enterprise will consider themselves amply repaid.