SE15

THE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM OF SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS

A SURVEY BY THE DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

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THE SPRINGFIELD SURVEY
DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTIONS SECTION

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INTRODUCTION

SPRINGFIELD AND ITS CORRECTIONAL PROBLEM

In 1910 Springfield's population was about 52,000. The United States census estimates the city's growth since then at about 1,500 persons per year. For a northern city of the middle west there is rather a small proportion of foreign born—13.4 per cent—but a relatively large proportion of colored people—5.7 per cent. Police records do not show arrests by nationality but they do separate colored people from whites. The former in 1913 contributed 10.2 per cent of arrests or nearly twice as large a proportion as they formed of the city's population.

Springfield is situated half way between Chicago and St. Louis, a fact which has an important bearing upon her crime problem, for the city is a convenient stopping-off place for tramps, "yeggs," and other semi-criminal classes who thus swell the jail population as lodgers and prisoners. Every fall the state fair attracts thousands of persons to the city, among whom is a sprinkling of pickpockets, swindlers, and professional beggars who crowd the jails until the fair is over.

The city has some conspicuous features of a "wide open" town. A very evident segregated district flourishes. In April, 1914, when the survey was started, the district was marked by glaring red lights, house names, and women soliciting from windows. In the fall of 1914 the names and open soliciting had disappeared but glaring lights remained and the district still went about its business. Formerly, public gambling flourished; at the time of the survey though the public features had disappeared it was still carried on under cover and not vigorously suppressed.* In April, 1914, Springfield saloons numbered 220;

* Since the survey was made a new sheriff has come into office who is reported to be active in raiding gambling and disorderly houses.

one to every 263 persons. The Sunday closing law, according to the chief of police, was "a dead letter."

Public recreation, as shown in the recreation report,* has been developed to only a limited extent, while there is little effective control of commercial amusements. General agreement exists among those who have given consideration to the matter that plenty of wholesome recreation, especially for young people, is a great crime preventive. Between two and three thousand Springfield male workers are employed in seasonal occupations, most of them being thrown out of work in the summer. The resulting enforced idleness of so many men and boys, recurring periodically, undoubtedly is also a factor in the community's crime problem.

The Problem Stated

In Springfield and immediate vicinity 4,909 arrests in which some specific offense was charged were made in 1913. Sixty-six were arrests of children. Of this total, 3,312 were arrests by the police department made within the city limits, while 1,597 were arrests by the sheriff's force largely outside the city. In addition to these the police took 521 and the sheriff 284 persons into custody upon suspicion, but later released them without entering specific charges. During the same period there were 1,271 convictions in criminal actions, of which 1,119 were in the justice of the peace and city magistrate's courts, and 152 in the county and circuit courts. Thirty-nine children were found delinquent by the juvenile court.

The law violations represented in these arrests and convictions give a fairly accurate idea of the size of the delinquency problem of the community centering in Springfield. It is true, of course, that some who break the law are not arrested and that not all those arrested are guilty of law breaking. It is also true that, occasionally, innocent persons are convicted and guilty persons acquitted. Nevertheless, while the figures as to arrests and convictions are not absolute tests of the amount of lawlessness in the community, they are the best indications available and near enough the truth for practical purposes.

* Hanmer, Lee F.: Recreation in Springfield, Illinois. (The Springfield Survey.)

To protect itself from this law breaking the community has an organized correctional system made up as follows: for the apprehension of law breakers, the police department and the sheriff's force; for temporary detention pending trial, the city prison, the county jail, and the detention home, the last being for children; for prosecuting cases before the courts, the city attorney and the state's attorney; for trial and sentence of those arrested, the justices of the peace, city magistrate, the county and circuit courts, and the juvenile court for children; for detention on sentence,* the city prison and the county jail; for probationary supervision, the juvenile probation officer, for children only. These are the agencies and institutions the work of which will be reviewed.

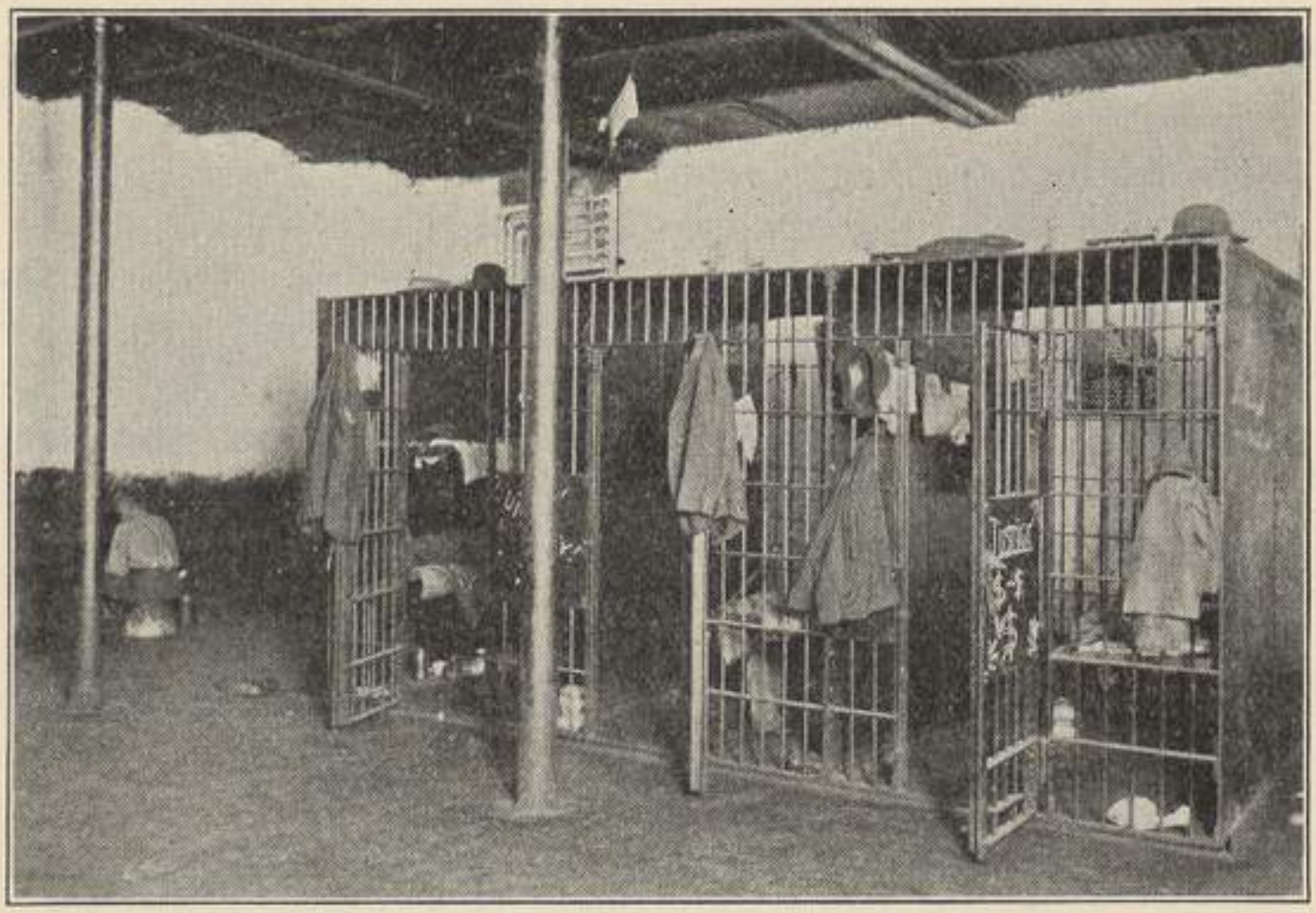
The list includes many county as well as city agencies, for the reason that a study of city agencies alone would tell but inadequately how Springfield offenders are dealt with. There is in reality only one correctional system in the state; it is organized by state laws and of it local agencies merely form a part. Springfield offenders guilty of minor offenses, for instance, may be tried by the city magistrate, but unless guilty of violation of city ordinances they suffer confinement, if they receive jail sentences, in the county jail. If charged with felony they are tried in the circuit court, and if sentenced they go to the state penitentiary. There is, furthermore, no city court for children, and all delinquent Springfield children come before the juvenile court, which is a county institution. All these matters, moreover, are regulated by state statutes. We are in reality concerned, therefore, with the work, not of a Springfield correctional system, but of Springfield's part of the state correctional system.

In following the examination of Springfield's correctional methods it is well to have clearly in mind the test of good correctional work. A police court judge engaged daily in sentencing an endless stream of persons passing before him might come unconsciously to feel that the purpose of correctional work is to punish offenders. A probation officer, on the other hand, daily

* The penitentiaries at Joliet and Chester, the reformatory at Pontiac, and the St. Charles School for Boys and the Geneva School for Girls, state institutions, also serve for the confinement of offenders after conviction in appropriate cases.

engaged in endeavors to help offenders to their feet, might come to feel that the purpose of correctional work is to reform offenders. Neither conclusion would be correct. Punishment and reformation are merely means to an end; the end is the protection of the community from law breakers.

How do correctional methods serve to protect the community? This is the real test of correctional work. To apply it to the activities of the above mentioned agencies and to suggest remedies for the weaknesses discovered is the purpose of this report.



INSIDE THE "BULL PEN," CITY PRISON, SPRINGFIELD

The cage furnishes the only bunks for sometimes as high as 50 prisoners. The jail exists to protect the community from law breaking; but unless prisoners' treatment is upbuilding instead of degrading, those taken into custody are likely to go out merely to break the law again, as many did in Springfield in 1913

COMMUNITY PROTECTION AND "REPEATERS"

When we endeavor from this point of view to test the efficiency of the correctional methods now in use we are at once confronted with an interesting and important fact which suggests strongly that they are not giving the best results. A considerable propor-

tion of arrests are those of "repeaters"; that is, persons who have been arrested more than once. Although facts could be gathered for one year only, the figures are nevertheless highly significant.

Of the 4,909 arrests on charges by the police and the sheriff in 1913, 1,447—or almost 30 per cent—were of persons arrested more than once during this single year. The number of persons taken into custody two or more times was 548. Three hundred sixty-six were arrested twice, 98 three times, 45 four times, 25 five times, 5 six times, 3 seven times, 1 eight times, 1 nine, 2 ten, 1 twelve, and 1 as many as sixteen times. A full statement of these arrests is found in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—ARRESTS BY THE POLICE AND THE SHERIFF'S FORCE, OF PERSONS ARRESTED MORE THAN ONCE. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Times arrested	Persons	Arrests
2	366	732
3	98	294
4	45	180
5	25	125
6	5	30
7	3	21
8	1	8
9	1	9
10	2	20
12	1	12
16	1	16
Total	548	1,447

Facts given in the table cover arrests of out-of-town persons as well as residents of the city. A considerable proportion of the non-residents arrested belonged to the class of professional beggars, hoboes, or "yeggs" who travel from city to city plying their semi-criminal means for making a livelihood. The non-residents arrested, therefore, were probably more likely than local persons taken into custody to be of the repeater type. But because of their transient habits they were not likely to be arrested more than once in Springfield, and for this reason a truer idea of the part which chronic offenders play in the community's crime problem is obtained if arrests of non-residents are eliminated.

For this purpose, however, it is necessary to consider police arrests only, for the sheriff's records do not show place of residence.

Arrests of residents of the city by the Springfield police department in 1913 totaled 2,414. Of these, 934, or 39 per cent, were of persons arrested more than once during this single year. Those

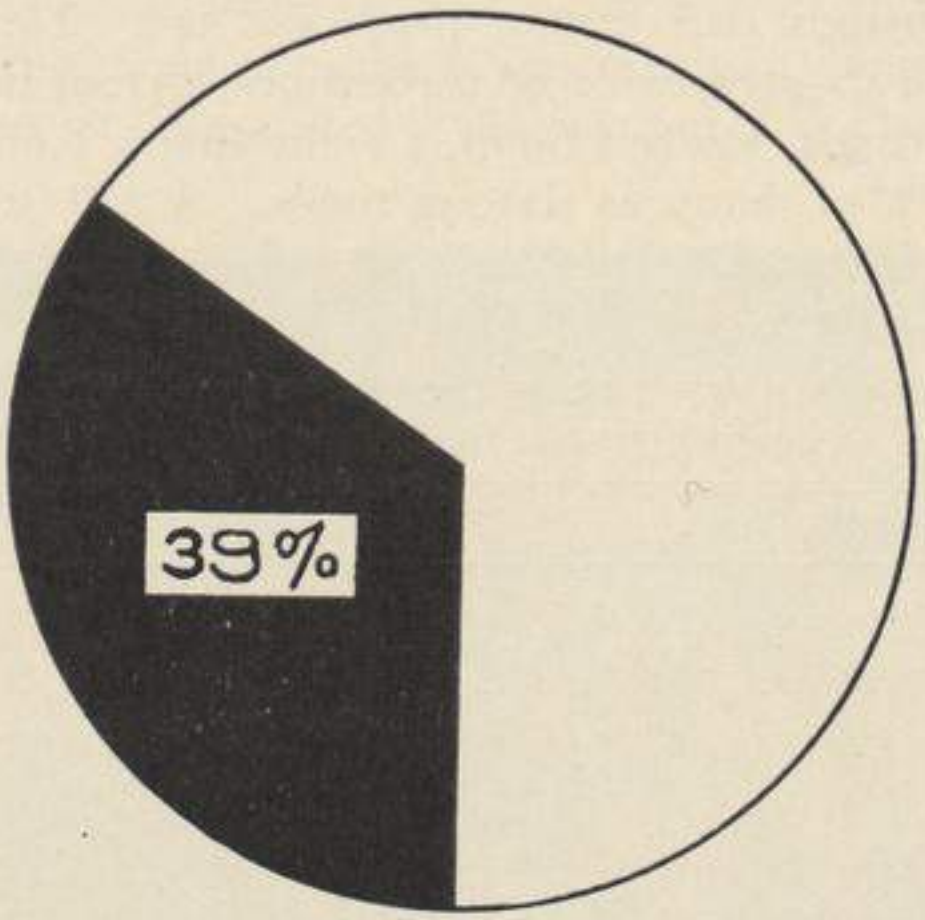


DIAGRAM 1.—BLACK PART SHOWS PER CENT OF ALL ARRESTS OF SPRINGFIELD RESIDENTS IN 1913 FORMED BY PERSONS ARRESTED MORE THAN ONCE DURING THE YEAR

The fact that 39 per cent of all arrests of Springfield residents were of persons arrested more than once during the year suggests that present correctional methods are for some reason failing to give the community effective protection from law breaking. The figure does not, moreover, indicate the full extent of the failure, for persons sent to jail for extended terms had little chance to "repeat" and the same might be said of those arrested toward the close of the year. To point out the reasons for the ineffectiveness of present methods and to suggest remedies is the object of this report

arrested two or more times numbered 353, and formed 19 per cent of all Springfield residents taken into custody. Two hundred twenty-four were arrested twice, 81 three times, 28 four times, 11 five times, 2 six times, 3 seven, 1 eight, 1 ten, 1 twelve, and 1 thirteen times. The facts are presented in detail in Table 2, as follows:

TABLE 2.—ARRESTS BY THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OF RESIDENTS OF SPRINGFIELD ARRESTED MORE THAN ONCE, 1913

Times arrested	Persons	Arrests
2	224	448
3	81	243
4	28	112
5	11	55
6	2	12
7	3	21
8	1	8
10	1	10
12	1	12
13	1	13
Total	353	934

It should be remembered that these figures cover a single year only and that undoubtedly a number of persons arrested but once in 1913 had been arrested in previous years. Moreover, it is probable that some of those arrested in the latter part of the year and some of those who spent long terms in jail were of the repeater class; though because of the time of their arrest or their long jail sentence they show but one arrest within the year. The figures, therefore, are clearly an understatement of the truth. But even so, the fact that at least 39 per cent of Springfield arrests in a normal year were contributed by repeaters raises serious questions as to the effectiveness of correctional methods in use. Apparently, among the persons who know better than anyone else what to expect from Springfield's police, courts, and jails, they have been weak in deterrent and reformative effect. The treatment received by persons in the repeater group has neither frightened them from the commission of further offenses, nor instilled in them a desire to be law abiding. On the contrary many have been returned to jail time and time again, a few as many as 10 and 13 times in a single year. If the protection of the community from law breakers is the purpose of correctional work, there is reason in these facts for making a detailed examination of Springfield's correctional methods.

PART ONE

THE HANDLING OF ADULT OFFENDERS

I

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF ARREST

For the purpose of examining the methods of handling adult offenders, the 3,312 arrests on specific charges made by the police department in 1913 were studied. As a starting point, it was desired to know how many cases came to trial, how many resulted in convictions, and how many led to the payment of penalties. These facts are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—DISPOSITION OF CASES OF ARREST UPON SPECIFIC CHARGES BY THE SPRINGFIELD POLICE, 1913

Disposition of case	Arrests	
	Number	Per cent
Found guilty by city magistrate or justices of the peace	1,119	34
Not prosecuted	1,060	32
Dismissed by city magistrate or justices of the peace	684	21
Bound over for grand jury [a]	206	6
Otherwise disposed of [b]	112	3
Not given on police docket	131	4
Total	3,312	100

[a] Many persons bound over for the grand jury in 1913 had not been finally disposed of when these statistics were gathered. Felony cases disposed of by the circuit and county courts during the year are shown in Appendix A, page 172.

[b] Dispositions included under this head are: Let go by chief or mayor, 39; sent to county jail annex, 34; sent to county jail, 22; turned over to other authorities, 13; sent to hospital, 4.

The first important fact shown by the table is that only 34 per cent of all arrests led to conviction by the justices of the peace and city magistrate. In 32 per cent of the cases there was no prosecution, while 21 per cent were dismissed; thus, a total of at least 53 per cent of all police arrests on charges resulted in no penalty being imposed.

In addition, however, to the 1,744 arrests which make up this 53 per cent and in which payment of a penalty was thus escaped, 192 of the arrests which resulted in convictions also did not lead to payment of a penalty. In all there were, therefore, not counting the 206 cases bound over for the grand jury, 1,936 cases, or 58 per cent of the year's total of 3,312 police arrests on specific

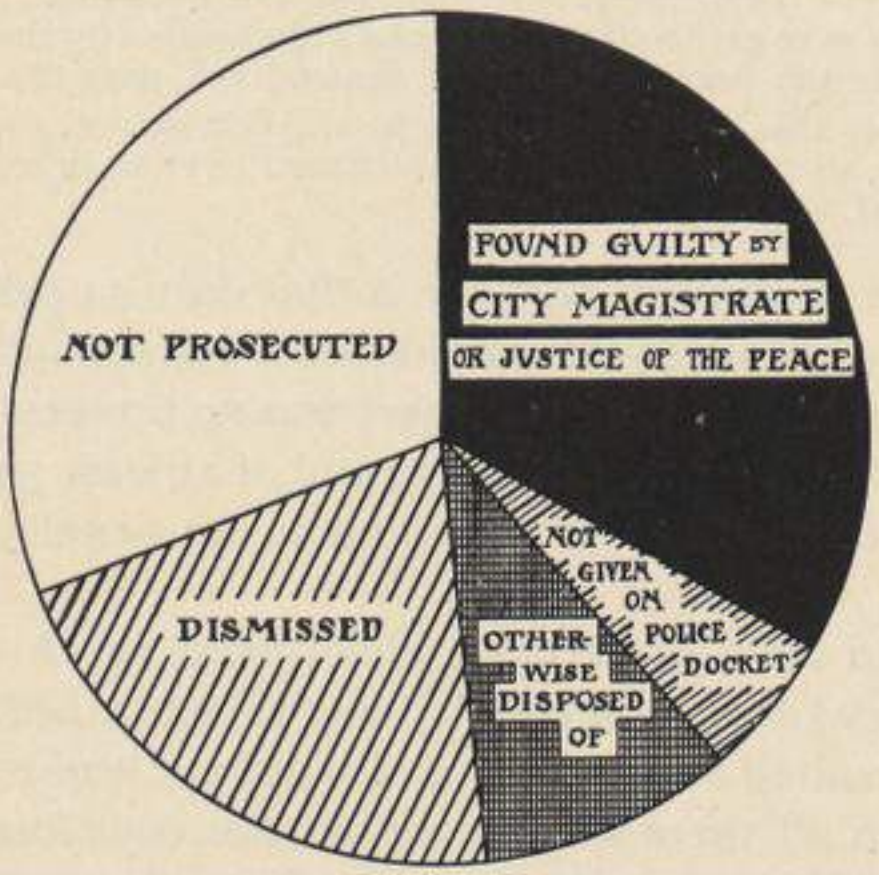
charges, which resulted in no penalty being paid. The various ways by which penalties were escaped are shown in Table 4.

From this table it will be seen that in 10 per cent of the cases

TABLE 4.—WAYS IN WHICH PENALTY WAS ESCAPED IN 58 PER CENT OF POLICE ARRESTS ON SPECIFIC CHARGES. SPRINGFIELD, 1913[a]

Way penalty was escaped	Arrests	
	Number	Per cent
Not found guilty		
Not prosecuted	1,060	
Dismissed by court	684	
Total	1,744	90
Found guilty but escaped penalty		
Fine suspended by court	149	
Fine remitted by mayor	24	
Fined, but ran away	7	
Jail sentence suspended	6	
Fine remitted by chief of police	4	
Fined, unable to pay but sent to hospital	2	
Total	192	10
Grand total	1,936	100

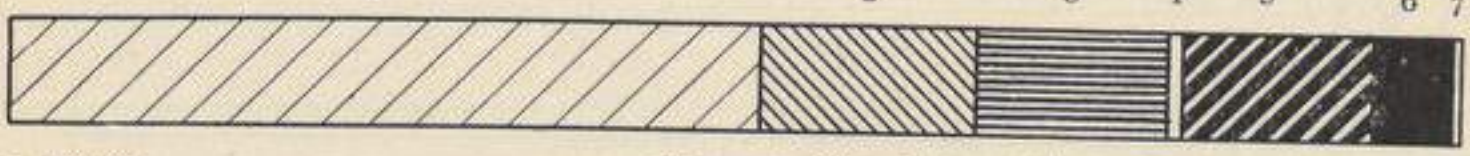
[a] The table does not include 521 arrests on "suspicion" of persons against whom no charge was lodged.



The fact that less than two out of every five arrests led to convictions suggests the need for more effective police work. Police efficiency is dealt with in Part Three of this report.

DIAGRAM 2.—WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 3,312 PERSONS ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH SOME SPECIFIC OFFENSE BY THE SPRINGFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT IN 1913

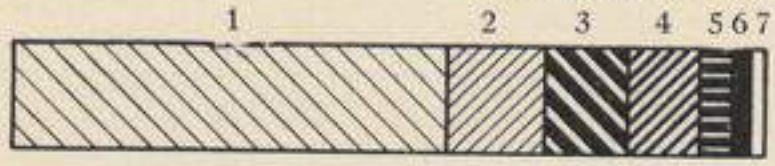
FORMAL SENTENCES OF THE 1,119 PERSONS FOUND GUILTY BY THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND THE CITY MAGISTRATE



1. Fined	581	5. Given hours to leave town	157
2. Given jail sentence	165	6. Fined; sentence suspended on condition offender leave town	61
3. Fined; sentence suspended pending good behavior	149	7. Given jail sentence; suspended on condition offender leave town	1
4. Given jail sentence; suspended during good behavior	5		

The diagram above shows the formal sentences which the lower courts imposed. The actual results of these formal sentences upon offenders is shown in the last diagram below.

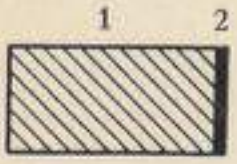
How the 581 Fines Were Paid



1. Paid in cash	337
2. Served term in jail in default of fine	75
3. Paid part in cash; served term in jail in default of balance	63
4. Not known	59
5. Relinquished by chief or mayor	28
6. Appealed	10
7. Miscellaneous	9

Abandonment of the general use of fines is recommended. (See pages 19 to 30.) In their place extended use of probation for adults is proposed. (See pages 76 to 81.)

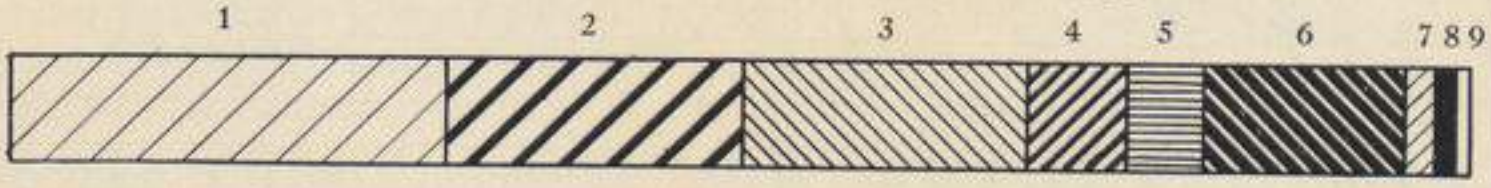
What Happened to Those Given Jail Sentences



1. Served term in jail	164
2. Appealed	1

Conditions in both the city prison and the county jail are condemned (see pages 36 to 56) and the development of a new jail system is recommended. (See pages 60 to 69.)

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED TO THE 1,119 FOUND GUILTY BY THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND THE CITY MAGISTRATE



1. Fine paid in cash	337	6. Sentence suspended	154
2. Served term in jail	227	7. Let go by chief or mayor	28
3. Given hours to leave town	219	8. Appealed	11
4. Paid a fine and served term in jail	75	9. Miscellaneous	9
5. Fined (method of payment not known)	59		

How did subjecting offenders to these various punishments serve to protect the community from law breakers? Facts bearing on this question are the subject matter of this report.

DIAGRAM 3.—DISPOSITION OF PERSONS FOUND GUILTY BY CITY MAGISTRATE AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, SPRINGFIELD, 1913

TABLE 5.—SENTENCES BY CITY MAGISTRATE AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, BY OFFENSE. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Offense charged	Persons sentenced to pay fine of									All persons sentenced to pay fine	Persons sentenced to jail for									All persons sentenced to jail	All persons given hours to leave town	All persons
	$1	$3	$5	$10	$25	$50	$100	$200	Amount not given		10 days	15 days	20 days	30 days	60 days	90 days	130 days	180 days	6 months			
I. Offenses against chastity																						
Adultery	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Assault to rape [a]	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Indecent exposure	..	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Inmate house of ill-fame	..	4	..	..	3	..	2	..	..	9	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	10
Keeper house of ill-fame	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Street walking	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
II. Offenses against the person																						
Assault	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Assault and battery	..	26	..	7	6	2	4	2	1	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	49
Assault with deadly weapon	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Fighting	..	32	3	1	4	..	1	..	1	42	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	46
Mahem [a]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Making threats	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	4
Wife beating	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
III. Offenses against property																						
Assault to rob [a]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Forgery [a]	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Grand larceny [a]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Larceny	..	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	20	..	..	..	2	3	1	..	..	1	7	2	29
Larceny as bailee	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Malicious destruction of property	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Obtaining money under false pretenses	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	4
Passing bad checks	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1
Robbery [a]	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

IV. Offenses against public policy																							
Begging	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	5	7	1	..	..	1	14	28	46	
Carrying concealed weapons	..	5	..	..	16	..	1	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	24	
Cruelty to animals	..	4	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	
Discharging fire arms	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	
Disorderly conduct	..	177	6	27	26	11	14	1	1	263	3	1	1	16	10	6	1	1	4	43	49	355	
Disturbing peace	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	5	
Drinking on train	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	8	
Drunk	..	24	..	6	6	3	2	..	..	41	3	1	..	6	3	6	..	1	3	23	20	84	
Drunk and disorderly	..	31	..	9	4	4	4	..	..	52	..	..	1	4	2	1	..	..	2	10	6	68	
Gaming	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	
Impersonating an officer	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Keeping dog without license	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Keeping gambling house	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Keeping vicious dog	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Language and conduct	..	16	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	21	
Neglect of family	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Obstructing the streets	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Operating business without license	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	
Resisting officer	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	
Running automobile without license	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Saloon open Election Day	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Speeding	..	17	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	
Trespassing	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	3	7	8	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	13	1	21	
Vagrancy	..	2	..	1	2	1	16	..	..	22	6	..	..	6	7	3	..	..	4	26	23	71	
Violation dog ordinance	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Violation Sunday closing law	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Violation school law	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	
Violation traffic ordinance	..	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11	
Wife and child abandonment	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
V. Miscellaneous																							
Execution of previous sentence	..	19	1	2	1	2	3	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	29	
Offense not given	..	30	..	5	5	8	21	..	1	70	10	3	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	19	13	102	
Total	2	470	22	70	98	38	76	5	10	791	30	5	4	55	34	19	1	2	21	171	157	1,119	

[a] A felony according to the state law and may not be tried before the city magistrate and the justices of the peace. In these cases the police must have prosecuted for offenses of a less serious nature. For instance, assault to rape was probably prosecuted as assault, grand larceny as petty larceny, and so forth. The charges given are those entered upon the police docket.

where penalty was escaped it was due to action after guilt had been proved, while in 90 per cent of the cases it was due to the inability of the police after having made arrests to secure convictions. The failure of the police department to secure convictions in so large a proportion of cases is taken up in Part Three of this report, which deals with the work of the police department.

The present section will be concerned mainly with the treatment of adults proven guilty—one of the most vital points in the whole delinquency problem, for if the methods used are not such as to protect the community adequately in the future against those who have already been proved to be dangerous, the effectiveness of the whole correctional system is a doubtful quantity. This group includes the 192 guilty who escaped punishment and 927 others—a total of 1,119, or 34 per cent of all the police arrests. The sentences imposed in these cases are shown in Table 5.

The large facts which stand out in this table are: First, that the favorite method of these courts in disposing of those found guilty was to impose a fine, 791 out of the 1,119 or 71 per cent having been disposed of in that way, and that by far the most common assessment was $3.00; second, that the next most usual method was to impose a jail sentence, 171 being thus dealt with; and third, that in many cases an attempt was made to rid the community of offenders by giving them a fixed number of hours to leave town.

While showing the formal disposition made, the table does not in all cases tell how sentences were finally executed. For instance, of the 171 receiving jail sentences seven escaped going to jail,—one by appeal and six because the court suspended execution of their sentences. In five of the six cases sentence was suspended pending good behavior. In the sixth case the offender was given hours to leave town. Moreover, of 732 persons who were fined and whose method of payment is known, but 475 paid their penalties and only 337 paid them fully in cash. Seventy-five had not the money to pay and were forced to spend a day in jail for each dollar of their fine. Sixty-three others were not able to raise the full amount of their fines and spent some time in jail. One hundred forty-nine had their sentences suspended "pending good behavior." Thus the actual disposition of the cases of

those fined does not entirely correspond with the statement of formal sentences imposed. The details of the actual dispositions are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6.—FINAL DISPOSITION OF CASES IN WHICH FINES WERE IMPOSED BY THE CITY MAGISTRATE AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE. SPRINGFIELD, 1913[a]

Disposition of case	Cases in which fine was								Total number of cases	Total amount of fines
	$1	$3	$5	$10	$25	$50	$100	$200		
Fines paid										
In cash	..	287	12	11	16	3	6	2	337	$2,581
By term in jail	..	44	..	16	11	2	2	..	75	867
Partly in cash, partly by term in jail	..	43	3	8	7	2	..	..	63	499
Total	..	374	15	35	34	7	8	2	475	$3,947
Fines not paid										
Sentence suspended "pending good behavior"	2	54	5	22	36	13	14	3	149	$3,959
Sentence suspended on condition that prisoner leave town	..	1	..	4	7	5	44	..	61	4,868
Unable to pay fine, let go by mayor[b]	..	3	..	4	6	5	6	..	24	1,049
Unable to pay fine, let go by chief of police[b]	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	4	88
Sent to hospital[b]	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	100
Ran away[b]	..	2	..	2	2	..	1	..	7	176
Appealed to higher court	..	2	..	2	4	..	2	..	10	326
Total	2	63	5	35	56	26	67	3	257	$10,566
Result not given on police docket (total)	..	33	2	..	8	5	1	..	40	659
Grand total	2	470	22	70	98	38	76	5	781	$15,172

[a] The 10 cases in which the police docket failed to give the amount of the fine assessed are not here included.

[b] In most of these cases prisoners spent a few days in jail before being disposed of as stated in the table.

To sum up the penalties actually paid by the 1,119 persons proved guilty before the justices of the peace and city magistrate, we find that 337 paid fines in cash, 239 spent terms in jail, 63 paid fines part in cash and part by terms in jail, 219 were given hours to leave town, and 154 received suspended sentences. One hundred and seven others paid or escaped penalties in other ways.

County and Circuit Court Sentences

So far the disposition of the large group of persons found guilty by the justices of the peace and the city magistrate has been traced. In order to get a complete picture of the disposition of offenders, the sentences received by the smaller group of persons, 152 in number, who were found guilty during the year in the circuit and county courts also should be summarized.* These are drawn not alone from those arrested by the police during the year, but include also some persons whose cases were held over from the previous year and some arrested by the sheriff. The most frequent penalty in these courts was a combination of fine and jail sentence. Fifty offenders received such sentences, ranging from a fine of $3.00 and one hour in jail to $150 and six months in jail. Twenty offenders received fines only which ranged from $5.00 to $750. Nineteen were sent to jail for from one day to four months. Twenty-three were sent to the state penitentiary, the shortest term being one year, the longest for life. Nineteen of these 23 received indeterminate sentences subject to the decision of the state board of parole. Eight younger offenders went to the state reformatory, also with indeterminate sentences. Thirty-two persons were placed on probation, nine of whom were men convicted of non-support and one of whom was a man convicted in a bastardy case. Probation in these 10 cases was granted on condition that payments be made for the support of wives or children or both.

The purpose of subjecting these people and those found guilty in the lower courts to these penalties was to protect the community from law breaking. In order to learn how this purpose was served, let us examine the use and results of each kind of sentence imposed by the courts as far as they relate to local agencies.

* Detailed facts showing sentences of these offenders according to offenses will be found in Appendix A, p. 172.

II

FINES AND COMMUNITY PROTECTION

Fines, as we have seen, were in 1913 by far the most usual method of disposing of Springfield offenders. Indeed, of the 152 persons found guilty by the county and circuit courts out of a considerable variety of sentences, 70, or 46 per cent, were fined, many of them, however, receiving jail sentences also. Of the 1,119 sentences imposed on persons coming before justices of the peace and the city magistrate, 791, or 71 per cent, were fines. Moreover, most of the fines were for small amounts. Of the county and circuit court fines, 43 per cent were for $10 or less, 76 per cent for $25 or less, while of the fines assessed by the justices of the peace and city magistrate 60 per cent were for $3.00 or less, 71 per cent for $10 or less, and 84 per cent for $25 or less. Considering only the fines of these lower courts which were paid, as shown in Table 6 (page 17), 79 per cent of those fined were assessed $3.00 or less, 89 per cent $10 or less, and 96 per cent $25 or less. The important part which fines played in Springfield correctional work and the extensive use of small fines are thus seen.

There are three ways in which the treatment to which offenders are subjected may serve to protect the community: First, by deterring people through fear from breaking the law; second, by regenerating through upbuilding treatment those who break the law; third, by permanent removal of confirmed criminals from society. Fines, of course, do not accomplish the last named purpose. The extent to which they protect the community will be measured, therefore, by their effect, first, as a deterring influence from law breaking, and second, as a means for offenders' reformation. Let us consider their use in Springfield from these points of view.

Fines as a Deterrent from Law Breaking

Undoubtedly the reason fines have been given such prominent place as a means for dealing with offenders is that they are generally believed to be effective in deterring people from crime. The facts regarding the rearrest and reconviction of persons fined in

1913 indicate, however, that as imposed in Springfield they have not in many cases had this result. The records show, for instance, that of the 791 fines assessed in 1913, 252, or practically one-third, were levied against persons who during the year were arrested two or more times, these persons contributing in all 481 arrests in the year. One hundred and eighty-five of these were made after the offender had been fined once; and of these 185 arrests, 103 led to convictions. Thus 23 per cent of all fines levied during the year were assessed against persons who were again arrested before the year was up, while 13 per cent were assessed against persons who were not only rearrested, but were again convicted. These figures, moreover, understate the failure of fines to prevent law breaking, for many persons fined during the latter months of the year were not likely to be rearrested or again convicted before the year was up. The figures for the one year in themselves, however, are highly significant. They show that against repeated offenses by the large group of persons of the repeater type, fines as assessed in Springfield have not been reasonably effective in protecting the community.

How far short they have sometimes fallen is well illustrated by several examples from Springfield's 1913 records. The first case is that of W—— K——, a white man, whose record in brief is here shown.

POLICE RECORD OF W—— K——. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Date of arrest	Charge	Sentence	Date of release	Days held
May 31	Drunk and disorderly	Fined $3.00	June 12	13
June 29	Drunk	No prosecution	June 30	2
July 1	Drunk	Fined $25	July 26	26
July 27	Disorderly	No prosecution	July 29	3
July 31	Drunk	No prosecution	Aug. 4	5
Aug. 8	Drunk and disorderly	Fined $10 but sentence suspended after four days pending good behavior	Aug. 12	5
Aug. 21	Violation of conditions of suspended sentence	Fined $10	Sept. 8	19
Sept. 21	Drunk	No prosecution	Sept. 22	2
Oct. 12	Drunk	No prosecution	Oct. 13	2
Nov. 8	Drunk	No prosecution	Nov. 10	3
Nov. 11	Vagrancy	Fined $25	Dec. 31	51
	Total days held			131

Another case, that of E—— S——, a white woman, is also illustrative.

POLICE RECORD OF E—— S——. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

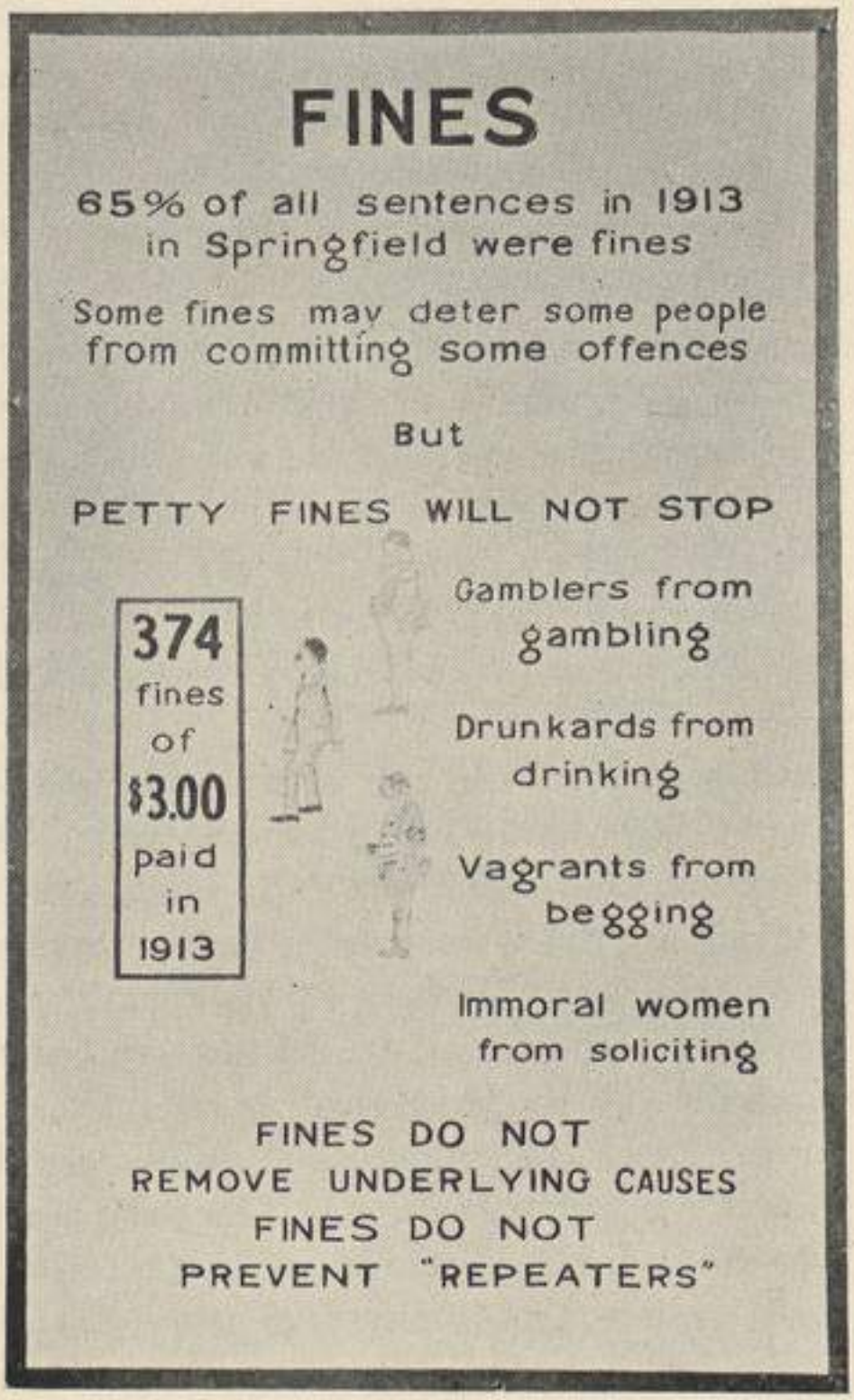
Date of arrest	Charge	Sentence	Date of release	Days held
Aug. 31	Disorderly	Fined $3.00	August 31	1
Sept. 30	Keeper house of ill-fame	Fined $10	Sept. 30	1
Nov. 20	Disorderly	Fined $25	Nov. 20	1

It is noted, incidentally, that W—— K——, a drunkard, was unable to pay his fines and was forced to serve terms in jail, but that E—— S——, a disorderly woman, always was able to raise the required amount. In neither instance, however, was the assessment of a fine sufficient to prevent further law breaking. The woman was arrested and fined twice within a period of three months after being fined the first time, while the man was fined four times and arrested 10 times within six months after his first fine for the year was recorded.

Detailed examination of the use of fines reveals some of the reasons for their failure as an effective deterrent. Most of the fines assessed, as has been seen, were for small amounts, 60 per cent of those levied by the lower courts and 79 per cent of those paid being for $3.00 or less. Except to the unskilled laborer such fines are not a very serious penalty, even though costs of 60 cents or $1.35 are added. To the man earning over $5.00 a day they mean little or nothing. He goes away unimpressed as to any serious necessity for obeying the law. The very pettiness of the majority of the fines assessed would seem, therefore, to be one reason why they were not more effective as a deterrent from law breaking. There are, however, other important reasons for their failure.

A number of fines were levied for offenses in the commission of which the offender probably made more than the amount of the fine. Nine women, for instance, were fined for being inmates of houses of ill-fame; four $3.00 each, three $25 each, two $100 each. It is the estimate of one who should know that the earnings of such a woman in Springfield will average $25 a week. It

seems hardly likely, therefore, that she will give up such a life through fear of having occasionally to pay a fine of $3.00 or even $25. Indeed, fines in such cases may even serve to promote law breaking, for one of the ways the "madams" in charge of disor-



FINES IN SPRINGFIELD IN 1913
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

derly houses keep their hold upon girls is by having them always in debt. When, therefore, an inmate is arrested and the madam pays her fine, even more than before is she bound to a life of immorality. If she is to leave that life she must increase her trade

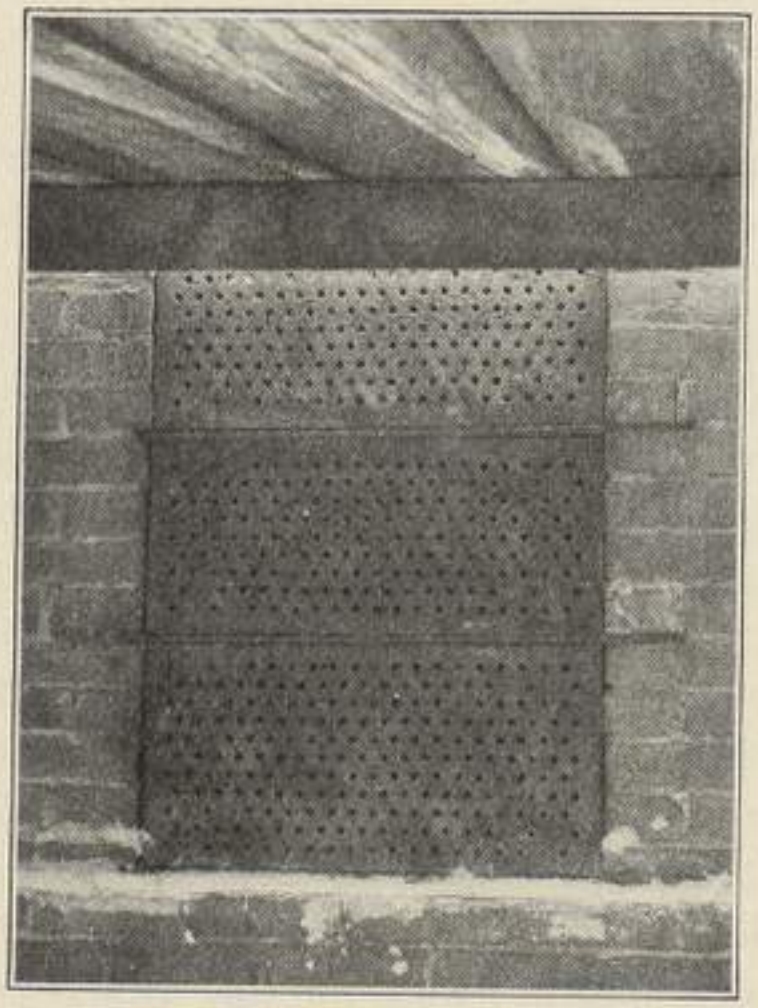
to pay her debt to the madam, a condition which the court would hardly care to encourage.

Four persons were fined for keeping disorderly houses; one $3.00, one $10, one $25, and one $100. One man was fined $3.00 for running a gambling house. The profits to be made from these illicit activities are such as to hardly warrant a hope that even $25 fines will serve to drive people to give them up.

A second group of offenses against the commission of which fines are not commonly effective as a deterrent is that composed of law violations by persons with well grounded delinquent tendencies, in which class for the most part the many violations by repeaters belong. The offenses which most obviously fall within this group are those wherein some clinging habit of which the offender is the victim is the immediate cause of his delinquency. Most numerous of these are, of course, offenses due to the liquor habit. It is not possible to number them accurately, but there are indications that probably half the arrests in Springfield are made either for drunkenness or some other offense in the commission of which drunkenness was the immediate contributory cause. The 869 arrests in 1913 in which drunkenness was specifically charged formed 26 per cent of all police arrests on definite charges. Other arrests in which drunkenness was not charged but in which it was probably very often a direct contributory cause were: assault and battery, 118; disorderly conduct, 842; fighting, 102; language and conduct, 43; and vagrancy, 84; total, 1,189. These do not, however, include offenses against property, such for instance as petty thieving, sometimes resorted to by drunkards to get funds to satisfy a craving for liquor.

The deterrent effect of fines or other punishment is dependent upon a controllable will, and therein lies their weakness in dealing with offenses of this character. Control over will power does not exist when a man is intoxicated, and is often weak in men seriously subject to the liquor habit even when sober. The ineffectiveness of fines in these cases is demonstrated by the fact that in 1913, of the 93 fines assessed for drunkenness or drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 36, or nearly 40 per cent, were levied against persons who during the year were arrested two or more times for intoxication or other offenses in the commission of which drunken-

ness was probably a factor. Indeed, the 93 persons fined for drunkenness or drunkenness and disorderly conduct contributed in all 163 arrests during the year, in 121 of which drunkenness was specifically charged. The case of W—— K—— cited on page 20, who was fined five times during 1913 for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, or vagrancy, is only one of many examples of the failure of fines to deter individuals from getting drunk, or from other



CITY PRISON WINDOW

All light and air for the "bull pen" must come through half a dozen windows covered like the above. On one side of the jail the windows form part of the front wall of a row of open horse stalls. This condition can hardly be beneficial to those held inside

more serious offenses committed while under the influence of liquor. Springfield's experience indicates, then, that the reliance placed on fines as a means for deterring confirmed alcoholics from law breaking is largely misplaced. The best way to gain real protection from offenses due to alcohol is as far as possible to prevent the sale of liquor, especially to drunkards, and to give treatment to those whom alcoholism has made a nuisance to the community.

In the same class with crimes due to the liquor habit are those wherein habit-forming drugs are a factor. Sufficient attention has not been given to the influence of habit-forming drugs in undermining character and contributing to law breaking. It is not even illegal under the Illinois law to sell opium, morphine, heroin, or laudanum, some of the drugs which are used most commonly by drug victims. In police circles, however, the effect of drugs, especially in leading to larceny, is being more and more recognized. The drug habit grows on its victims, larger and larger supplies of drugs being demanded, with the result often that users soon exhaust their available resources. But the habit does not end then; and the victims, with a craving for more drugs, often resort to trickery, forgery, larceny, or other illegal means to secure a supply. It is estimated by those in control of New York City correctional institutions, where the matter recently has received much attention, that fully one-third of all inmates there are drug users. The per cent of prisoners addicted to drugs is probably less in Springfield, but the keeper of the city prison informs us that many of the prisoners of the "crook" class are victims of the habit. There are no Springfield data showing the crimes wherein habit-forming drugs have been a factor, but whatever the number, it needs to be noted that against the craving desire for drugs, even large fines are not likely to be effective. A fine for petty larceny, for instance, against a morphine user who has stolen in order to get money to buy the drug, is a useless effort to protect the community. The only way protection from offenses committed under such circumstances can be secured, unless drug victims are permanently segregated from society, is through the enactment of stringent laws restricting the sale of habit-forming drugs, and by giving treatment to those of the victims who are law breakers.

Gambling possibly may also be classed with offenses stimulated by some kind of habit; in fact, gambling itself appears with many people to be a habit with a psychological hold on its victims. In the cases of 38 men who in Springfield in 1913 were fined $3.00 each for gambling, it seems hardly probable that the fear of repetition of such penalty would be sufficient to lead them to give up the practice, or that others learning that three-dollar fines were

being assessed in such cases, would be led to do likewise. Some more fundamental action needs to be taken.

Besides the persons who are influenced toward law breaking because of the grip of some habit, there are, however, other types of offenders in this large group having confirmed delinquency tendencies on whom petty fines have but little deterrent effect. These, for instance, include persons so much below normal mentally as to be classed as mental defectives.

Dr. Henry H. Goddard, director of the research laboratory of the training school for feeble-minded boys and girls at Vineland, New Jersey, who has given the study of the feeble-minded probably more careful attention than any other authority, estimates that from 25 to 50 per cent of the persons in prisons are mentally defective and incapable of managing their affairs with ordinary prudence.* The statement is based upon the facts presented in Table 7, from which it appears that the estimate is a very conservative one.

Could a study of the mental status of Springfield offenders be made it would undoubtedly show that these offenders are not exceptional in the proportion of defectives. Dr. Treadway in his mental hygiene investigation in Springfield found that even among the children in three fairly typical public schools of the city 3.8 per cent of the pupils were mentally defective.† Many of the offenders, for instance, would probably be unable to compass the mental processes necessary to understand the reason for laws and why, for the good of society, they should be observed. A few would probably be of such low mentality as to be unable to connect clearly the offense with the punishment they were made to suffer. Others would not have wills to resist the slightest temptation. Some would have uncontrollable tempers which when excited precluded the possibility of any thought of penalty. Many would be found unable to keep up continuous mental processes,—a fact which prevents their holding a job for any length of time, and forces them into vagrancy. Of such stuff is

* Goddard, Henry H., M.D.: Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences. New York, Macmillan, 1914.

† Treadway, Walter L., M.D.: Care of Mental Defectives, the Insane, and Alcoholics, pp. 7–10. (The Springfield Survey.)

much of the delinquency problem composed and against such people penalties, which are not wholly effective even for normal people, can hardly be expected to act as a satisfactory deterrent.

TABLE 7.—PROPORTION OF INMATES OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS OR OF JUVENILE COURT CHARGES CLASSED AS MENTAL DEFECTIVES [a]

Institution or court	Per cent defective
St. Cloud Reformatory, Minn.	54
Rahway Reformatory, N. J.[b]	46
Bedford Reformatory, N. Y.[c]	80
Lancaster Girls Reformatory, Mass.	60
Lancaster Girls Reformatory, Mass. (50 girls paroled)	82
Lyman School for Boys, Mass.	28
Pentonville, Ill. (juveniles)	40
Concord Reformatory, Mass.	52
Newark, N. J., Juvenile Court	66
Elmira Reformatory, N. Y.	70
Geneva School for Girls, Ill.[b]	89
Ohio Boys School [b]	70
Ohio Girls School [b]	70
Virginia (3 reformatories) [b]	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls	75
Glen Mills Schools, Penn. (girls' department)	72[d]

[a] Dr. Henry M. Goddard says that the difference in percentages in many cases is undoubtedly due to different standards for classification.

[b] Classified by Binet test.

[c] Under eleven years in mentality.

[d] Approximate figure.

There are, too, besides the mental defectives, probably a few bold crooks—more than likely the product of misdirected "gang" spirit when they were boys—who regard the life of crime as a game to which the possibility of being caught and made to suffer only adds zest. Fines in these cases and those previously cited are not likely to prevent further law breaking.

Fines as a Reformative Influence

Much that has been said about the relatively small influence of fines in deterring from crime applies equally to fines as an up-

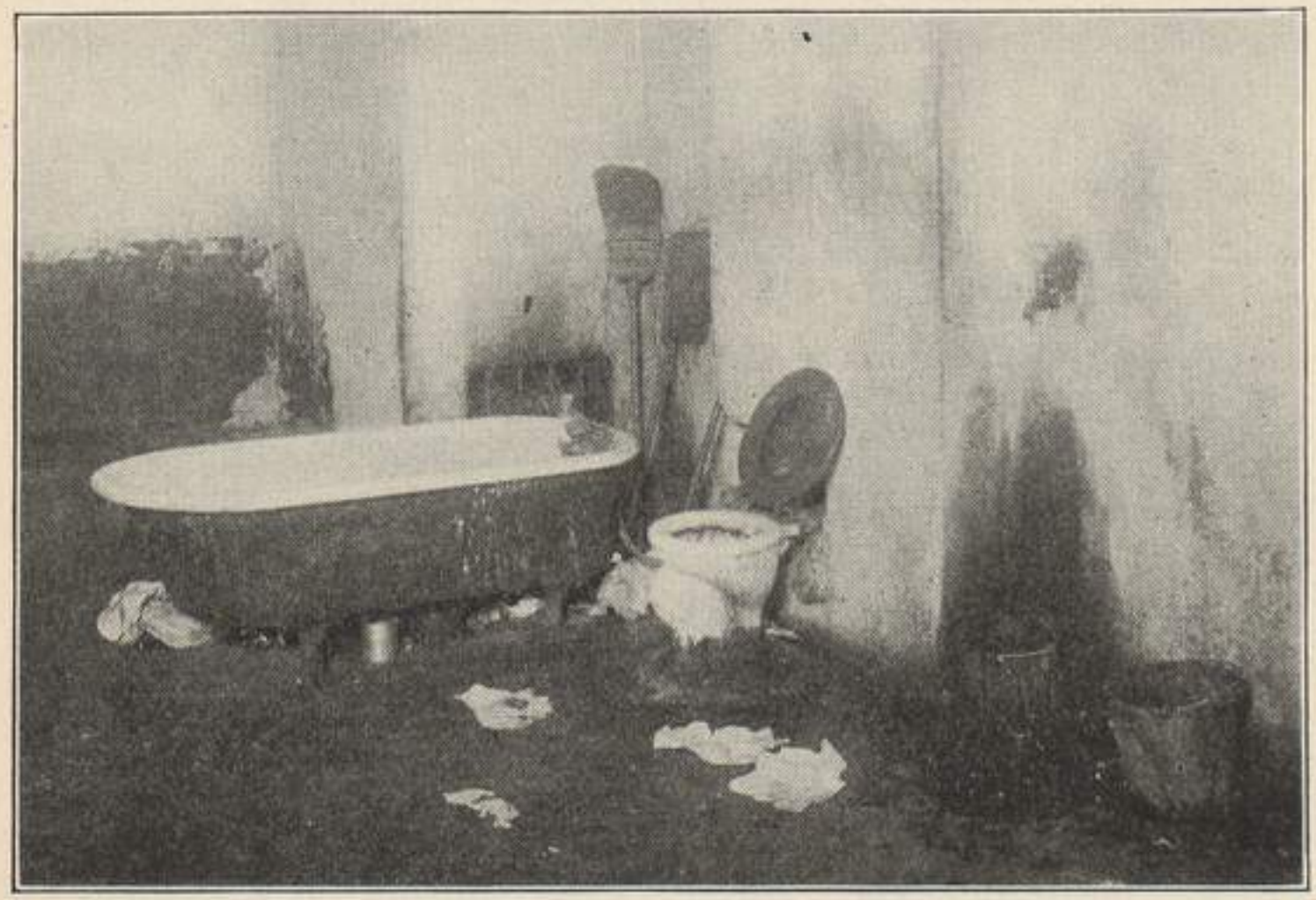
building influence. They cannot change the offender's desires, his abilities, or his environment, and these are important factors in any program of reclaiming law breakers. Suppose the offender is one of the 548 persons who were repeaters in Springfield in 1913 and whose everyday habits and environment seem to favor occasional law breaking; can it with reason be expected that the mere levying of a fine will fit such a person to lead the life of a normal law-abiding citizen? It may be that he has, as is frequently the case, through lack of trade training, drifted into the group of casual laborers until repeated enforced idleness has led him to become a vagrant, perhaps a thief. The mere assessment of a fine will not teach him a trade or get him employment.

Again, suppose a man like W—— K—— has developed the liquor habit until finally he has become a chronic public nuisance. The court assesses a fine; but the liquor habit which makes him a nuisance remains. The fine does not and can not fit him for normal life. Forty-eight persons were fined in Springfield in 1913 for assault and battery, 42 for fighting. These involve the question of self-control which fines are little likely to supply. Thirty-eight gamblers are fined $3.00 each. They will hardly wish to gamble the less for that. Four women, like E—— S——, were fined for keeping disorderly houses. The payment of relatively small fines could hardly instill in them the desire to change the whole course of their lives. Nine persons were fined for being inmates of disorderly houses. It is hard to see how the levying of fines could help them to become established in legitimate occupations. It is, in fact, altogether self-evident that fines cannot alter people's points of view toward life, or their habits, or abilities, or surroundings. The truth is that fines were never intended to reform offenders but to act as a deterrent from law breaking, a matter in which, as we have seen, they are likewise often ineffective.

Fines from the Standpoint of Justice

As a means, moreover, for providing just punishment as between offenders, the fining system is also open to attack. Where petty fines are much used, as in Springfield, the general tendency is to assess them in large or small amounts in proportion to the

seriousness of the offense and not after taking into account also the ability of the offender to pay. Speeding, for instance, will usually bring a fine of one size, carrying concealed weapons another, vagrancy still another. The offense, not the means of the offender, commonly becomes the measure of the fine. The result is that as a means for punishment fines are extremely unjust. To a man of some means a fine of $3.00, or even $25, is slight



TOILET AND BATH IN CITY PRISON "BULL PEN"

Danger of the spread of disease through the bathtub and common drinking cup is serious. The city physician estimates that 50 per cent of those in jail are infected with syphilis. Prisoners who contract diseases under such conditions may indeed be punished, but such punishment hinders prisoners' upbuilding and does not make for real community protection. Jail treatment should help, not hurt, prisoners physically

punishment. But on the laborer making $1.75 a day, and perhaps still more on his family, which is already a sufferer, even a fine of $3.00 falls heavily. The offense may be the same and the fine the same in two cases, and yet in the payment the poor man may suffer the rich man's penalty many times over. One hundred and thirty-eight persons in Springfield went to jail in 1913 because they were not able to pay their fines in whole or in part,

44 being unable to meet even a fine of $3.00 plus $1.35 of costs. Many of the largest fines were assessed against vagrants who had no money at all. In such cases fines result in nothing less than sending people to jail for being poor.

Where Fines are Useful

Yet fines, in spite of their weakness as a general means for dealing with offenders, are not without their uses in preventing the repetition of minor and technical offenses in which compliance with the law is largely a matter of taking pains, as for instance, violating the dog ordinance, obstructing the street, speeding, violating the school law or the traffic ordinances. They may in such cases serve to call attention to the law in a forceful way and so be a deterring influence, especially if the amounts are adjusted according to the means of the offenders. In no case in 1913 was a person fined twice for such offenses, which suggests that the fine was all that was necessary to secure observance of the law. It needs to be noted, however, that this class of offenses does not include acts which show tendencies likely to lead the offender into habitual delinquent ways.

Fines may also serve a useful purpose, especially when they are large, if execution is suspended pending good behavior. This sets the offender free with the knowledge that any further law breaking will make him liable without the necessity of proving a second offense in court. But while recognizing the usefulness of fines when combined with suspended sentence, it should also be pointed out that they are nevertheless not superior to jail sentences, which by a certain class of offenders, at least, are more dreaded.

The conclusion, therefore, is that as a means for protecting the community from law breaking, fines, especially as administered in Springfield, are not very successful and that, when other provisions recommended in later sections of this report have been made, the use of fines should be restricted to offenses of a minor and technical nature which do not indicate a likelihood of further law breaking on the part of offenders.

III

HOURS TO LEAVE TOWN

In addition to the 791 offenders fined in 1913, 157 were given a certain number of hours to leave town. Besides these, sentence was suspended on 61 of those fined and on one given a jail sentence, on the condition that they leave the city. This sentence was thus used in getting rid of 219 offenders, most of whom were beggars, vagrants, drunks, and disorderly persons.

This is perhaps the most common method by which the community protects itself from persons whom the police suspect of being undesirable characters and who are not properly residents of the city. The practice, which is without warrant of law, is very general in police courts the country over. The net result of it is that a large class of men become the common prey of police departments, being shunted from one city to another and back again. Most of these men, with no trade training, have been forced into the large group of casual laborers, and frequently subjected to enforced unemployment, until loafing has become a habit, and have finally ended as members of the army of hoboes, or as professional criminals.

One fact is clear; in the long run no city gains in this continual process of shunting these men back and forth, and certainly the treatment given them tends rather to confirm their pauperism and delinquency. At the same time, no one city can put a stop to the practice. The remedy must come through national cooperation of police departments, similar to that which has been developed to some extent in the charity field for much the same purpose. Under this plan charitable organizations both public and private enter into an agreement not to ship persons who are public charges on to the next town, but to secure, when it is needed, transportation to their ultimate destinations, after noti-

fying charitable agencies at those points of the proposed action.* It would be highly commendable if Springfield officials at the next annual conference of mayors and of chiefs of police would propose for adoption by police departments a somewhat similar agreement relating to actual and suspected offenders.

ASLEEP IN THE "BULL PEN"

There are not enough bunks for all, and many prisoners are forced to sleep on this stone bench or on the floor.

Self-respect is of much value from the standpoint of community protection; but conditions of this kind tend to break it down

Until such a solution is brought about, Springfield will probably need, for self-protection, to continue to some extent the use of this abominable practice. When the "passing-on" method is used, however, it should be exercised with consideration for offenders and for other communities. There is no possible excuse, for instance, for Springfield courts to try and rid the community of offenders who are Springfield residents and properly local charges by giving them hours to leave town. Yet they did this in several

* The transportation agreement for charitable institutions was an outgrowth of discussion which took place at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1903. The agreement has now approximately 600 signers.

instances in 1913, as shown in cases cited on pages 46 and 47. Fortunately in these cases the offenders refused to go and Springfield was compelled to carry the burden she rightly deserved to bear. Even in dealing with offenders who are not Springfield residents, however, the courts should be willing to help to the fullest extent of their ability whenever there is an opportunity to put an offender on his feet, for nothing can do more to create "yeggs" and "panhandlers" than this passing-on practice which in the end gives no community any real protection.

IV

SUSPENDED SENTENCES AND PROBATION

A third means used in Springfield in disposing of offenders is suspension of sentence "pending good behavior." The justices of the peace and city magistrate in 1913 suspended execution under this condition on five jail sentences and 149 fines. No form of supervision, however, was maintained over those thus allowed their freedom, nor were any efforts made to help them escape from the influences which led to their law breaking. They were allowed to go back to the environment which more than likely contributed to their downfall with no help or control of any kind. It is not surprising, therefore, that 28 of the 154 suspended sentences had to be revoked within the year, while in a number of other instances those whose sentences were suspended were again convicted on new charges. Before suspension of sentence can be made a really effective means for correction it will be necessary to develop such control over released offenders as will help in overcoming law-breaking tendencies.

Such control has been developed to some extent in the county and circuit courts, by each of which 16 persons were placed on probation in 1913. The use of probation in these cases is shown in Table 8.

The state law authorizes the use of probation for first offenders in all courts, subject to certain restrictions,* and provides for the appointment by the circuit court of a probation officer. The circuit court, however, has not chosen to make such an appointment; so that all those placed on probation by the circuit court and all so placed by the county court, save those proven guilty of non-support, have been put under the charge of volunteer officers, in a number of cases of relatives. This is a great improvement over suspended sentence, but, as a rule, is far inferior to proba-

* See page 80 for full statement of the restrictions.

tion under a well organized probation department, for no matter how interested volunteers may be they have ordinarily neither the time nor knowledge of methods for the best kind of probation work.

TABLE 8.—USE OF PROBATION BY CIRCUIT AND COUNTY COURTS IN SANGAMON COUNTY, 1913

Charge	Persons	
	Placed on probation by county court	Placed on probation by circuit court
Adultery and fornication	2	..
Bastardy	1[a]	..
Burglary	..	1
Burglary and larceny	..	2
Child abandonment	2[b]	..
Conspiracy to commit arson	..	1
Embezzlement	..	1
Forgery	..	1
Petit larceny	4	7
Receiving stolen goods	..	1
Robbery	..	2
Wife abandonment	7[b]	..
Total	16	16

[a] On probation to make annual payments for ten years toward support of child.

[b] On probation to make weekly or monthly payments toward support of wife or child.

V

JAIL SENTENCES

Finally we come to consider the effectiveness of jail sentence as a means for community protection. One hundred and seventy-one jail sentences, it will be remembered, were imposed in 1913 by the justices of the peace and the city magistrate; 69 by the county and circuit courts. One hundred and thirty-eight persons fined by the lower courts, moreover, were unable to pay their fines fully and they also served terms in jail.

Before judgment can be formed as to the effectiveness of this means for disposing of offenders it will first be necessary to discover what jail sentence in Springfield really means. Persons arrested by the police are held temporarily, and persons unable to pay fines for violation of city ordinances are held on sentence in the city prison. On the other hand, those arrested by the sheriff and those held for the grand jury are confined temporarily, and those receiving jail sentences, or fines for violation of state laws which they are unable to pay, are confined on sentence in the county jail. Let us examine into the conditions which exist in these institutions and the treatment to which prisoners are subjected.

The City Prison

The Illinois State Board of Charities is authorized by law to inspect city and county jails and make recommendations for their improvement. On December 12, 1912, the Springfield city prison was inspected and the report contained in the *Institution Quarterly*, issued by the State Board of Administration, the State Charities Commission, and the State Psychopathic Institute, describes the jail as follows:*

> The Springfield city prison is a disgrace to any community. The main section for men, located on the first floor, is dark and ill ventilated. The

* *Institution Quarterly*, Vol. IV, p. 163 (Sept. 30, 1913).

room has only a few windows on one side, and they are covered with iron sheets perforated by small openings.

The cage has only three small cells which are ventilated by means of bar fronts and backs. Each cell has two bunks, provided with old mattresses and comforts. As there are always more than six daily prisoners, many men sleep on the floors or on top of the cage.

Toilet and bath facilities are placed in the corridor.

Women are placed on the second floor in a department which is fireproof. The only approach, however, is a stairway of wood. Cots, with mattresses and blankets, furnish the rooms. There is one iron cell, ventilated by means of bar openings, which is rarely used.

A section on the second floor is used for male prisoners whom it is desirable to segregate. Minors are placed in this department.

Juveniles are sent to the annex to the county jail. Minors held at the city jail are segregated from older offenders.

Tramps, "drunks," etc., are herded together in the dark section on the first floor. The city should provide work for men held in jail.

The officials deserve praise for the cleanliness of the place and for observation of the law providing segregation for minors.

On the whole this is a fair description of the city jail, but a few additions need to be made.

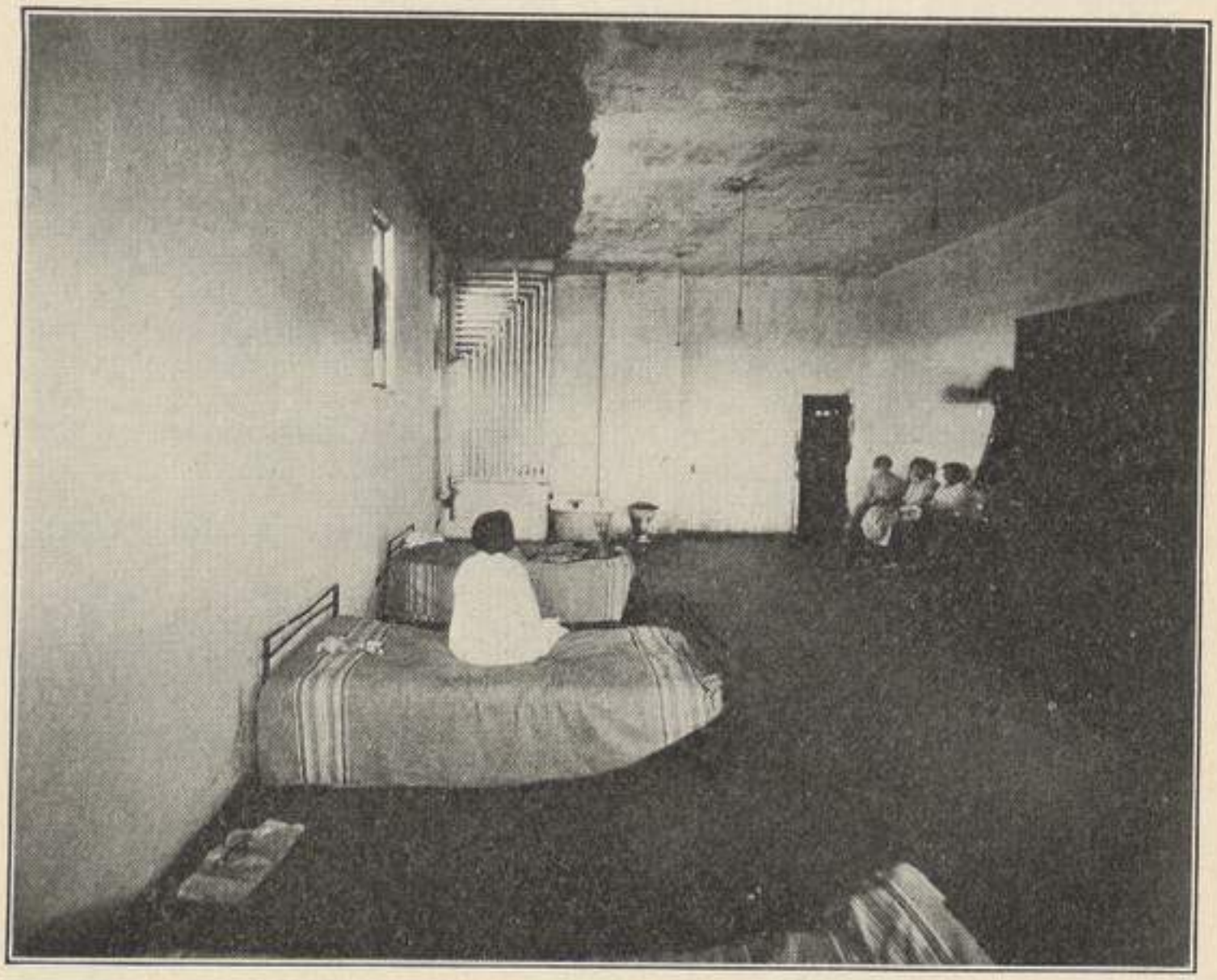
Toilets are no longer located in the corridor. In both wards for men and in the women's ward there are single flush toilets. These, however, are unshielded from the rest of the wards by partitions or screens. In each ward, too, is a bathtub similarly unshielded. Hot and cold water and soap are provided, but no towels.

A suction fan has been installed in the men's ward which somewhat improves, when it is operated, the bad ventilation, though an examination of conditions outside of the plate-covered windows shows that on one side of the building the air is sucked from a row of open horse stalls.

Bedding in the women's ward in March, 1914, was almost new. The very limited amount in the men's ward was old and exceedingly dirty. Except for six who may occupy the cell cages, prisoners sleep without bedding on the floor or on a concrete shelf which runs around the room. At times as many as 50 men have been provided for in this fashion. No regular schedule exists for

washing bedding, though at the time of our visit it was very much in need of it.

Neither ward was free from vermin when inspected, the men's "bull pen" being quite the opposite. For this condition, however, the keeper may not be specially blamed, for it is impossible



WOMEN'S WARD AT CITY PRISON, SPRINGFIELD

This ward is light and well ventilated, but the single room permits no classification of prisoners. Note unscreened toilet and bath. The ward is in charge of male keepers, though the law makes the appointment of a matron mandatory. Prostitutes for the most part are confined here, but they go out unhelped as far as their establishment in legitimate work is concerned

to keep free from vermin a jail into which prisoners are placed just as they come from the street. Viewed as a whole the jail was in a reasonably clean condition on the occasion of three visits.

Between the women's ward and the extra ward for men is a sheet iron door which does not close tightly and through which

persons in the two wards may converse freely or exchange articles. It also permits those in the men's ward an unobstructed view of a large portion of the ward for women. This condition is decidedly objectionable and should at once be remedied.

The dishes in which prisoners receive their food are of tin. The food itself is fairly satisfactory, the menu being generally:

Breakfast: hash or syrup, coffee, bread.
Dinner: boiled beef, boiled potatoes, bread.
Supper: beans, coffee, bread.

Drinking water in each ward is supplied by a faucet with a common drinking cup.

No hospital ward is provided either for men or for women. Prisoners who are dangerously ill are removed to the St. John's Hospital, four having been taken there in 1913. Others are treated at the jail by the over-busy city physician, who keeps no record of his cases.

Into this jail are thrown male prisoners over seventeen years of age and females over eighteen, both those held pending trial and those serving sentences. The terms of confinement in 1913 ranged from a few hours to 208 days, the latter being rare. The average confinement pending trial is usually not more than a day; the most common term on sentence is about two weeks.

The state law makes certain requirements which for the most part apply to all jails. Section 490 of Chapter 24 of the law requires that the mayor appoint a matron. This statute has not been observed, however, and female prisoners are in charge of male keepers, a condition involving moral hazards which a self-respecting community should not tolerate. This is a matter which should receive immediate attention, for the law allows no discretion in the matter.

There are also provisions regarding the classification of prisoners which apply to both city and county jails. First, debtors and witnesses must be kept apart from other prisoners; second, those charged with or convicted of felony or other infamous crime must be kept apart from other prisoners; third, those convicted of infamous crimes and all other serious offenses must be kept apart from minors.

The single ward for women in the city prison permits, of course,

no classification at all. Female prisoners regardless of age, color, offense, or guilt are confined together; good women and girls with confirmed prostitutes; those held on suspicion with those proven guilty.

To provide proper classification for male prisoners the jail authorities make some use of the extra ward for men, but it is clear that in many instances even two wards do not permit complete observance of the law. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find thrown together in the "bull pen" those held on suspicion, those held for trial, those proven guilty, first offenders and old rounders, those guilty of technical and those guilty of serious charges, clever crooks and drunks, drug victims, highwaymen, murderers, and lodgers.

Such conditions as these, which are all too commonly found in city and county jails throughout the country, are every day being condemned by judges, courts, and penal authorities as corrupters of first offenders and breeders of crime. The situation is aggravated, moreover, in the Springfield city prison by the fact that save for a few trusties the prisoners spend the days in idleness, lying about their cells, playing cards, telling vile stories, swapping criminal adventures, and passing the time as best they can.

The County Jail

The county jail is located immediately across the street from the city jail, both being near the heart of the city, and comprises two buildings, the main jail and the "annex." The latter is used for the confinement of insane persons, alcoholics, and children.* The main jail building is divided into two parts, the front serving as the sheriff's residence, the rear as the jail. The rear is again divided into two parts, a ward for men and one for women.

The days of detention of prisoners in the county jail ranged in 1913 from one to 273 days. While the largest numbers were held only two days—most of these being suspects and destitute lodgers—many served extended terms, 417 being imprisoned for 30 days or more, 147 for 60 days or more, 77 for 90 days or more, 15

* For description of the "annex" see Part Two, The Handling of Juvenile Delinquents, page 98.

for 120 days or more, a number as long as six months, and two for over 200 days each.

Men's Ward

The men's ward, a one-story end of the jail, is entirely of brick and masonry. Windows along the sides provide unusually good general light and ventilation. Cell ventilation, however, is not adequate. The cells are grouped in two rows along the center of the room back to back, facing the windows, and are in two tiers. They are about 7 feet wide, 12 feet long, and 8 feet high, and have walls of solid masonry. The only openings are doors with vertical bars at the front which can not provide adequate cell ventilation, especially in view of the fact that each cell contains two bunks which are nearly always occupied. The description "dark and ill-ventilated stone cells" given them in 1911 by the State Charities Commission still holds good.

The two rows of cell tiers back to back and extending from one end wall to the other, divide the ward into two sections, and the division is completed by bars running from the middle line between the rows to the ceiling. These prevent passage from one section to the other. In one section all colored prisoners are kept, in the other there are white prisoners only. The latter part, however, is always overflowing and many whites are kept with the Negro prisoners, transfer to the Negro section being used sometimes as a disciplinary measure.

Before each row of cell tiers is a corridor 10 or 12 feet wide. At one end of each of the corridors is a bathtub, very old and rusty, and a toilet in good condition. There are also two sinks in each section, with hot and cold water and soap. No towels are furnished. At the sinks are tin drinking cups used by all prisoners. After 9 o'clock at night all men who have cells are locked in them and buckets are used for toilet purposes.

There is no provision for the regular washing of bedding. The men may wash their blankets, but judging from the condition of much of the bedding their inclination does not often tend in this direction. The place is not free from vermin, but, as in the city jail, the keeper can hardly be blamed, for reasonable efforts seem

to have been made to eliminate them. Aside from the bedding the ward is in a good state of cleanliness.

THE COUNTY JAIL, SPRINGFIELD

Jail in center of picture; sheriff's residence at the right. Permission to take pictures inside the jail was refused by the chief deputy sheriff but conditions there are much the same as in the city prison.

Most prisoners have had little schooling and must when out of jail make their living through physical labor. Yet they are held in this jail for weeks or months in complete idleness—a practice which certainly tends toward physical weakening. Then they are turned forth in the belief that in some way the community has been protected. It is not to be wondered at that many become chronic offenders, living at the expense of the community when in jail, preying upon it or disturbing its peace when out

The ward is nearly always overcrowded, especially in the winter, and many men are forced to sleep on the floor without coverings.

Women's Ward

The women's ward is located on the second floor in a part of the building not fireproof, entrance to which is gained over a flight of wooden stairs. The ward is immediately over the kitchen and, since the windows are barred, in case of sudden fire it would be difficult, to say the least, to rescue women prisoners.

The ward consists of one large room with windows on two sides. Heavy bars running from floor to ceiling separate off a goodsized cage which is properly the women's ward, but at the time of our visits women prisoners had the freedom of the whole room. Within the cage are four beds with clean bedding. At one end are a flush toilet and a clean bathtub. The sheriff's wife is employed as matron, but the keys to the women's ward are kept by the male jailer who thus has free access.*

In the same room with the women, in a cage with three sides solid and a front of bars, is an extra ward for men who are United States prisoners or who for some reason need to be separated from other offenders. In this cage are a bed with mattress and blankets, a porcelain bathtub, and a flush toilet. The cage faces away from the women's compartment, but as women prisoners have access to the whole room there is no adequate segregation of female prisoners and men held there.

No regular hospital ward is provided for either men or women, though sick prisoners are frequently sent to the "annex" to be kept with the children, or when seriously ill are transferred to some hospital. They are attended, as in the city prison, by the city physician, who is already overburdened.

Feeding of County Prisoners

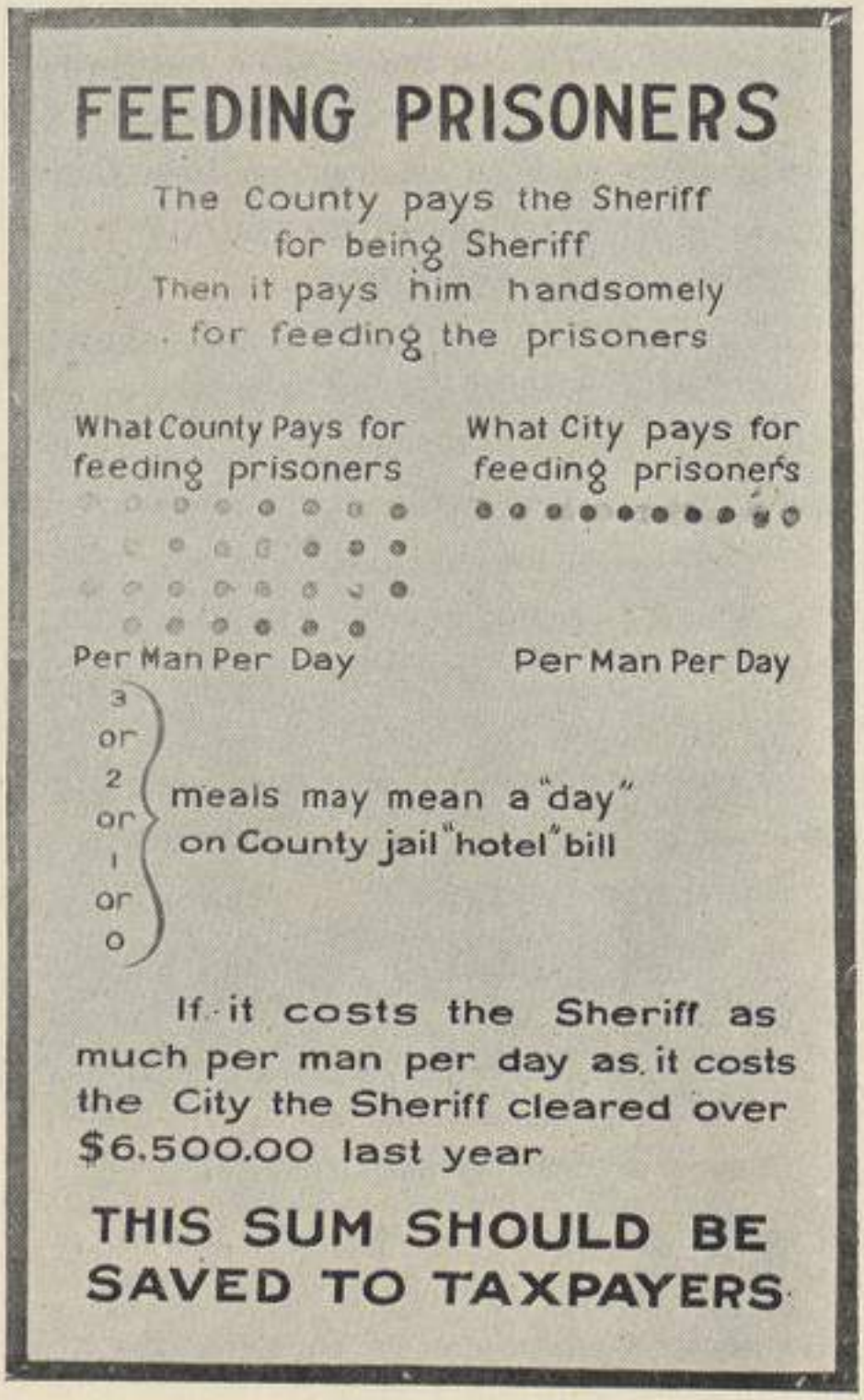
As in the city jail, food is served in tin pans and cups. The menu ordinarily is somewhat as follows:

Breakfast:	rice or breakfast food and coffee.
Dinner:	soup or boiled meat, boiled potatoes, bread.
Supper:	beans or boiled meat, coffee, bread.

The sheriff receives 30 cents per prisoner per diem for feeding those held in the jail, which makes it clearly to his advantage to

* Since the field work of the survey was completed a new sheriff has been elected who has appointed a trained nurse as matron.

provide food as cheaply as possible. To the credit of the incumbent at the time this investigation was made it needs to be said that food furnished was not bad, though prisoners who had been in both jails state that food furnished by the city, which pays the exact cost of feeding, was better. But according to prisoners who



Cost of Feeding Prisoners in Springfield
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

have been in and out of the jails for years, some sheriffs in the past have furnished food of the most miserable sort—a procedure likely to be repeated at any time, since every cent put into good food means a cent withheld from the sheriff's purse.

Moreover, under the present system there is a constant temptation by legal or fraudulent means to pad records both by accepting prisoners who are properly city charges, by holding those on

suspicion longer than necessary,* or by welcoming destitute persons as overnight lodgers. The jail lodger situation in Springfield especially deserves public attention.

According to the sheriff's method of counting per diems, each day a prisoner is in jail, even if he receives no meals at all, counts as one per diem for which the sheriff receives 30 cents. Many of the lodgers come into the jail after 7 p. m. and go out before noon the next day, in which cases only one meal is served.† They are in jail, however, on two calendar days and the sheriff gets 60 cents for feeding each of them. It is hardly to be wondered at, under these conditions, that lodgers are welcomed at the county jail and that Springfield offers attractive refuge for destitute persons. In 1913 there were actually 2,321 lodgers at the county jail whose feeding cost the county $1,466.70.

The city, as already stated, itself feeds its prisoners instead of delegating the service at so much per diem. In 1913 the total cost to the city was $917.64, or 9.68 cents per man per day, if one counts days as the county authorities do. If the sheriff did as well in reducing costs, and there is every reason to think that he could, he must have cleared some $6,611 out of the $9,761.30 which he received for feeding prisoners in the year ending November 30, 1913.‡ This sum, or at least as much of it as may be saved without unreasonably curtailing prisoners' dietary, should be conserved to the tax payers. The present wasteful method of payment for the feeding of county prisoners unquestionably should be abandoned, and the county should meet only the exact cost.

Classification of County Prisoners

Classification requirements of the state law are even less observed than in the city prison. The single ward for women per-

* Eighty per cent of those arrested by the sheriff's force on "suspicion," as against 71 per cent of those arrested by the police, are held more than one day.

† County records do not show how prisoners are received and discharged, but 74 per cent of city jail lodgers came in after 7 p. m. and 90 per cent went out before noon the day following admittance.

‡ As this report goes to press, the Springfield newspapers announce that the new sheriff, John A. Wheeler, has publicly declared that he will not accept any profit from feeding prisoners in the county jail. Mr. Wheeler estimates that the amount thus turned back into the county treasury will be about $7,600 a year, an amount greater than Springfield's cash contribution to the Survey. Action of this character was recommended in the Springfield Survey Exhibition in November, 1914.

mits no classification, and the wisest use has not been made of the two subdivisions of the men's ward. It is much more important, for instance, that first offenders and men and boys of the type in whom criminal tendencies are not established, regardless of color, be kept apart from confirmed criminals than that Negroes be kept by themselves. Because of the lack of classification offenders in all degrees of degradation are herded together. Moreover, as in the city jail, there is no work for any but a few trusties, and the majority of the prisoners pass the days, weeks, and months in complete idleness.

Does this kind of treatment serve to protect the community? If so, how?

EXTRA WARD FOR MEN, CITY PRISON, SPRINGFIELD

Through the use of this extra ward for men there is some attempt at segregating young from hardened offenders at the city prison. But in the women's ward of the city prison and in the county jail there is no segregation. Young offenders little over sixteen and old rounders, those arrested on suspicion and those proven guilty, clever crooks, highwaymen, "drunks," drug fiends, and lodgers—all are herded together. That these veritable schools for crime have their unwholesome effect is suggested by the 1913 facts on repeaters (See pages 4 to 7)

JAIL SENTENCE AS A DETERRENT

It will be remembered that 171 jail sentences were meted out by the city magistrate and justices of the peace in 1913. Seventy-

seven, or 45 per cent, were sentences of persons arrested two or more times during the year. Nine persons were sentenced to jail twice, one three times, and one four times, so that in all 63 persons were involved in the 77 jail sentences of repeaters. These included many of the worst "rounders" in the city and contributed in all 199 arrests during the year, 63 of which were made after the offenders had once suffered jail sentence. In 32 instances those who served sentences were again convicted before the year was up. When one considers that 30 per cent of these sentences of repeaters were imposed during the last three months of the year, so that arrest and conviction was not likely to recur within the period studied, the ineffectiveness of such sentences in preventing law breaking by offenders of this type is further emphasized.

A few illustrative cases from the 1913 records show how seriously ineffective as a deterrent jail sentences sometimes become. The first case is that of a woman, an American white.

JAIL RECORD OF H—— M——. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Date of arrest	Charge	Sentence	Date of release	Days in jail 1913
In jail at beginning of year	Vagrancy	6 mo. in jail	June 1	152
June 4	Vagrancy	60 days in jail	Aug. 5	63
Aug. 7	Vagrancy	90 days in jail	Nov. 5	91
Nov. 29	Vagrancy	90 days in jail	March 1, 1914	33
Total days in jail in 1913				339

Apparently fear of jail sentence had little deterrent effect on this woman, for almost as soon as released she was returning to jail on a new charge. Each new conviction was, moreover, evidence of the inability of the jail to fit her for normal life.

Suggestive of the ineffectiveness in some cases not only of jail sentences, but of every method now used by the city magistrate and justices of the peace, is the case of M—— D——, a white man who grew up to a life of delinquency in Springfield, and who for many years has been a police charge.

POLICE RECORD OF M——— D———. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Date of arrest	Charge	Sentence	Date of release	Days in jail 1913
Jan. 4	Drunkenness	No prosecution	Jan. 16	13
Mar. 18	Drunkenness	No prosecution	Mar. 22	5
Mar. 22	Disorderly conduct	No prosecution	Apr. 2	12
Apr. 19	Alcoholism	No prosecution	Apr. 22	4
Apr. 22	Disorderly conduct	No prosecution	Apr. 30	9
June 27	Disorderly conduct	No prosecution	July 8	12
July 8	Disorderly conduct	No prosecution	July 14	7
July 14	Vagrancy	Fined $100 Execution held on condition that prisoner leave town	July 26	13
July 26	Drunkenness	6 months in jail	Oct. 28	95[a]
Nov. 21	Disorderly conduct	No prosecution	Nov. 26	6
Nov. 30	Disorderly conduct	6 months in jail Execution held pending good behavior	Dec. 15	16
Dec. 15	Execution on 6 months' sentence	6 months in jail Executed again held pending good behavior	Dec. 16	2
Dec. 17	Drunkenness	90 days in jail	Mar. 16, 1914	15
	Total days held in 1913			209

[a] Reason why six months' sentence was not served fully is not known.

The case of L—— H——, a colored woman, is also indicative.

POLICE RECORD OF L——— H———. SPRINGFIELD, 1913

Date of arrest	Charge	Sentence	Date of release	Days in jail 1913
March 11	Drunk and disorderly	90 days in jail	March 24	14[a]
April 11	Drunk and disorderly	30 days in jail	May 11	31
May 20	Drunk and disorderly	Given hours to leave town	May 21	2
June 18	Disorderly	Fined $100 unable to pay and sent to jail	July 18	31[a]
Aug. 30	Disorderly	Given hours to leave town	Sept. 1	2
Sept. 11	Disorderly	6 months in jail	Nov. 10	61[a]
Dec. 6	Disorderly	30 days in jail	Jan. 7	26
	Total days in jail in 1913			167

[a] Reason full time was not served in these cases is not known. There are a number of cases in which, according to sentences as entered upon the police docket, prisoners appear to have been released from the county jail before their time was up. The fact was discovered after investigations had been completed in Springfield and we were not able to follow the matter further. Such conditions, unless due to errors in entering sentences on the police docket, are inexcusable.

Every available means has been used in dealing with this man. He has been fined, but without effect. He has been jailed, but jail life holds no fears and effects no change. He has been allowed to go with warnings, but he has not observed them. He has been placed under heavy suspended sentences pending good behavior, but has returned to have execution imposed the day of his release. He has even been given hours to leave town in the hope of shifting his care to some other community although he is properly a Springfield charge,—but all to no avail. The community has not been protected.

These three, together with many other examples of repeating after jail sentences have been imposed, indicate that fear of confinement in the jails in Springfield is not adequate to prevent law breaking by a considerable group of Springfield offenders.

Why the Jails Fail as Deterrents

When we attempt to inquire into the reasons for these failures we are confronted with the fact that offenders vary greatly in character. Some are no more criminal in intent than the ordinary man on the street, while others are as degraded as men can be. For convenience of discussion, however, we may say that there are two classes of offenders; first, those not confirmed in delinquency who still retain something of a standing in the community and their self-respect; second, those whose reputations and self-respect are so far lacking that a term in jail harms neither. Men of the first group are for the most part non-repeaters, those of the second, repeaters.

To the former, who still retain some standing in the community, fear of jail sentence undoubtedly has some effect as a deterrent from law breaking. To a certain extent they dread the treatment they may receive in jail, with its discomforts in food and bed; perhaps even more they fear being thrown in with criminals of all grades and descriptions. But the great power of the deterring influence—probably nine-tenths of it—comes from the fact that they fear for their reputations. The kind of jail they may be sentenced to is of minor importance. An upbuilding jail will work almost as well as a degrading one in preventing people of this character through fear from breaking the law.

But to persons of the repeater type who have no reputations or self-respect at stake—and these form the bulk of the jail population—the treatment given prisoners in Springfield jails does not seem likely to have much deterrent effect. Such as it has, if any, must come through the fact that the life of these offenders in jail is less pleasant than that outside. Out of jail most of them are used to poor lodgings, irregular meals of poor food, and the necessity of working from time to time. On the other hand, in the county jail they get fully as good a bed as they are likely to enjoy when at liberty; while in both jails they get food probably as good or better than they get outside, regular meals, warmth in winter, the kind of companions they prefer, and the great luxury of obtaining these things without the necessity of working.

Of course these individuals would not choose to stay in jail all the time, for life there is not sufficiently exciting; but with a term in jail varied by a term outside, existence is quite bearable. In fact, in the winter when the weather is bad the jail seems even to be preferred by some, for in 1913 the number of police arrests increased from an average of 297 a month during the summer to an average of 370 a month during the winter.* Under these conditions it is no wonder that the jails are not more effective in protecting the community against offenses by repeaters, and that in 1913 the 63 receiving jail sentences contributed during the year 199 arrests, 63 of which were made after one jail sentence had been served. The truth is that the only kind of jail which can have any real deterrent effect on this class of offenders is one which provides good hard work.

Do the Springfield Jails Reform?

Further, the existence of so many repeaters is undoubtedly due to the lack of reformative features inside the jails. For the class of repeaters we have just been discussing the jails do nothing in an upbuilding way. No physical examination is made, and unless prisoners are acutely sick, their physical needs receive no attention. Even then they get hurried treatment from the over-busy city physician, who is greatly hampered in his work by the envi-

* These include arrests on charges and on suspicion, and 64 arrests for destitution.

ronment of his patients. As we have seen, there is no hospital ward in either jail; and while those dangerously ill are transferred to St. John's Hospital, very sick prisoners are housed in the regular wards of the jail which are often overcrowded. Prisoners have no opportunity for exercise, and their already weakened bodies become still weaker. These instances of neglect exist, moreover, in spite of the fact that physical reconstruction is the first need of these repeaters if they are to be fitted to take up a normal life upon release.

The testimony of John L. Whitman, superintendent of the Chicago House of Correction, an authority with many years of experience in correctional work, is very telling in this connection:

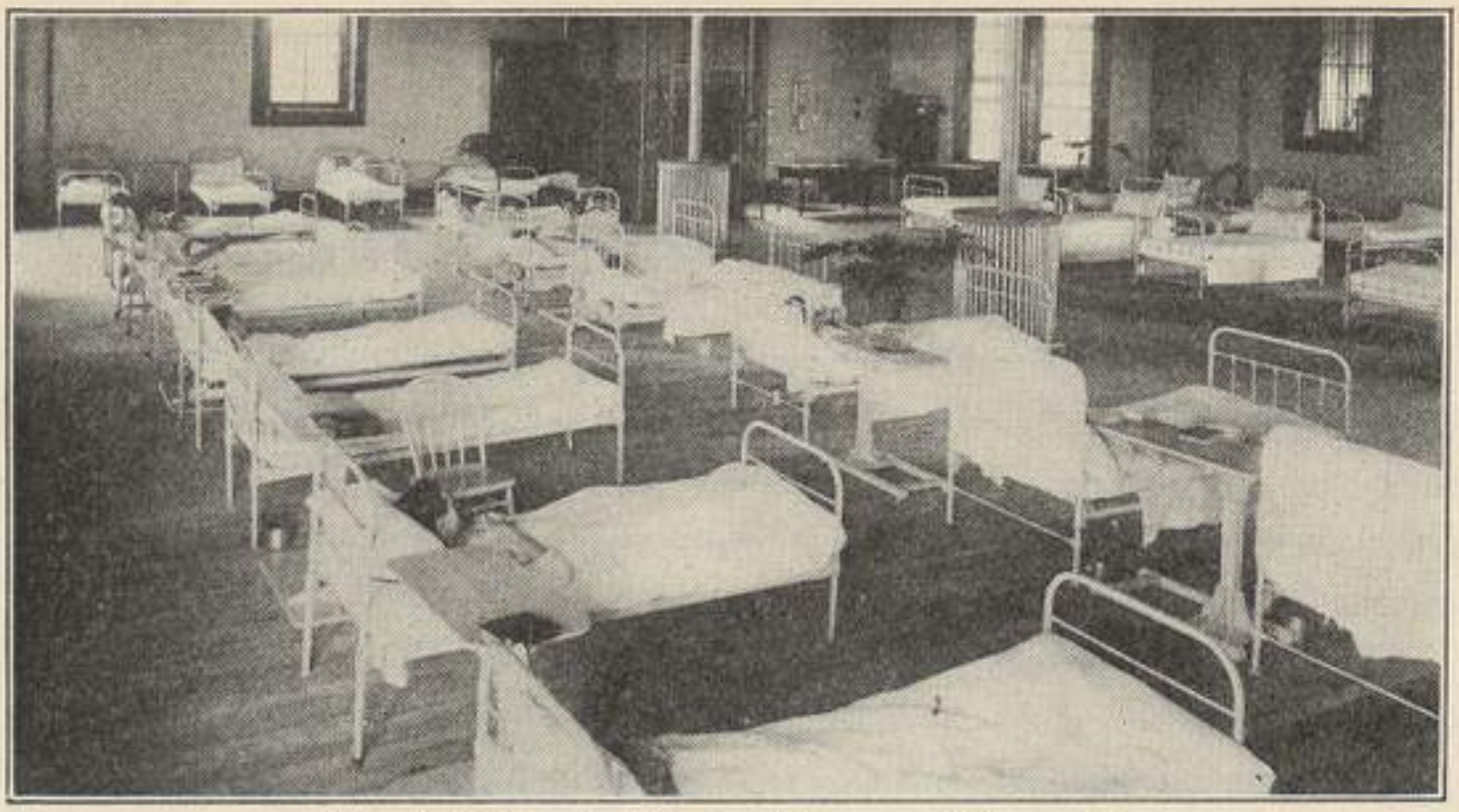
"It would seem as though the management of penal institutions, and especially houses of correction, could do no greater service to society than to give to these unfortunate people the medical treatment and training they so badly need, and send them back to society at least somewhat prepared to take their places among men with a more equal chance of success.

"In the boys' department of our institution practically all who are committed there are in urgent need of medical or surgical treatment: never in their lives having received any, except perhaps in cases of serious sickness when some specific or contracted disease was treated, and then only in a superficial way.

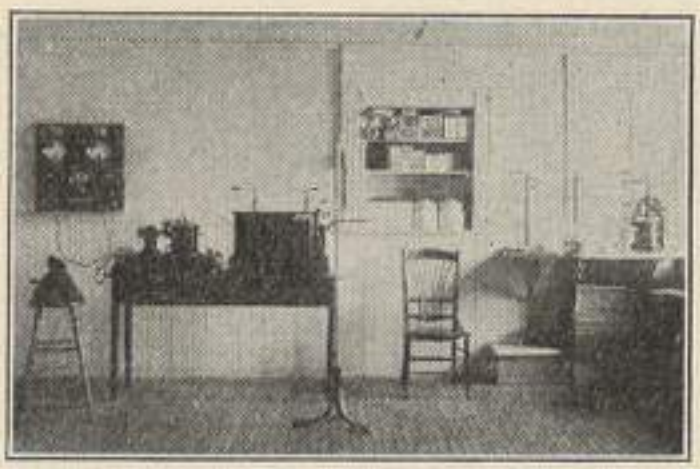
"Out of the 14,000 commitments to the Chicago House of Correction last year, 3,372 were treated in the hospital, besides those prescribed for in the cell house, whose ailments did not require hospital care."

Realizing the importance of this work, Chicago provides for the house of correction a medical superintendent, four internes who are physicians, two registered nurses, several inmate nurses, and a consulting staff of 12 physicians, surgeons, and specialists. The following clinics are held each week:

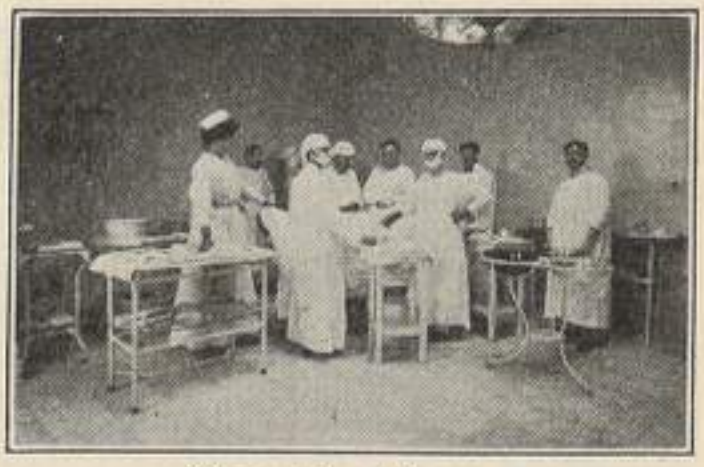
Three surgical clinics.
One medical clinic.
One nervous and mental clinic.
Two eye, ear, nose, and throat clinics.
One skin, genito-urinary clinic.
One gynecological clinic.
Two dental clinics.



Hospital Ward, Chicago House of Correction



X-ray Room



Operating Room

Dental Room

Dispensary

Pictures by courtesy of management Chicago House of Correction

Correctional Work that Corrects

Chicago believes in fitting prisoners for self-support after release. The city's house of correction provides a medical superintendent, four internes who are physicians, two registered nurses, several inmate nurses, and a consulting staff of 12 physicians, surgeons, and specialists. The city does this not from humanitarian motives only, but because it is the best way to gain protection from law breakers

When one considers that offenders are in no less need of physical care in Springfield than in Chicago (difference in the size of the cities in this case having no significance), the weakness of the Springfield jails in failing to provide upbuilding physical treatment is readily appreciated.

Many repeaters, moreover, are drunkards, against whose desire for liquor neither fines nor jail sentences are likely to have any effect. A considerable per cent of those called "clever crooks" are victims of drugs whose insidious influence stimulates their criminal imaginations while at the same time giving them urgent reason for obtaining money by means of which to satisfy their craving. The only hope of effectively protecting the community from these men is to break their habit; yet neither jail undertakes to give them any kind of "cure."

In the matter of mental training nothing is done for the prisoners in either jail; while on the moral side, except for occasional efforts at religious influence by outsiders—and these are not frequent—they are altogether neglected. The jails leave them fully as degraded as when committed, and each term of enforced idleness makes it less likely that they will be able to become self-supporting, law-abiding citizens upon release.

Some may contend that these repeaters, especially the confirmed ones, are beyond redemption. This is probably true in many cases; yet who can say what offenders by the right treatment may not be placed on their feet? Moreover, one must remember that these men, even those who are repeaters for the one hundredth time, were once young in years and in crime. That there was a chance for many of them then will hardly be denied. Indeed it is probable that recurring terms in Springfield jails have helped to bring them to their present condition.

But even granting that these old offenders are past redemption, what of those who are first offenders today and who will become Springfield's old rounders tomorrow if the community imposes no effective prevention? They receive exactly the same treatment as the long-time offenders. There are men of strong physique but little mental training—good pick and shovel men—who must rely for a living on work with their hands. The jails enforce idleness upon them for a week, a month, perhaps six

months, till their muscles grow flabby and their energy is sapped; then turn them out less fitted than before to perform the only work they are trained to do. This is called protecting the community from law breakers and it is wondered later that these young men have not been deterred by this punishment from joining the ranks of repeaters. There are men arrested for drunkenness for the first time, turned out after a brief stay with appetites merely whetted by a few days' denial. There are men and women free from venereal disease thrown into jail and compelled to use the same toilets, bathtubs, and common drinking cups with others, when the city physician, who has the care of prisoners in both jails, estimates that 50 per cent are infected with syphilis. Good girls and women are thrown in with prostitutes. Vigorous young men fired with the desire for excitement, who have "pulled off" their first exploit, are thrown into daily contact with embezzlers, forgers, highway robbers, and murderers.

Such conditions and treatment are not reformative. They neither instill the desire to lead a normal life upon release nor fit prisoners to do so. Rather must they serve to weaken and corrupt offenders of the better class, and turn them back upon the community not less but more likely to break the law in the future.

But even if the jails were of an entirely different sort and were designed primarily for the regeneration of offenders, it is doubtful if a great deal could be accomplished in the short periods for which most prisoners are now confined. The terms of those given jail sentences are shown in Table 9.

It is seen from the table that the largest group of offenders received sentences of thirty days, and that 61 per cent received sentences of this length or less. No one was sentenced for more than six months. Clearly if the community is to receive protection through the regeneration of law breakers, prisoners must not only be subjected to upbuilding treatment, but must receive it for a sufficient period to make it reasonably effective. Moreover, in the case of prisoners sunk so low or so defective mentally that there is no chance for regeneration, nothing is to be gained by the present short sentences which turn them free periodically, each time with the moral certainty that they will break the law

again. There is needed, therefore, not only a new jail system, but a new plan and a new purpose in sentencing offenders.

TABLE 9.—TERMS FOR WHICH OFFENDERS WERE SENTENCED TO THE CITY PRISON AND THE COUNTY JAIL. SPRINGFIELD, 1913[a]

Number of days for which sentenced	Number of offenders
1 or less	14
10	39
15	5
20	10
30	78
60	43
75	1
90	23
120	1
130	1
180	25
Total	240

[a] This table does not include those who spent periods in jail because of inability to pay fines, some of whom spent longer terms in jail than any of those given jail sentences.

Another weakness of the present arrangement is that when prisoners leave jail they go out without help or guidance at a time which is perhaps the most critical in their lives. With the lessons learned in jail—providing they have not been lessons in crime—they may, if they find work, and if they escape from the influences which led to their downfall, become law-abiding citizens; but if with reputations injured and self-confidence weakened they are unable to find work and drift in idleness back to their previous companions and environment they are more than likely to fall rapidly into the group of repeaters who are responsible for so considerable a proportion of Springfield's crime. Indeed it might be said that what happens to an offender immediately after his release is from the standpoint of his future law breaking, and so from the standpoint of community protection,

often fully as important as what happens to him in jail. It is remarkable, therefore, that Springfield like many other cities has given absolutely no attention to the matter. Certainly, in any plan for the development of a more effective correctional system, some provision will need to be made for parole supervision of released prisoners.

VI

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING PRESENT METHODS

Having reviewed the character and results of methods used in Springfield in dealing with offenders, the conclusion seems unavoidable that present methods in large measure are ineffective as means for community protection. The more important features leading to this conclusion may be summed up as follows:

1. Fines, the most usual method, have been employed in many instances where in the very nature of the case they could not act as effective deterrents from law breaking. They are not designed, moreover, to have a reformative effect.

2. Giving offenders a limited number of hours to leave town, while apparently an easy means for ridding the community of law breakers, is in fact not productive of results when other cities also follow the same vicious practice.

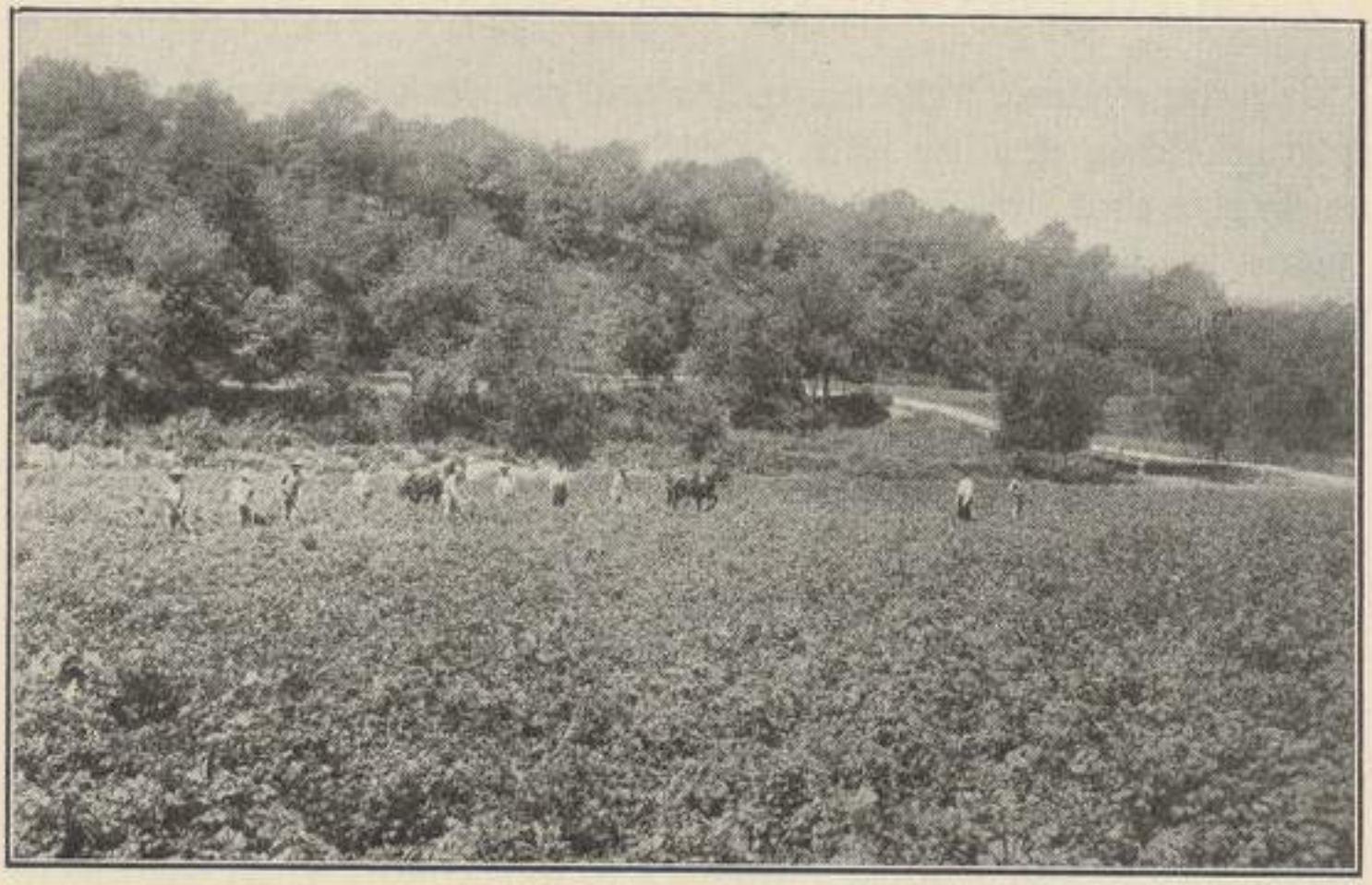
3. Suspension of sentences "pending good behavior" while often better than sending offenders to jail, is not, when used as in Springfield without probation supervision, a particularly effective means for disposing of offenders.

4. Conditions in the city prison and county jail, and the treatment offenders receive there, are such that prisoners are more likely to be made less fit to lead law-abiding lives upon release than when they entered. On the other hand, because free bed and board is provided without work, the jails are not designed to act as an effective deterrent upon offenders of the repeater type. Moreover, the short terms for which most prisoners are committed make impossible any effective reformatory treatment even if the jails were prepared to give it, while failure to provide aid to help released prisoners become re-established is a distinct community neglect.

The large amount of repeating among those arrested, those

fined, those given suspended sentences, and those who had served terms in jail substantiates the above conclusions.

When one analyzes the underlying reasons for these failures, it becomes apparent that Springfield has used but one of the several means by which a community may gain protection. It has relied entirely upon the deterrent effect of punishment to the utter neglect of efforts at fitting law breakers to lead normal lives.



FARM WORK FOR PRISONERS
KANSAS CITY MUNICIPAL FARM

Inmates at work in the fields. Correctional authorities so unanimously favor the establishment of farms for delinquents that no matter how light and sanitary a new jail located in the city might be it would be out of date before constructed

Not only that, but regeneration of offenders has been so far lost sight of that conditions are permitted in the local jails which, if anything, weaken and corrupt prisoners and send them out more likely than before to be a danger to the community. The blindness and folly of this neglect would be inexcusable were they not the result of traditions handed down for centuries, and were they not fairly typical of prevailing methods throughout the country. They may not be excused any longer, however, for the time has

come for a change in accordance with new experience and knowledge in dealing with crime.

In the future Springfield should bring all means for protecting the community into play, and develop correctional methods which will furnish for each offender treatment not only to deter him and others from future law breaking, but to develop in him, as far as that is possible, law-abiding habits and a distaste for crime.

The specific changes in present methods which seem most likely to bring such results will be outlined in detail in the following sections, concluding the part of the report which deals with the handling of adult offenders.

VII

A NEW JAIL SYSTEM OUTLINED

It is difficult to say which change in the Springfield correctional methods is most needed, but certainly among the most important is a change in the meaning of jail sentence. It should mean an opportunity to begin a law-abiding career, not the end of such a career. It should mean good, hard, wholesome work, not loafing. It should mean proper physical care, not confinement under conditions detrimental to health. It should mean confinement until there is reason to believe an offender can keep the law, not periodical release to prey upon or disturb the community. In a word, there should be a change from efforts at punishment only, to best tried methods for correcting offenders' unlawful tendencies.

For reconstruction of the jail system two alternatives deserve consideration:

1. The state might be persuaded to undertake the care of misdemeanants in state institutions conveniently located near the larger cities.

2. The city and county might take advantage of the house of corrections act* and unite in the establishment of an institution for the care of city and county prisoners.

State Care of Misdemeanants

Authorities on criminology are pretty well united in believing that the ultimate solution of the problem of handling misdemeanants is to provide state institutions for their care, just as is now done for felons. City and county jails the country over are with few exceptions very poor in construction and poorly managed, and while it is recognized that fairly adequate improvements can be made in some counties it is believed that general betterment cannot be brought about as long as local control continues. As

* Chapter 67, Statutes State of Illinois.

compared with county jails most state penitentiaries and reformatories are of a greatly superior type. Moreover, local care as compared with state care is grossly extravagant. Illinois has 102 county jails caring for misdemeanants when a quarter that many state district jails for the detention of persons pending trial, none of them larger than the average county jail, and perhaps three state institutions for misdemeanants confined on sentence, would better serve the needs. State care seems, moreover, a reasonable proposal, for misdemeanants are imprisoned for violation of state not local laws. Indeed, local care probably never would have developed but for difficulties of transportation in early days which have now disappeared.

No state has yet developed district jails for those held pending trial, but Michigan has had two state houses of correction since 1889,—one since 1877,—while Indiana requires that all women serving sentence be sent to the state reformatory for women at Indianapolis and is constructing a state farm for male misdemeanants.

The Indiana law establishing the state farm will probably furnish the model for similar laws enacted in other states and its chief features are worth noting.*

1. The single institution provided for is to be located on 500 acres of land suitable for general farming and for the making of bricks and road materials.

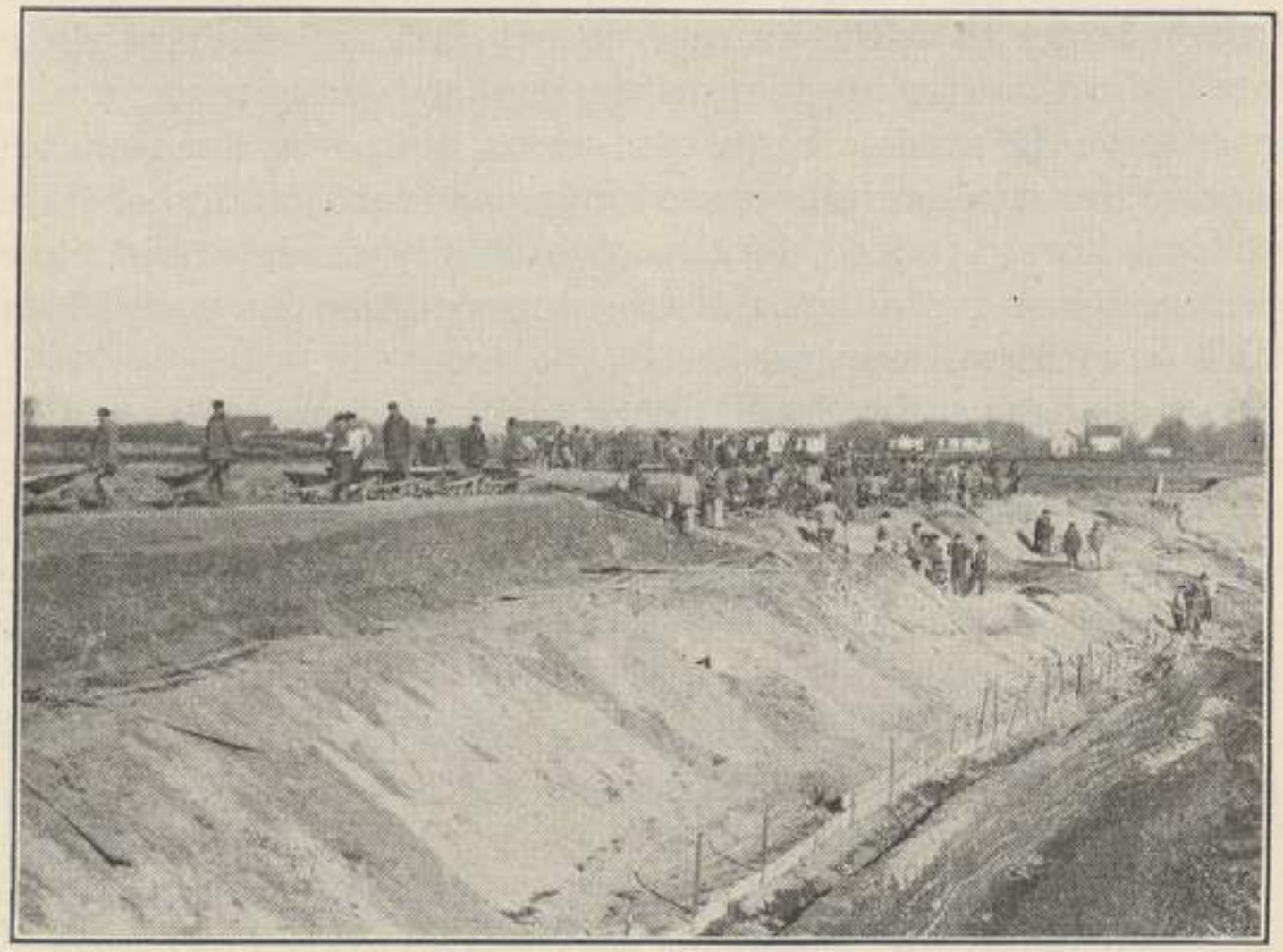
2. It is to serve for confinement of all male prisoners over sixteen years of age who would previously have been sent to county jails or workhouses for terms of more than 60 days. If the term of a prisoner is 60 days or less the court may use discretion in committing to the state farm or the county jail.

3. Cost of transporting prisoners to and from the institution is to be borne by counties.

If the state of Illinois can be persuaded to undertake the care of misdemeanants in state institutions it would, we believe, be the best solution of the jail problem. Four state institutions would probably serve the need in an adequate manner, though three would suffice as a temporary expedient. There should be a wo-

* Chapter 236, Acts of 1913. See Bulletin of Indiana Board of State Charities for March, 1913, p. 30.

man's reformatory, and two or three farm institutions for male offenders, one to be located near Chicago* and the other one or two to be located so as to serve adequately the central and southern parts of the state.



PRISONERS GATHERING CLAY FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF BRICK
MINNEAPOLIS WORKHOUSE

If, however, the state, after an investigation such as is recommended on page 89 of this report, or by declining to make such an investigation, refuses to undertake the care of misdemeanants, then Springfield and Sangamon County should unite in an endeavor to provide for prisoners locally in a more adequate manner.

A SPRINGFIELD HOUSE OF CORRECTION

A state law enacted as far back as 1870† provides for the establishment of houses of correction by municipalities. The provision may be summed up as follows:

* It is possible that the present Chicago House of Correction might be transformed for this purpose.

† Chapter 67, Statutes State of Illinois.

1. CONTROL. The house of correction is to be under the control of a Board of Inspectors composed of the mayor and three persons appointed by him with the advice and consent of the Commission. Members are to serve three year terms, one going out of office each year. They receive no pay.

2. POWERS OF BOARD. The board is empowered (a) to enact rules for the government of the institution, (b) to nominate the superintendent and his subordinates, and (c) to fix their salaries and prescribe their duties.

3. RECORDS. They are to keep full and accurate records to show the number and condition of all offenders and the financial condition of each department and the institution as a whole.

4. COUNTY USE. Counties are permitted to enter into contracts with municipalities having houses of correction for the keeping of prisoners who are county charges.

Another statute authorizes cities to purchase not to exceed 40 acres outside the city limits for the purpose of establishing houses of correction.* These statutes together form an excellent basis for the development of a correctional institution of the right sort.

The Springfield City Commission early in 1913 laid plans for the development of a house of correction for Springfield and at a meeting of the Sangamon County board of supervisors held on March 11, 1913, the following resolution was received from the city:

> Whereas, Both the county jail and city prison are inadequate and so antiquated as to be unsuited for the purposes for which they are used:
>
> Therefore, We respectfully request the County Board to take action looking to the purchase of land and construction of a work house to be paid for jointly by the city and county, and placed under one management.

The matter was referred to the jail committee of the county board which met with the city's representatives, and in a careful report which indicated thorough consideration of the subject endorsed the plan and recommended that the county enter into a contract with the city authorities, the chief provisions of which were as follows:

1. The city to establish a house of correction within three miles of the

* Section 506, Chapter 24, Statutes State of Illinois.

city limits on not less than 40 acres of land and provide suitable agricultural and other outdoor employment for prisoners.

2. The county to pay the city in advance for care and custody of county prisoners half the cost of establishing such institution but not over $15,000, such sum to be paid back by city in caring for county prisoners at two-thirds the amount agreed upon as a fair charge until the full amount had been met.

3. For five years after the establishment of the institution the county will pay 30 cents per day for the care of each prisoner, after which the charge will be readjusted, and in case of failure to agree will be decided by the judges of the circuit, county, and probate courts.

By a very comfortable majority the board of supervisors voted to enter into the proposed contract, thus endorsing its committee's report, which had shown that by this contract prisoners would be much more adequately provided for, while the county would save money. At this point, however, completion of the project was held up by the city's representatives.

The city owns in the region of the water works about 200 acres of river bottom land sometimes flooded in the spring freshets. The plan was to buy 80 acres on high ground adjoining this acreage so as to put this 200-acre tract at the disposal of the house of correction. The state law, however, permits cities to buy only 40 acres outside the city limits for the purpose of establishing such an institution. A bill, therefore, was introduced in the 1913 session of the legislature to permit cities to purchase 80 acres for this purpose and to give them power to institute condemnation proceedings in acquiring it. The bill was not vigorously pressed, however, and died during the congestion of work just before the legislature adjourned. The result is that the plans are still held in abeyance.

In order, therefore, that present jail conditions may not continue longer than absolutely necessary, we would recommend that the bill authorizing the purchase of 80 acres of land be again introduced in the legislature, so that in case the state fails to undertake the care of misdemeanants the city and county will not be further hindered by legislative restrictions from the completion of their plans. For if plans for state care do fail, and in such a manner as

to indicate no likelihood of success in the near future, there is no reason why Springfield and Sangamon County, with an 80-acre site and 200 acres of river bottom land available, should not themselves develop a farm for offenders which would be a great step forward and an example for other communities.

Whether, however, the jail situation is met locally or by the state, there are certain standards representative of the best and most recent thought which should govern the development and management of institutions for misdemeanants and other petty offenders. The more important features are detailed as follows:

Correctional Institutional Standards

1. The institution should be located in the country where farm work will be available for prisoners.

2. The superintendent should be a man of good business ability who has also an understanding of prisoners' needs. A salary adequate to attract a thoroughly capable man should be offered, for a poorly qualified superintendent will prove a great extravagance in the long run.

3. Besides the superintendent there should be in control of the institution a matron, if women are to be detained, an agriculturist, and guards, the last named being selected for their ability to take charge of blacksmith, tailor, shoe, carpenter, or other shops and to teach the prisoners trades.

4. There should be also a special institution physician, paid and required to give adequate time to the work, and a trained nurse in charge of the hospital ward. In large institutions a corps of physicians who are specialists and more than one nurse are necessary.*

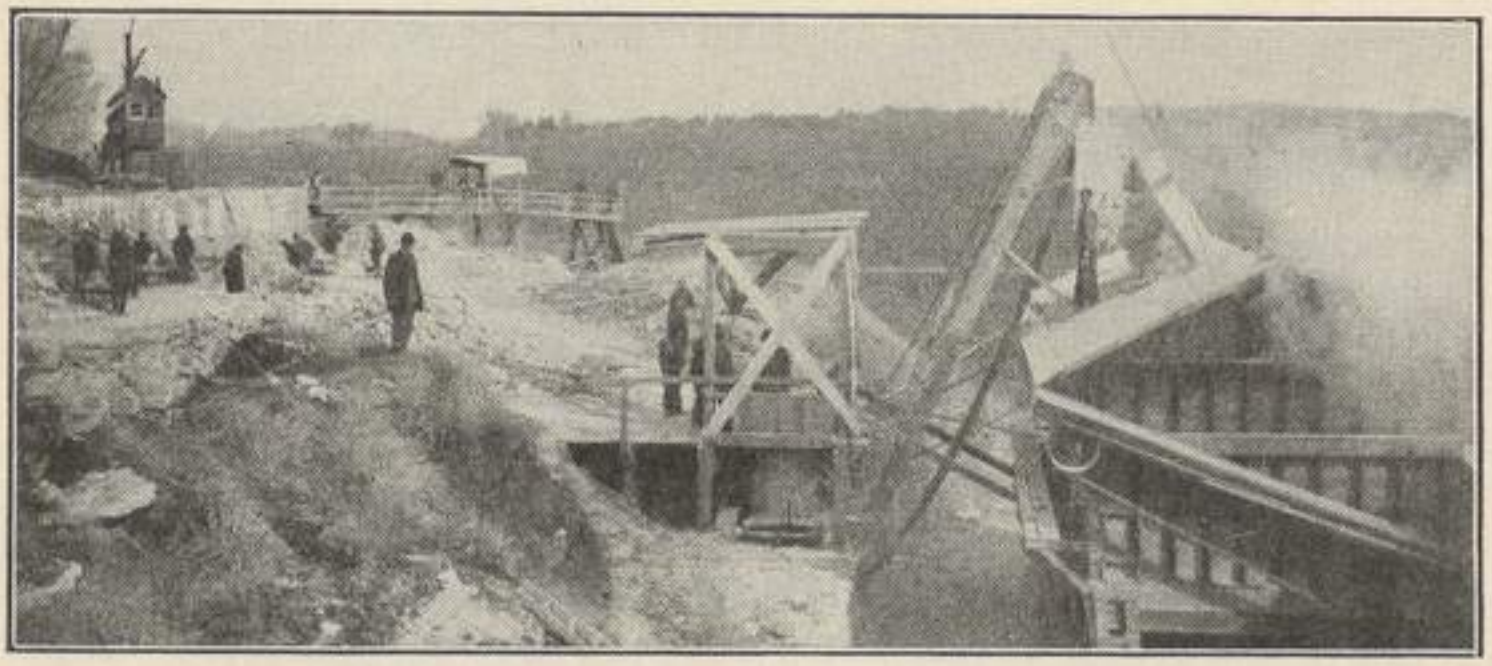
5. Buildings should be durable and fireproof and should provide a separate room for each prisoner with plenty of light and air and warmth in winter. The women's ward, if women are to be held, and that for men, should be entirely separate. There should also be four divisions of each ward to permit separation of prisoners whom it is not desirable to confine together.†

* In small institutions it is possible to effect economy and still get the desired service if the superintendent is able to fill the place of the doctor or the agriculturist, or if the matron is a trained nurse. It is greatly to be preferred, if such a man can be secured, that the institution physician be a trained psychologist.

† Some penal institutions provide open-air sleeping quarters for prisoners with tuberculosis—a wise and humane feature.

6. The building for the housing of prisoners should furnish beside sleeping quarters a dining room—suitable also as an assembly room—a kitchen, a modern laundry, a hospital ward and a bathroom (with shower baths only).* In addition to this main building and those for farm purposes, quarters for shop work to aid in the upkeep of the institution and to give prisoners employment during the winter months should also be provided.

7. Buildings should be constructed as far as possible by the prisoners. The feasibility of this has been repeatedly demonstrated. It will save the tax payers money and furnish wholesome work for the men.



PRISONERS WORKING IN STONE QUARRY
KANSAS CITY MUNICIPAL FARM

Material for street improvement may thus be secured at low cost while prisoners' physical condition is improved and they are made at least partially self-supporting

8. When prisoners are received they should be given a bath and supplied with institution clothes of plain, durable material (not striped). Their own clothes should be taken from them to be sterilized, patched, and pressed so that when released, prisoners may be presentable candidates for work.

9. As soon after arrival as possible prisoners should receive a thorough physical examination and definite treatment should be prescribed where needed. If the institution physician is not himself fitted to handle unusual cases, consulting physicians should be called in. Too much emphasis can not be placed upon

* If women are kept at the institution they will, of course, require separate dining and bath rooms as well as separate sleeping quarters.

physical treatment, for a sound body is the first essential to regeneration.

10. Special attention should be given to administering the "cure" to victims of the liquor or drug habits. Every precaution should be taken to make sure that while in the institution prisoners do not receive supplies of either drugs or liquor unless on the physician's prescription.

11. Provisions should be made for religious and other educational instruction. In local institutions the former may generally be had without expense if churches of different denominations are invited to supply regular religious instruction to prisoners of their faith, while the latter may well be supplied by the board of education as a part of the regular evening school work.

12. Food for prisoners should be wholesome and adequate. Needless to say the exact expense of feeding and no more should be paid for by the government. The New York State Prison Commission is wisely recommending the use of crockery dishes in all jails and penal institutions because of their effect in stimulating the self-respect of prisoners.

13. Work for prisoners should include fruit growing, truck gardening, stock raising, dairying and other kinds of farm work; brick making, quarrying, possibly canning;* and other work necessary in the upkeep and management of the institution. Women prisoners, if kept at the institution, may be employed in farm work and in making clothing. The problem of finding work for men in the winter may be met in part by saving improvements in buildings and equipment for winter months, and in part by quarry work which may be carried on in cold weather. The construction and improvement of the institution will provide excellent work for several years.

14. As far as possible men should be assigned to perform the kinds of work for which their physical and mental capacities best fit them. A man desiring to be a carpenter should, if qualified for the work, be put in the carpenter shop. Those with anemia or weak lungs should be sent out of doors.

15. No contract labor scheme should be entered into and as far as possible competition with outside labor should be avoided.

16. The products of the institution should as far as possible

* Canning is being used in Michigan institutions with success.

supply not only the institution's needs, but those of other city, county, or state departments.*

17. There is considerable opinion favoring the payment of regular wages to prisoners after deducting the cost of their keep. It is claimed that this not only leads to greater productiveness on their part, but tends to increase self-respect, which is perhaps the community's greatest protection from law breaking. It also prevents prisoners' families from suffering while they are confined, or supplies prisoners themselves with small funds to tide over the precarious days without work immediately following release.

18. A careful cost accounting system should be developed for each department of the institution. All goods disposed of to other departments of the city, county or state governments, should be credited to the institution at market prices and an annual report should be published showing both financial results and results obtained in fitting prisoners for normal life.†

There is no likelihood, should the point be raised, that such an institution would be so attractive that offenders would not mind being sent there. Persons who have some self-respect and reputations to protect will not choose to go to jail whatever its nature, while repeaters who form so large a portion of the jail population will dread an institution of this sort more than they dread the present jails. Cleanliness will be enforced (at first an unwelcome departure), their self-respect will be stirred (a disquieting thing), and while they will get good food and shelter they will also face the necessity of having to work. As long as good hard work is required there is no danger of attracting inmates by making a jail or house of correction as wholesome and uplifting as possible.

While such an institution as this, whether state or local, would, therefore, be fully as effective as a deterrent against the commission of crime as either of the present jails, as a regenerating agency it would be so far superior as to be in an entirely separate class. Instead of robbing new offenders of their self-respect,

* In Minneapolis, for example, the workhouse supplies dairy products to the city hospitals. In the Kansas City Women's Reformatory the inmates make clothes for themselves and male prisoners and uniforms for the city street cleaning department. The Peoria workhouse has supplied brick for public buildings. Other examples might be cited.

† The printing and publishing may very well be done by the prisoners as a means for supplying educational work during winter months.

contaminating their minds through bad associates, and weakening their bodies and wills by idleness, it would tend to build up their self-respect, strengthen their moral stamina, improve their minds, and send them out presentable in appearance and in good physical condition—often for the first time in years—fit candidates for the work of normal life.

It is useless to claim that all or perhaps a majority of the present jail inhabitants could be converted into self-respecting, self-supporting citizens. Many have become too degraded—partly through long contact with the present jail system—to be greatly helped by any treatment. But that such an institution would prevent many first offenders from becoming rounders and even help a few present repeaters to their feet, there can be no question.

Temporary Detention

The establishment of state care or a farm institution will not, of course, provide for persons who need to be held temporarily, pending trial, awaiting transportation to the institution in which they are to serve their sentences, or awaiting the action of the grand jury. These persons will still need to be detained at some convenient place within the city limits. For this purpose the maintenance of two jails would be a needless extravagance and if possible some method should be worked out by which the county jail, which is superior in physical equipment to the city jail, could be used.* Perhaps the city might contract with the county for the care of its prisoners who are held temporarily. Or it might be possible for the city to sell the present city jail property and acquire that on which the county jail is located, in which case the county might contract with the city for the keep of county prisoners. In some such solution of the problem there is great opportunity for economy over present methods.†

* If the present county jail is used for such temporary detention it would seem advisable, after the children are taken out of the "annex," to use the latter for women prisoners.

† The state law should be amended to permit cities or counties to contract with each other for the care of prisoners, whether a house of correction exists or not, for the present duplication of jails which obtains throughout the state is needless and expensive.

VIII

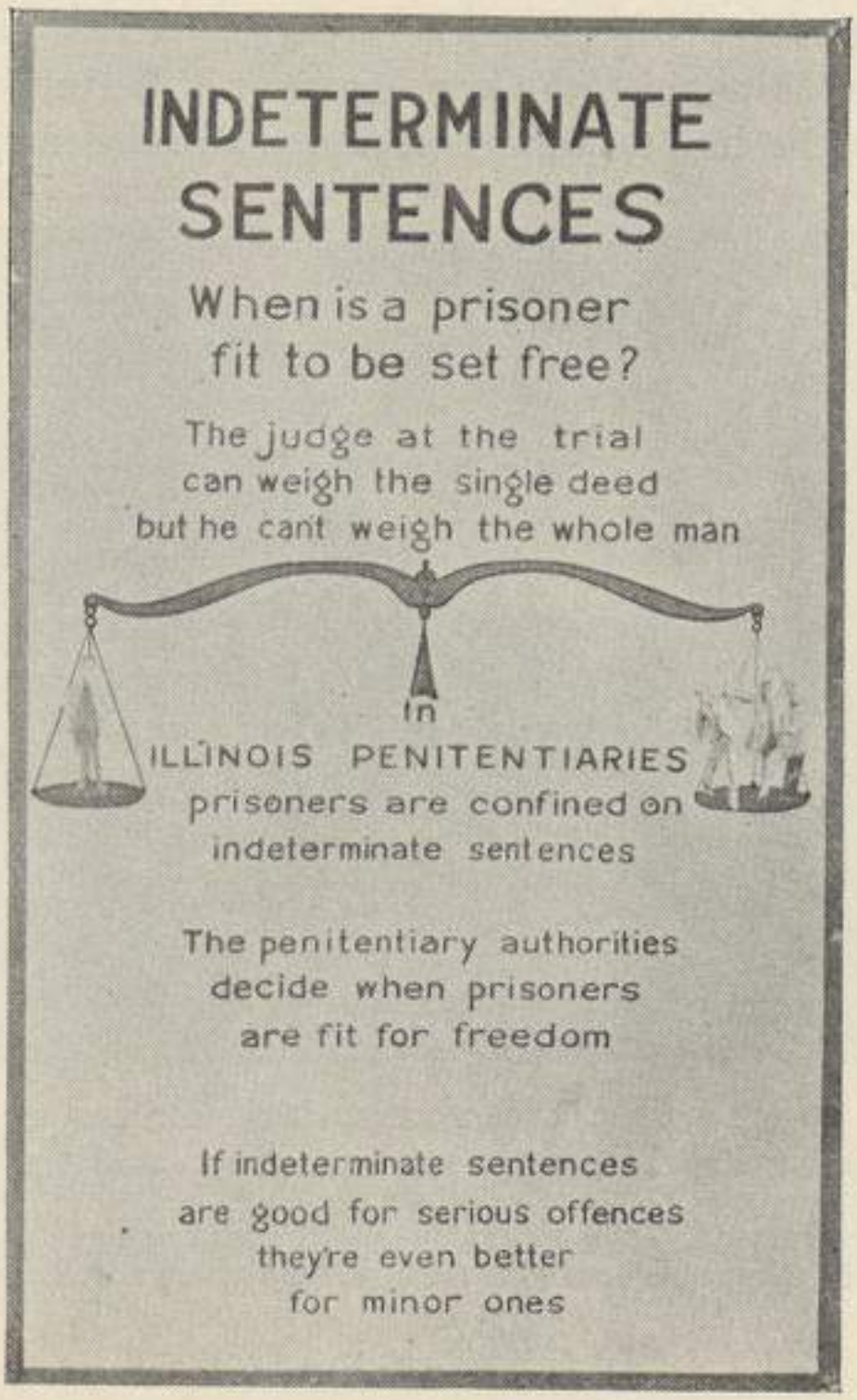
INDETERMINATE SENTENCE AND PAROLE

Indeterminate Sentence

But however upbuilding a jail may be, its success in regenerating offenders will in large measure be hampered unless prisoners are sentenced for sufficient periods to permit effective treatment. For this purpose most present jail sentences in Springfield are much too short. More than one-fifth in 1913 were for ten days or less; more than three-fifths for thirty days or less. Under existing conditions, nothing could be gained by subjecting offenders for longer periods to the corrupting influences of the present jails. But when a new jail system is developed sentences will need to be lengthened before effective work for prisoners' regeneration can be carried on. Little, for instance, can be done to fit an offender for a law-abiding life in ten days, and ordinarily not much save improvement of physical condition can be done in thirty. Indeed for protecting the community no sentences are better than those indeterminate in length which permit the holding of prisoners until there is some likelihood of their making good when given their freedom. Such sentences allow the early release of those not needing extended institutional treatment, and eliminate the periodical release (to prey upon or disturb the community) of those so degraded or so deficient mentally that there is little likelihood of their becoming law-abiding without an extended process of upbuilding.

With some exceptions persons guilty of felonies are now committed to the Illinois penitentiaries and reformatory for indeterminate periods. Those sentenced to the penitentiaries, except offenders guilty of treason, murder, rape, and kidnapping, are committed on sentences indeterminate in length, save that the term may not be for less than one year nor more than the maximum provided in the law for the offenses in question. Under

this provision all but four of the 23 persons committed to the penitentiary from Springfield in 1913 were given indeterminate sentences. All persons committed to the reformatory are on completely indeterminate sentences except that the term is not

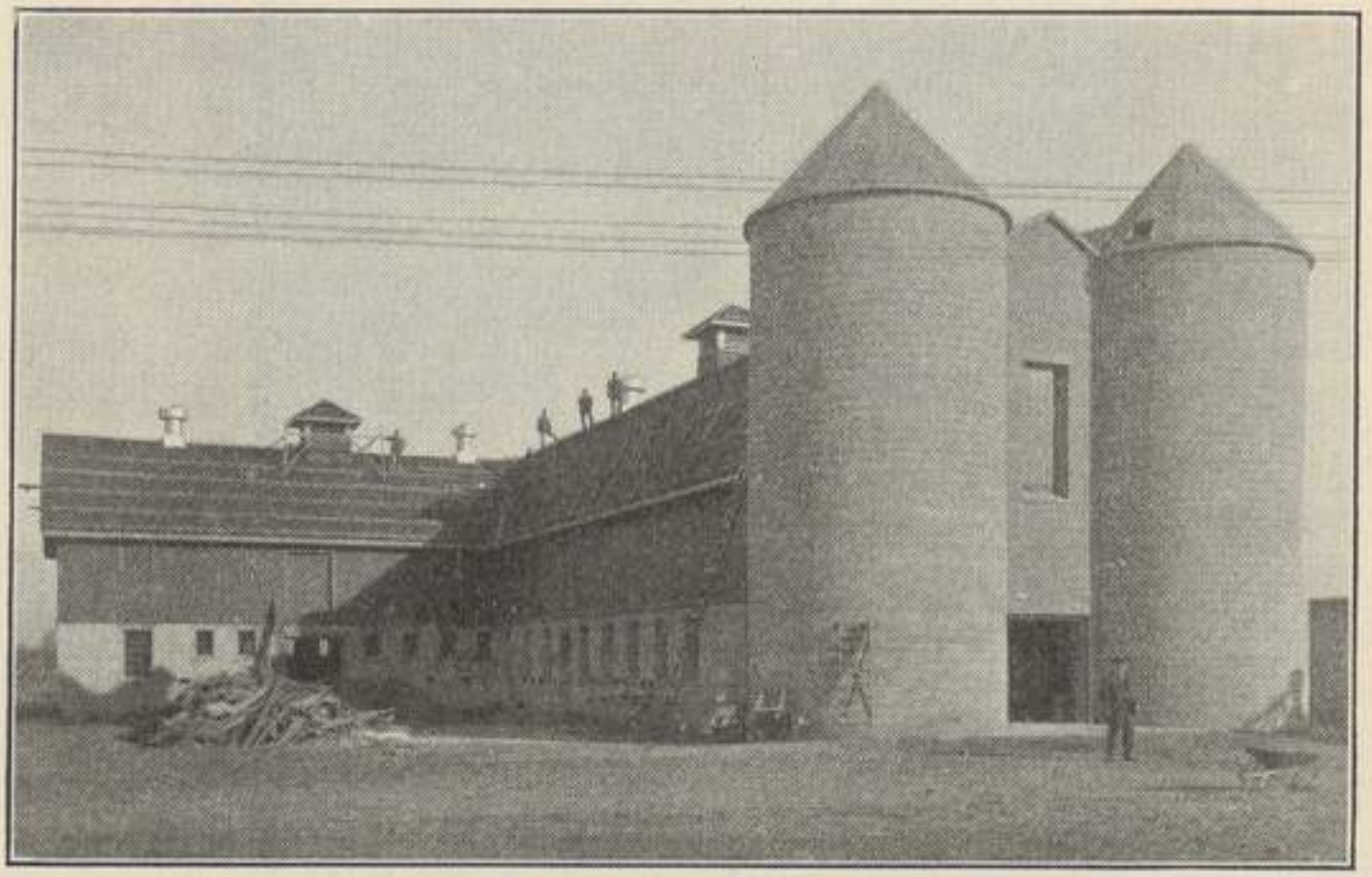


INDETERMINATE SENTENCES
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

to exceed the maximum provided in the law for the offenses in question. Thus the eight young men sentenced to the reformatory from Springfield in 1913 were all committed on indeterminate sentences.

In the adoption of these laws the state has abandoned the theory that commitments should be fixed according to serious-

ness of offense, and has accepted the idea that they should be determined by the time necessary for regeneration. This is a great step forward. But if indeterminate sentences are desirable for those guilty of felony, how much more are they desirable for those guilty of less serious offenses among whom the possibility of reform is consequently greater. There is, therefore, every reason, along with the development of better jail facilities, for applying the indeterminate sentence to misdemeanants.



MUNICIPAL WORKHOUSE, MINNEAPOLIS

This dairy barn, valued at $17,000, was built at a cost of $7,500 by prisoners. The latter made every brick in the foundation and every foot of cement used in interior construction. The workhouse will supply the city hospitals with milk, eggs, and vegetables, and prisoners will be given wholesome out-of-door work

Most existing indeterminate sentence laws, like the present Illinois statute, set a maximum term beyond which a prisoner may not be held, and a minimum term which must be completed before he may be paroled. Because the grip of tradition and constitutional limitations hamper the adoption of completely indeterminate sentences, it will probably be necessary to make some restrictions in applying these sentences to misdemeanants. These restrictions should, however, differ from those in the law

applying to felons. In the first place, it will probably be wise to give the board with paroling power authority to release a prisoner on parole at any time after commitment when in its judgment he or she gives satisfactory evidence of a purpose and ability to live at liberty without violating the law. This would meet the objection which might be raised that indeterminate sentences would overcrowd the jails. They would not overcrowd them, but rather would permit the release of those not needing to be held and the confinement of those who would be a danger to the community if released.

In the second place, it will probably be wise to have a graduated maximum term dependent upon the number of times the prisoner has been convicted. For instance, for the first misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment of which an offender is convicted, the maximum term of sentence might be the maximum provided in the law for the offense committed; for a second offense, the maximum term of sentence might be not less than one year, but in no case less than the maximum term provided in the law for the offense committed; for third and succeeding convictions the sentence might be completely indeterminate so that prisoners could be held permanently unless deemed by the parole board worthy of a trial at liberty. There might be also for a third and succeeding convictions refusal of parole within six months.* These details are suggested merely as a possible basis for legislation which would eliminate the constant turning of chronic offenders in and out of jail and which would provide that if milder treatment failed offenders might be held long enough to permit jails of a reformative nature to work real improvement.

Parole Supervision

Even with upbuilding jails and indeterminate sentences, however, work for the regeneration of offenders will often break down if prisoners are sent forth from jail with no help or supervision. That they leave the present jails without any after-care is, there-

* Even the adoption of these proposals would not meet all of the needs unless imprisonment were allowed for misdemeanors now punishable by fines only. A desirable change might be brought about by giving the courts power to commit offenders to jail upon a second conviction for misdemeanor, even though the penalty provided in the law is a fine only.

fore, another reason for the failure of the jails adequately to protect the community. Quite generally knowledge of an offender's arrest and his absence from work have caused him to lose his job, if he had one, and perhaps the first essential for his "making good" after release is that he find employment; yet under the

PAROLE
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

present system he receives no help nor direction at this most critical time. Very often an offender has lived in an environment which has contributed to his downfall; yet he is allowed to return there without interference or assistance. Not infrequently a prisoner leaves jail with good resolutions which are

likely to wane unless encouraged; yet it is nobody's business to look after him. If correctional work is really to put offenders on their feet, help and direction to released prisoners must be given and a parole department with capable paid parole officers will need to be established.

The failure of the state law to provide for the paroling of misdemeanants, when such methods are almost universally admitted to be successful and are already being used in dealing with those guilty of felonies, is but another example of the neglect to which the treatment of those guilty of minor offenses has been subject. If preventive and reformative measures are ever needed in the lives of offenders they are needed most before they reach the penitentiary. Certainly whether misdemeanants are kept in state or local institutions the law should provide parole boards, permit the paroling of prisoners, and require the employment of parole officers. If their care is provided for in local jails the members of the parole board need not be paid, for well-qualified persons can undoubtedly be found who will serve without salary. Where houses of correction are established the boards of inspectors might very well be given paroling power and be authorized to employ parole officers. The latter as far as possible should be trained persons, and salaries adequate to secure such persons should be offered.

IX

ADULT PROBATION NEEDS

Thus far the treatment of offenders sent to institutions has been dealt with. This includes a minority of law breakers—those whose offenses have been so serious that nothing less than institutional treatment is likely to convert them into law-abiding citizens. The majority of offenders, however, are never sent to jail, but instead under present practice are fined. Examination of the use of fines has, however, shown them to be quite generally ineffective as a means for community protection, save when offenses have been of a purely technical nature. Abandonment of their general use has been recommended in this report. What, then, is to take their place? The answer is probation,—of a sort which will mean not only another chance, but a chance with the guidance of a probation officer whose business it is to do all in his power to help offenders keep the law.

We have seen earlier that 154 persons in 1913 were placed on suspended sentence by the justices of the peace and the city magistrate pending good behavior. This, however, is not probation. It means another chance, it is true, but without help or guidance. Most offenders so released, as in the case of those who leave jail without supervision, go back to the same temptations which got them into trouble without any new or helpful influences. Under such conditions suspending of sentence is not likely to be an effective means for disposing of offenders. Experience in Springfield has proved its failure in many cases.

The county and circuit courts placed 32 persons on probation in 1913. There were, however, no paid probation officers and those placed under any supervision at all were put under the care of volunteer officers who in a number of cases were relatives. Probation under such conditions is far superior to suspending of sentence with no supervision whatever, but it is very far inferior to probation under trained officers. If probation is to mean merely that probationers report to an officer monthly, volunteers

are adequate, but if it is to mean, as it should, a real and continuous effort to place offenders on their feet by overcoming their delinquent tendencies, volunteers have ordinarily neither the time, personal interest, nor knowledge to get the best results. It may be the probationer needs steady work. The probation

NEED OF PROBATION
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

officers should help him get it. He may be in an environment which largely precludes the possibility of his regeneration. The probation officer should endeavor to get him out of it. He may have some physical ailment which has prevented his working and led him through idleness and want into crime. The pro-

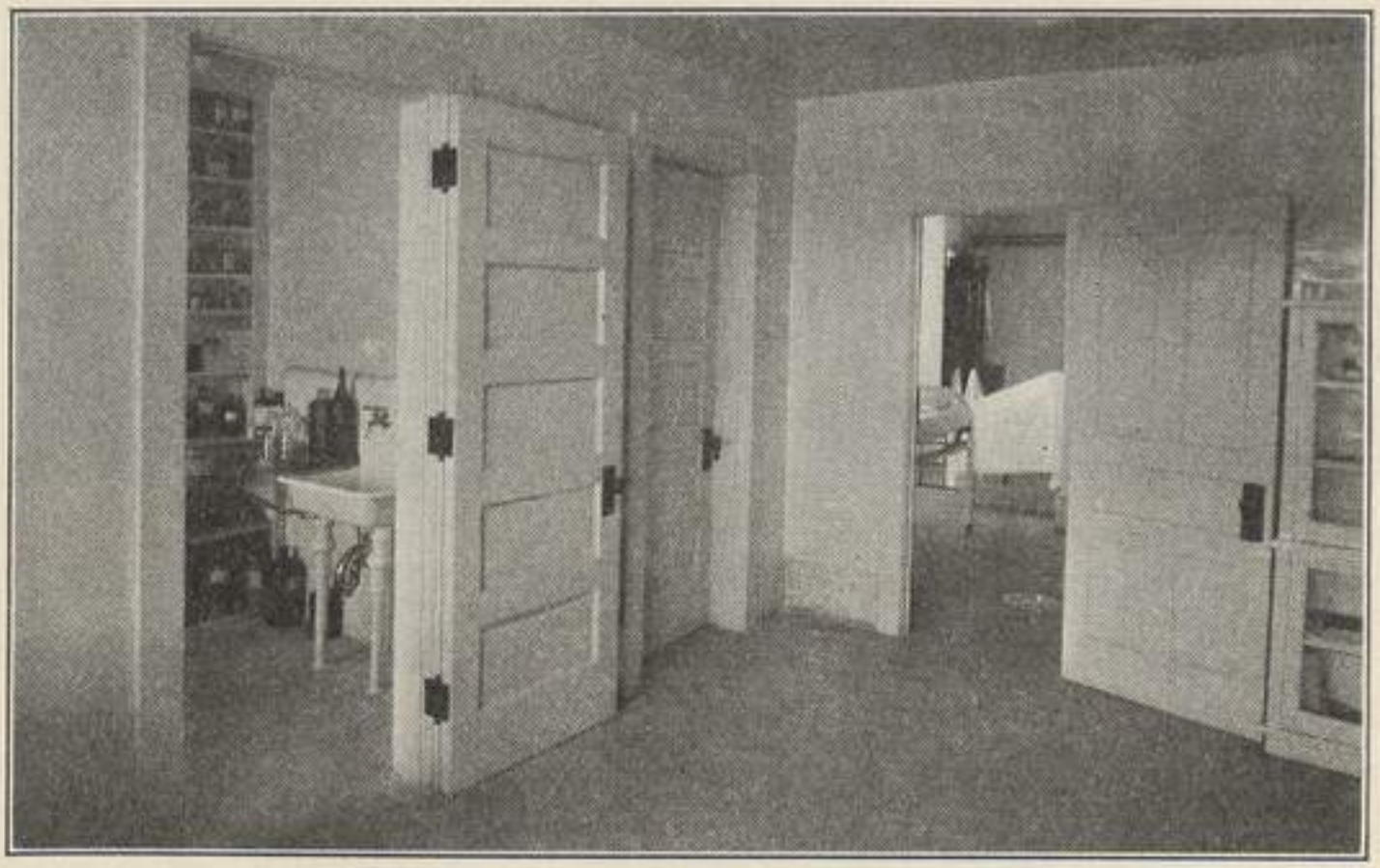
bation officer should try to have the trouble remedied. These are but samples of varied needs which demand continuous attention if probation is to work real reform. They can be met best and often only through the employment of paid probation officers. Volunteers working in conjunction with such officers are of great service, but the latter are indispensable.*

The Illinois law authorizes each circuit court to appoint one probation officer for every 50,000 people in the county. It also authorizes each municipal court in cities of less than 50,000 people to appoint one such officer. For every officer appointed by a municipal court the number to be appointed by the circuit court is reduced by one. Consequently as there are slightly less than 100,000 persons in Sangamon County, and no municipal courts, the circuit court is authorized at its discretion to appoint one probation officer. If, however, probation should largely replace petty fines, as here recommended, one probation officer would be entirely inadequate to serve the circuit and county courts, the city magistrate, and the justices of the peace. Indeed, even with supervision over the 32 persons put on probation by the circuit and county courts and the 154 placed on suspended sentence by the lower courts, he would more than have his hands full. When Springfield readjusts her correctional methods, not less than three probation officers will be needed to deal with adult offenders. But until amendment to the state law permitting the appointment of such a number is secured the circuit court will perform a distinct service if it names the single officer now authorized.

The present statute provides that the chief officer shall receive $1,200 a year and other officers, $800. These amounts are too low considering the qualities needed in a probation officer. It is of the utmost importance, if probation work is to be really effective, that persons of considerable resourcefulness be appointed and that the chief officer at least be a trained person. The function of these officers in the protection of the community is no less important than that of the court itself. They must be

* There is no intention to discourage the use of volunteers, who can be of very great service if they work with paid officers. Indeed, paid officers should endeavor to enlist as much volunteer help as possible. But the use of volunteers alone almost invariably means poor probation work.

Hospital Ward, Kansas City Municipal Farm



Physician's Office and Dispensary, Kansas City Municipal Farm

Physical Care of Prisoners

Men are at work in Kansas City today who were cured of the liquor habit in this institution. So successful has been its treatment of alcoholics that the courts have begun to sentence drunkards who evince a desire to reform to a year's term so that their treatment may be really effective. Springfield turns her "drunks" out with appetite unabated only to get drunk again

able to analyze carefully the things which have led to offenders' delinquency and set in operation forces for their removal. They must be persons in whose wisdom, character, and good intentions probationers will have confidence; persons, too, who will be able to enlist the support of employers, physicians, lawyers, and others in efforts to place offenders on their feet.

The money expended on such persons will, we believe, be infinitely more fruitful in protecting the community than the addition of half a dozen men to the police force. At present Springfield employs 52 policemen to catch offenders but nobody to build them up into law-abiding members of the community. While predictions are always dangerous, efficient officers should, in the course of time, be able to save the cost of their service by obviating the necessity of community support for deserters' families, and by saving to useful citizenship persons who will otherwise become chronic burdens on the community. And at the same time the community will get better protection from law breakers. There is need, therefore, for amendments which will not only permit the employment of a larger number of officers, but which will permit the payment of more adequate salaries.

Nor are these the only amendments needed. Wider use of probation than is now permitted is desirable. The present statute restricts its use to first offenders and allows it only when the offense falls within one of the following groups:

(a) Violations of city ordinances which are also in whole or in part violations of state statutes.

(b) Misdemeanors.

(c) Obtaining property or money under false pretenses where the value does not exceed $200.

(d) Larceny, embezzlement, and malicious mischief where the property taken or the injury done does not exceed $200 in value.

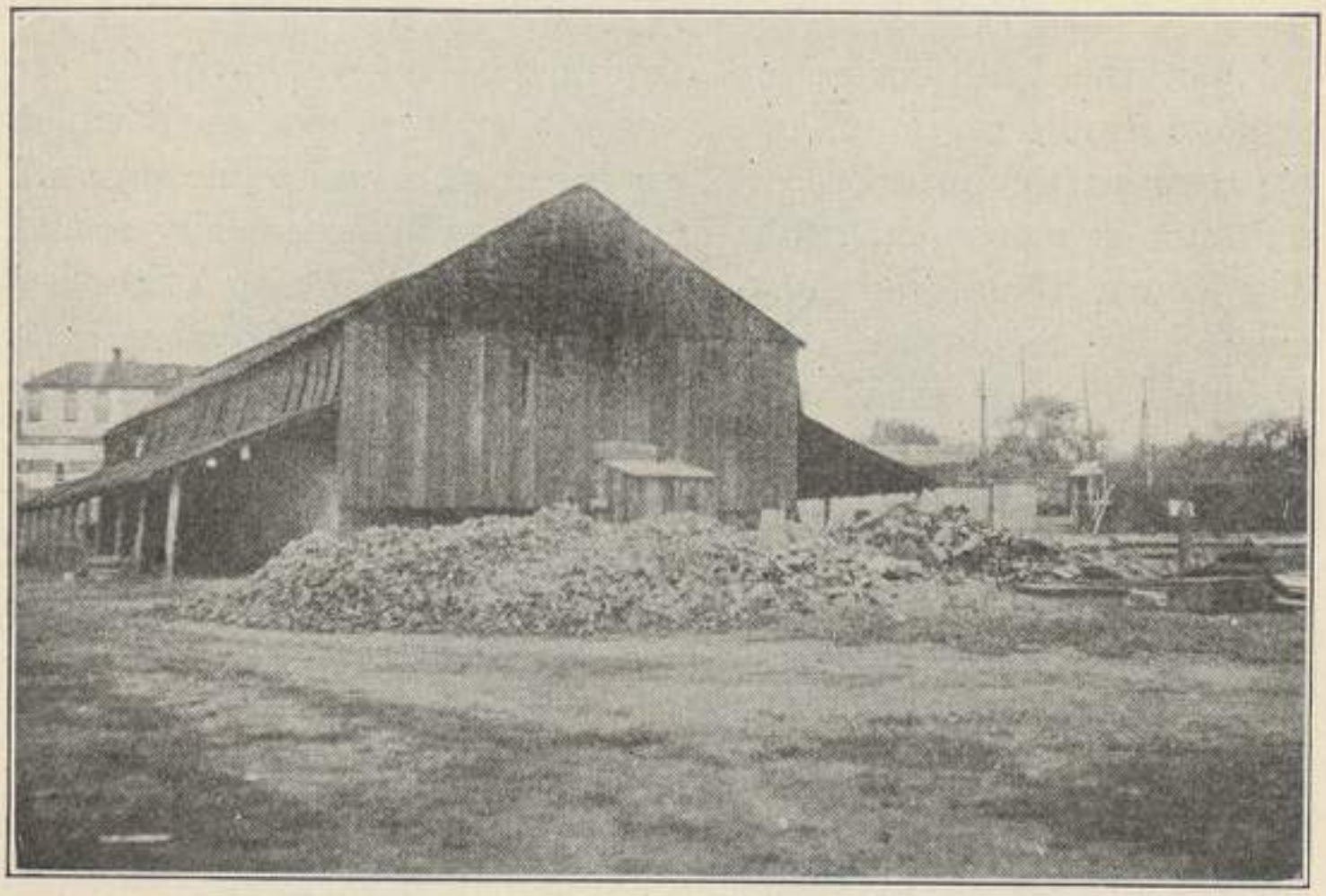
(e) Burglary when the amount taken does not exceed $200 and the place burglarized is not a business house, dwelling, or other habitation.

(f) Attempt to commit burglary in a place which is not a business house, dwelling, or other habitation.

(g) Burglary when the burglar is found in buildings other than a business house, dwelling, or other habitation.

The period of probation is not to be over six months for violations of city ordinance or over one year in other cases.

Restriction of probation to first offenders is often likely to prevent courts from making the disposition of cases which will be most beneficial to society. Again the fact that an offender has been guilty of stealing, obtaining under false pretenses or destroying property valued at more than $200, or that he has burglarized or attempted to burglarize a "business house, dwell-



PEORIA WORKHOUSE BRICK YARD

Prisoners at Peoria make brick and brooms. The institution is much superior to Springfield jails, but not to be copied. Farm work should be combined with work of this character

ing or other habitation" is not sufficient evidence that probation may not wisely be used. It is entirely conceivable that youths of seventeen or eighteen years who for the good of the community had better be kept out of jails and penitentiaries might commit such offenses. It would seem wiser, therefore, if courts were given entire discretion in the use of probation, for experience has shown that they are inclined to be conservative and are very unlikely to abuse such power.

X

REORGANIZATION OF MINOR COURTS AND REVISION OF SENTENCES

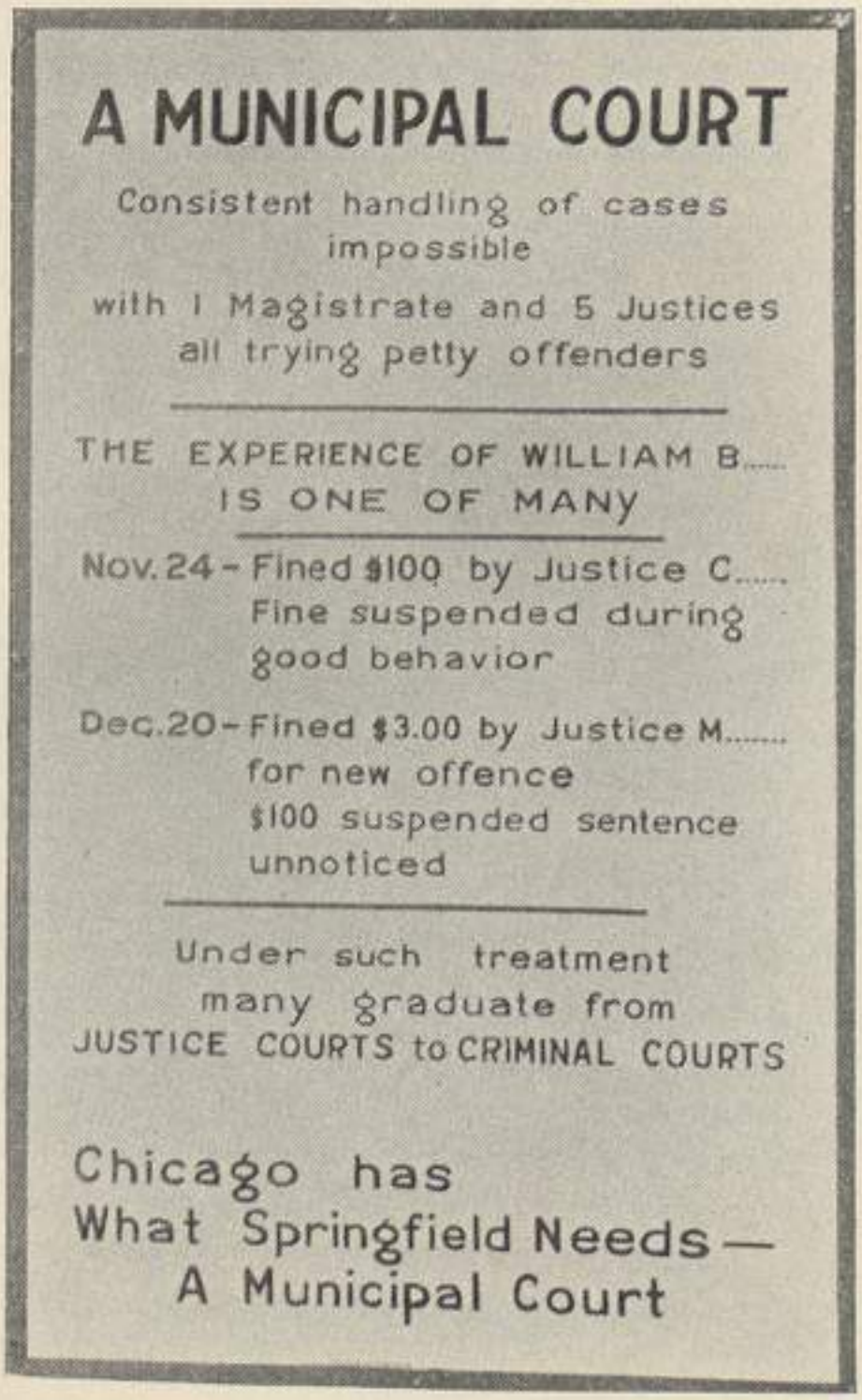
Minor Courts

Even the best correctional methods, however, will fail to achieve results unless offenders are subjected to treatment which fits their particular needs. If, for instance, a man in need of jail sentence is placed on probation, failure will necessarily result. The court, therefore, must have capacity to grasp offenders' needs and to adjust treatment accordingly. Likewise it is essential to successful work in regeneration of offenders that intelligent plans for treatment be carried out consistently. This, however, is difficult if not impossible under the present minor court system in which the city magistrate and five justices of the peace have concurrent jurisdiction in all criminal actions punishable by a fine of $200 or less. An offender will first come before one justice, then before another, each dealing with him in his own way, regardless of the plan of the others. In a number of cases in 1913 offenders were fined large amounts by one justice and given suspended sentences pending good behavior, only to receive fines much smaller than the suspended ones when brought before another justice on new charges. A few examples will serve to illustrate.

John K—— was arrested on January 16, 1913, for begging and was fined $50 by the city magistrate. Execution was held pending good behavior. On April 15 he was arrested again for improper language and conduct. This time he came before a justice of the peace who apparently knew nothing of the suspended sentence, for he was fined $3.00 and costs on the new charge.

William B—— was fined $100 in November by one justice but execution was held pending good behavior. In December he was fined $3.00 by another justice, the suspended sentence on the fine of $100 passing unnoticed.

William K—— was before the following persons during the year: May 31, Justice Monroe (fined $3.00); July 1, Magistrate Shipp (fined $25); August 21, Justice Early (fined $10); November 11, Justice Monroe again (fined $25).

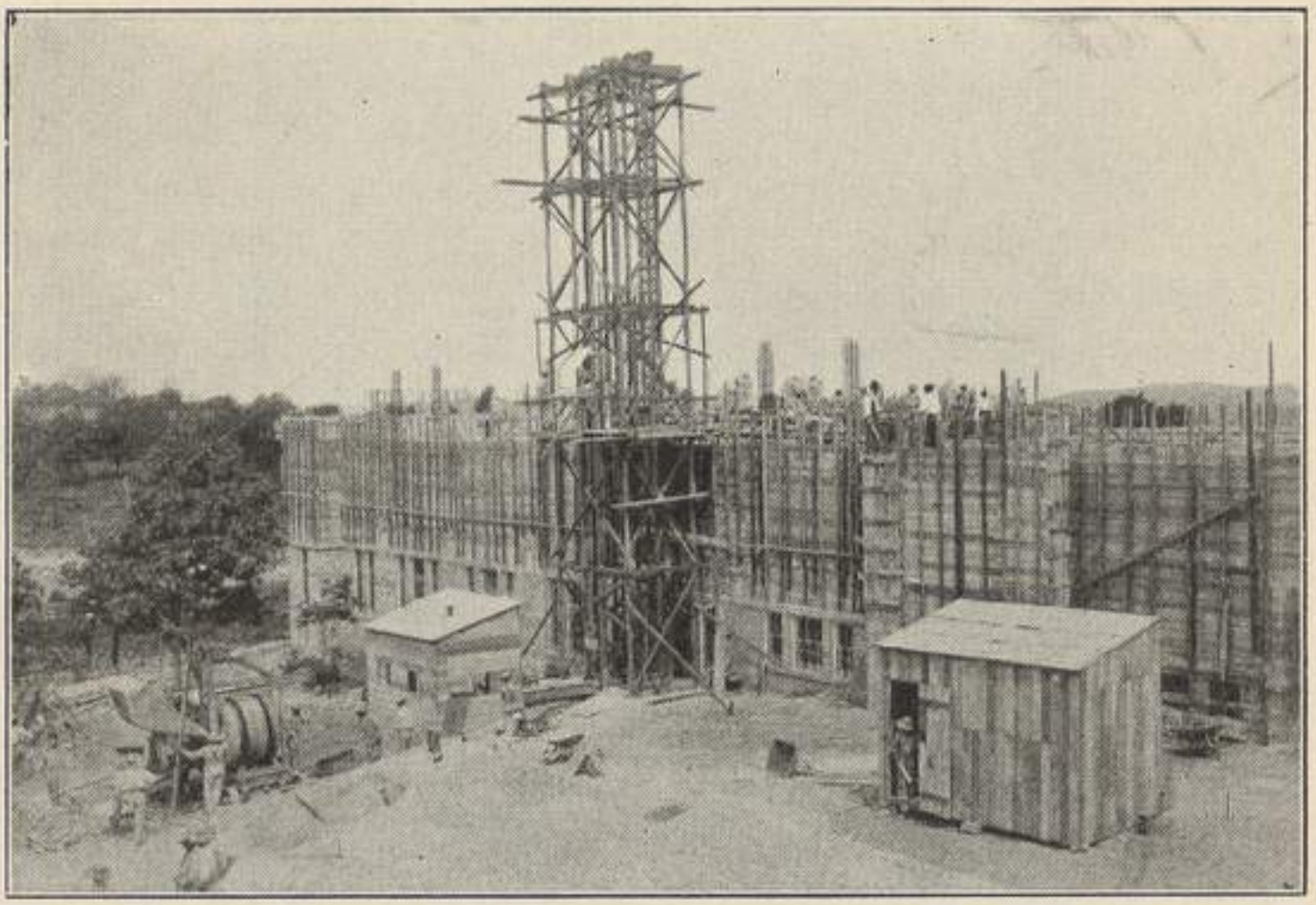


NEED OF MUNICIPAL COURT IN SPRINGFIELD
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

It is obvious, under these circumstances, that no thought-out constructive program may be put into operation. The treatment of offenders is vacillating, often unwise, and necessarily ineffective.

There is unfortunately a general belief that the so-called "lower" courts demand men of less ability than the "higher"

courts. Consequently the salaries and honors attached to lower-court judgeships are generally small and the judgments meted out are correspondingly inadequate. The fact is, however, that these lower courts, for the great majority of citizens, especially for those on the borderline of poverty who cannot afford the excessive costs of appeals, are the courts of last resort. For such persons, moreover, the decisions of the lower courts



GENERAL ADMINISTRATION BUILDING UNDER CONSTRUCTION BY PRISONERS KANSAS CITY MUNICIPAL FARM

It is becoming common to have prisoners build their own correctional institutions. It saves tax payers money and supplies prisoners with wholesome out-of-door work

are fully as important as are decisions of the higher courts to the well-to-do. Indeed lower-court decisions often involve the taking away of liberty, than which no human right is more precious. There is, therefore, no sound reason for the tendency to make the liberty and property of persons of moderate means subject to the decisions of persons who get their pay through costs assessed and who are not even required to have a legal training.

The justice of the peace system is a relic of a more or less

pioneer period of small communities which in Springfield has ceased to exist. There is at present upon the statute books an act permitting cities to establish city courts. These, however, have concurrent jurisdiction with circuit courts and do not replace justice of the peace and city magistrate's courts. They offer no solution of the minor court problem. To solve it, new legislation will be necessary. In this particular the Municipal Court Act of Chicago offers suggestions. This act abolishes city magistrates and justices of the peace in Chicago, and gives the municipal court jurisdiction in all criminal cases in which punishment is by fine or imprisonment otherwise than in the penitentiary, and in all other criminal cases which the laws in force from time to time may permit to be prosecuted in other ways than on indictment by a grand jury.

Similar jurisdiction should, we believe, be conferred upon a municipal court for Springfield which should replace the city magistrate and the justices of the peace.* The civil jurisdiction which such a court should exercise is beyond the scope of this report and is a matter for consideration by the County Bar Association. It is quite probable that a careful study of this field would indicate the desirability of establishing two branches of the court, one civil and one criminal, with separate justices. In any case the judge or judges should be required to give full time to the work, and salaries should be paid which will attract men of good ability.

This new court would offer these definite advantages over the present system:

1. It would permit the outlining and carrying out of a careful plan for the treatment of each offender.

2. It would tend to attract to the bench men of a superior type.

3. It would command more respect from the public and from law breakers than the present system. This is especially important if the correctional system is to undertake the regeneration of offenders.

* The establishment of such a court would interfere with the powers of the county and circuit courts and will, therefore, require an amendment to the constitution of the state of Illinois. This should be sought.

4. It would abolish the present pernicious system by which the city magistrate and justices receive their remuneration from the fees they are able to collect.

The effects of this fee system are worth noting. If an arrested person is set free, the justice usually earns nothing. He is tempted, therefore, to find people guilty wherever possible. Even if unable to so find, the justices sometimes collect their fees anyway. We discover entries on the police docket for 1913 showing 202 cases dismissed, 14 cases bound over to the grand jury, and three cases in which no prosecution was brought in all of which costs were collected. Just why a court should collect costs from a man not prosecuted or from one held for the grand jury, or from one against whom, according to the court's own ruling, no charge has been proven, we are unable to determine.* Yet such are the lengths to which the fee system extends its iniquities.

Again, it is not hard to find cases in which two or three charges were brought against the same person on the same day for the same general offense with the evident purpose of adding to the justice's earnings at the prisoner's expense. Indeed, until the present administration the justices used to divide their fees, and policemen and the chief received shares for each arrest. That many arrests were made unnecessarily is suggested by the fact that the number fell from 5,009 the year before this practice was abandoned to 4,011 the year after.†

These facts, we believe, indicate from the standpoint of criminal cases the great advantages of the proposed reorganization. For the handling of civil cases it is probably needed almost as much. Moreover, the expenses of the new court would probably be met largely by the fees which would be paid into the city treasury. Over three-quarters of the expense of Chicago's municipal court has been met in this manner. The establishment of

* Dismissal with costs is not an infrequent practice in criminal courts, though a seemingly unwarranted one. Assessments of cost against those bound over to the grand jury and those not prosecuted are unique.

† In 1913, the next year after that to which the last figures refer, total police arrests for all causes, including arrests on suspicion and 64 arrests for destitution, numbered 3,954, showing that reduction was not temporary in nature.

a municipal court to replace the magistrate's and justices' courts should, therefore, be sought.

Court Sentences

If these proposed changes in correctional methods can be brought about, it is obvious that court sentences will need to be altered to suit the new conditions. It will no longer be the sole aim of the court to provide suitable punishment for the offense committed, but first importance will be given to providing treatment which will as far as possible transform the offender into a law observer so that the community may be freed from his further depredations. Because fines cannot remove deep-seated causes of delinquency their use will be restricted to minor offenses, the commission of which does not indicate well-grounded delinquent tendencies. Persons committing such offenses will be dismissed with a warning, or if a stronger reminder is necessary, be fined according to their means as well as the character of the offense.

In all cases where the offense and the circumstances under which it was committed suggest that the offender is developing delinquent tendencies which may, unless checked, lead to further acts of delinquency, the offender should in less serious cases be put on probation, in more serious cases be sent to the house of correction or state farm for delinquents.

Compare now the two systems—the one in use and that proposed. At present the offender is fined, usually a small fine—weak as a deterrent and without reformative influence—or he is sent to jail where nothing is done to remove the causes of delinquency. Here his self-respect is weakened, his reputation undermined, his muscles softened by idleness, and his ambition destroyed. He is if anything rendered less capable of meeting the problems of life than he was before. And from jail or the court he goes back to the same conditions where he got into trouble with no guidance and no help. Is it any wonder that often he breaks the law again and again until finally he becomes a chronic parasite on the community, preying upon it or disturbing its order when out of jail, living at its expense when in?

Under the proposed reorganization the same offender comes before the court. If his case is not serious and is likely to

respond to probation, he is placed under the probation officer's care. If needing more special treatment he is sent to an institution where every influence is wholesome and where physically at the very least he is prepared to take up a normal life. His term, moreover, is largely dependent upon the changes brought about. And when he goes out he is a presentable candidate for a job and has the advice and help of a parole officer in re-establishing himself, with the necessity, if he fails to do so, of returning to the institution. As a means for community protection from law breakers the superiority of the proposed treatment over that now given must be evident.

XI

SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE INQUIRY RECOMMENDED

In many instances where the present treatment of misdemeanants and other petty offenders has been found defective, the condition is not peculiar to Springfield but is fairly representative of conditions known to exist in many parts of the state. Local jails throughout the state, as shown in the reports of the state board of charities, are uncivilized both in construction and management. Moreover, the ineffective system of petty fines is in common use in other places besides Springfield. It is, indeed, but a reflection of the state criminal code which provides a fine only for most misdemeanors. Furthermore, Springfield can not benefit by indeterminate sentences or parole for petty offenders until the state law is amended, and similar action is also necessary before an adequate probation system can be had. Finally, neither Springfield nor any other city outside of Chicago may secure a municipal court and be rid of the ancient and ineffective justice of the peace system until not only the state law, but the state constitution can be amended. The fact is that many of the most fundamental weaknesses of present methods are traceable more to state than local regulations and can be eliminated only through state action. We are convinced, therefore, in spite of improvements in correctional methods which may and should be brought about through the activities of Springfield people, that still greater results can be secured if inquiry into Illinois correctional methods can be conducted on a state-wide scale.

It may be said with truth that many of the present weaknesses in the correctional system are not typical of Illinois but have been handed down from past generations and are the common inheritance of all the states. Yet this is not an excuse for their continuance. In reforms in children's courts and institutions, in the beginnings of probation, parole and indeterminate sentence, and in the start made in the application of rational methods to the construction and management of jails and penitentiaries,

we have begun to break with unwise traditions. It is time, however, that some state made the whole system for the treatment of petty offenders the subject of investigation with a view to improvements of a fundamental sort.

The recommendation is made, therefore, that the people of Springfield seek the support of those interested in correctional reform in Chicago and other parts of the state in an endeavor to have the legislature establish a commission to investigate methods

PRISONERS HERDING CATTLE
WASHINGTON, D. C., WORKHOUSE

Dairying supplies good work for prisoners the year round. Contrast this and Springfield's prison "bull pen" as agencies for community protection

used in the handling of petty offenders throughout the state. A tentative draft for a bill creating such a commission is offered, as follows:

An Act to create a commission to investigate methods used throughout the State of Illinois in the treatment of misdemeanants and other offenders guilty of violations of laws or ordinances other than felonies, and making an appropriation therefor.

The people of the state of Illinois, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. A commission of nine members is hereby created consisting of two senators to be appointed by the president of the senate, three members of the assembly to be appointed by the speaker of the assembly, and four other members to be appointed by the Governor, one of whom shall be a lawyer, one a physician, one a recognized criminologist and one a woman. Such commission shall investigate as speedily as possible the methods used throughout the state of Illinois in the treatment of misdemeanants and other offenders guilty of violation of laws or ordinances other than felonies, to the end, among other things, that such remedial legislation may be enacted as will improve said methods. Such investigation shall include inquiry into (1) the desirability of altering, for the purpose of restricting the use of fines as a means for dealing with offenders, the penalty clauses of the criminal code in so far as they relate to misdemeanors or violations of laws or ordinances other than felonies; (2) the desirability of amendments to the state laws and constitution to establish special municipal courts, and abolish justices of the peace, constables and city magistrates in cities; (3) the conditions which exist throughout the state in city and county jails, bridewells, workhouses or houses of correction and their effect upon those confined in them; (4) the desirability of establishing state institutions for the care of misdemeanants; (5) the desirability of further legislation to permit cities and counties to unite in establishing jails, bridewells, workhouses or houses of correction; (6) the desirability of providing indeterminate sentences and parole for those guilty of misdemeanors or violations of laws or ordinances other than felonies; (7) the desirability of amending the probation laws of the state.

The investigation shall also include such other matters within the designated field of inquiry as the commission may deem it wise to investigate.

Section 2. The commission shall have power to elect its chairman and other officers, to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books and papers; to employ counsel, a secretary, investigators, stenographers and all necessary clerical assistants; and shall otherwise have all the powers of a legislative committee as provided by the legislative law, including the adoption of rules for the conduct of its proceedings. The members of such commission shall receive no compensation for their services, but shall be entitled to their actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Section 3. Such commission shall make a report of its proceedings, together with its recommendations, to the legislature on or before the ——— day of ——————— nineteen hundred and ———————.

Section 4. The sum of ——————— thousand dollars or so much thereof

as may be needed, is hereby appropriated for the actual and necessary expense of the commission in carrying out the provisions of this act, payable by the treasurer on the warrant of the comptroller, or the order of the chairman of such commission. The commission may also receive and expend for the purpose of this act any money contributed by voluntary subscription.

Section 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

PART TWO

THE HANDLING OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

XII

COMPLAINTS AGAINST CHILDREN

As compared with the number of adult offenders, juvenile offenders are few. From January 1, 1913, to April 1, 1914, only 71 children were before the Sangamon County juvenile court for delinquency.* The cases of delinquent children are, however, more important than their number would suggest, for children are more amenable to correcting influences than adults, and the possibilities of constructive work among them are greater.

These possibilities have been recognized in Springfield to the extent of designating a special humane officer, establishing a juvenile court and detention home, and employing a juvenile probation officer. But for one cause or another the benefits reasonably to be hoped for from these provisions have not been fully realized. Fortunately, however, without such radical changes as to upset present institutions, the handling of child delinquents may be placed on a much better basis. What is needed more than anything else is to strengthen work already established.

The attitude of the state toward children who break the law is entirely different from its attitude toward adult offenders. Delinquent children are not dealt with under the criminal law, but are, to quote the juvenile court act, "considered as wards of this state subject to the care, guardianship, and control of the court." The endeavor is not to punish them, but to protect

* These 71 represent the formal complaints. Other children were disposed of by the court informally, as is shown by the fact that 14 children against whom no formal complaint was entered were under supervision of the probation officer.

The period from January 1, 1913, to April 1, 1914, is selected for reviewing work with juvenile delinquents because the present juvenile probation officer assumed office October, 1913, and it is desired to review the work for a few months after that date. In the months prior to her appointment several changes in officers occurred and the work was necessarily interrupted.

them from growing up to lives of crime, and the important consideration is not so much whether a specific act of delinquency has been committed, as whether, by assuming guardianship over a child, the court may save it from further delinquency. The wisdom of this point of view is worth emphasizing because much that is unsatisfactory in present methods results from the tendency to deal with children as adult offenders are dealt with. This tendency is first shown in the way in which children come to the court's attention.

Most complaints against children in Springfield are made by citizens not to the court directly, but to the police department. They are then investigated by a special police officer known as the humane officer, who makes arrests when he thinks cases warrant it. Arrested children are taken to police headquarters in some instances in the patrol wagon. Here their names are formally entered upon the police docket along with those of adult offenders. They are then lodged in the county jail "annex,"* where the insane and persons with delirium tremens are also kept. In some cases children are held in the annex a few days "to give them a scare" and then are allowed to go. In short, the police department has treated children much as it treats adult offenders, and has shown little appreciation of the preventive spirit which pervades the best work with delinquent children in many parts of the country.

Cases in which complaints were made by the humane officer were, in 1913, greater in number than cases coming before the juvenile court through any other channel. These, with other complaints filed, are shown in Table 10.

The practice of having so many complaints pass through the hands of the police before reaching the juvenile court we believe to be an error in procedure. Except in cases in which there is danger that the children may run away, the police department should refer cases to the juvenile court without making arrest, and thus permit the probation officer to investigate whether court action is necessary. The probation officer is much more likely than the police to act from the enlightened point of view of the juvenile court. Such action, moreover, will prevent children

* See pp. 98–103.

from coming into contact with machinery for the handling of adult offenders, an end greatly to be desired. When immediate arrest is necessary the police should take children to the detention home for confinement.

TABLE 10.—PERSONS FILING DELINQUENCY COMPLAINTS IN SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT. JANUARY 1, 1913, TO APRIL 1, 1914

Persons who filed complaints	Complaints filed
Police officer designated as humane officer	30
Parents	19
Private citizens other than parents or relatives	10
Railway detectives	9
Relatives	2
Truant officer	1
Total	71

This procedure can be established perhaps most effectively by the city Civil Service Commission adding detailed regulations covering the arrest of children to the book of rules of the police department. A set of regulations suggested for this purpose is presented in Appendix B, page 174.

XIII

DETENTION OF CHILDREN

Delinquent children, like adults, often need to be held temporarily pending court hearing of their cases. If they are committed to one of the state schools at St. Charles or Geneva or to the reformatory at Pontiac, they need also to be held for a day or two pending transportation. Two places in Springfield have served these purposes—the county jail annex and the detention home. In both institutions dependent as well as delinquent children are held, though the proportion of delinquent children is much larger in the annex.

In the year 1913 but 42 children, only eight of them delinquents, were held in the detention home,* while 203 children, most of them delinquents, were held in the annex to the county jail.† Apparently, though the detention home was presumably provided to protect children coming under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court from lodgment in or near the county jail, it has not served its purpose. The real detention home of Springfield, in spite of the expenditure of $2,100 a year for the place which goes by that name, has been the county jail annex. Probably as much money has been spent on the maintenance of the two institutions as needs to be spent to handle delinquent and dependent children in a satisfactory manner, yet the actual conditions under which many children have been detained are unbelievably bad.

The County Jail Annex

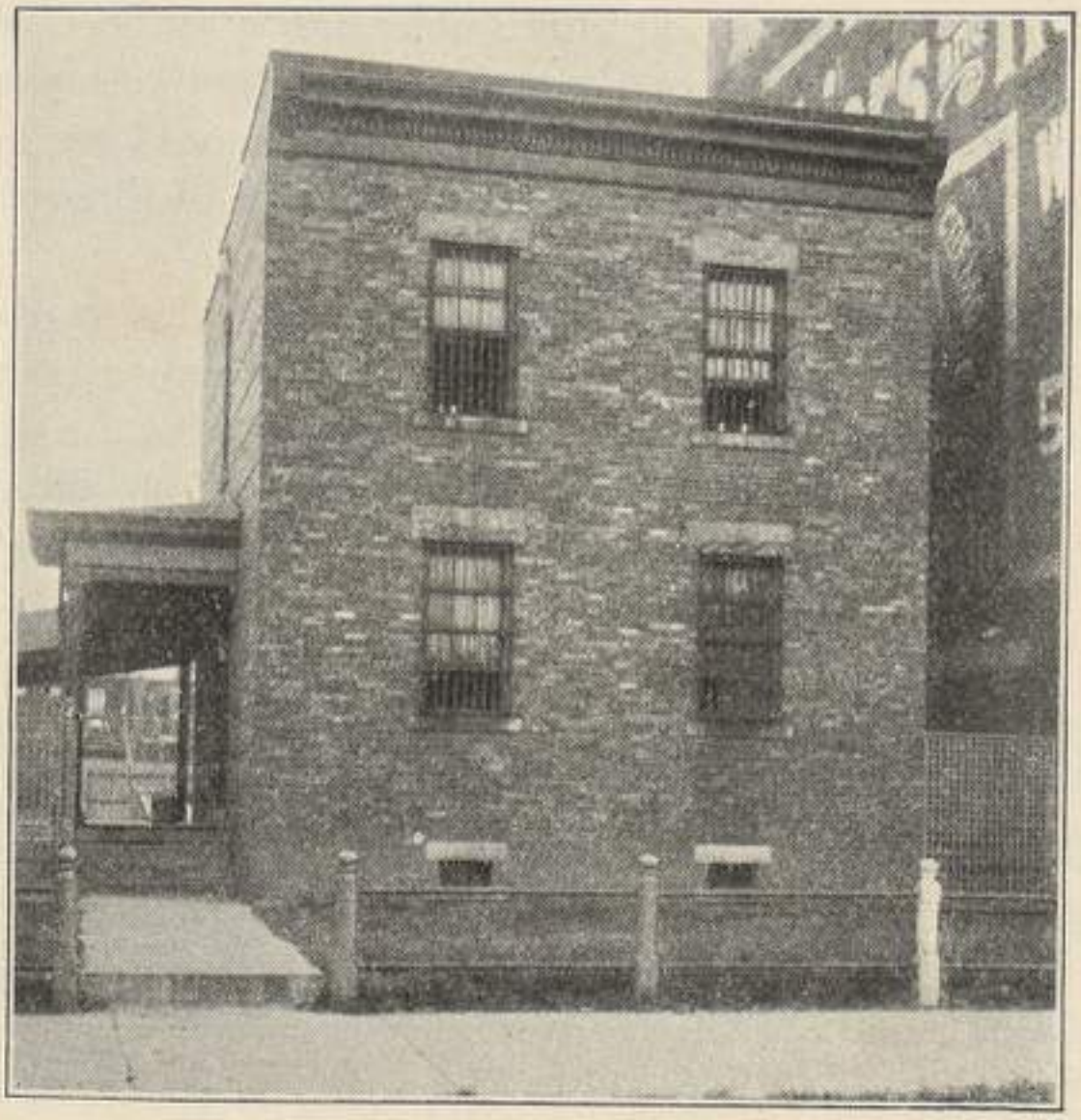
The county jail annex, where the great majority of children are held, is located within about 20 feet of the main jail building on Jefferson Street near Seventh Street and is to all intents and

* One delinquent boy was held twice.

† The county jail records do not show as they should the cause for the children's detention, but it is known that the majority are delinquents.

purposes a part of it. It is a two-story brick building with barred windows and doors.

On each floor are three rooms. In each of five of the rooms is a single bed; the sixth room was without furniture at the time of two separate visits. There are no toilets in the rooms and when persons are locked in them buckets serve the purpose. The walls



SANGAMON COUNTY JAIL ANNEX

In this building are held children, insane persons, and those with delirium tremens. On crowded days it is impossible to provide adequate segregation. Since the county pays out money for a detention home, supposedly for the detention of delinquent children, there is no excuse for keeping delinquent children here under the disgraceful conditions which exist

and floor are bare. The windows on the occasions of two visits were extremely dirty. The only doors between the rooms are of bars, and persons confined in one room can readily see into other rooms on the same floor. Children are provided with no amusement facilities. Viewed as a whole the building has all the appearance of an ordinary jail, being bare, cold, and unattractive.

In this building are kept children, both boys and girls, insane persons, those with delirium tremens, and occasionally an ill prisoner suffering from some other trouble. The head jailer informed us that in compliance with the state law boys and girls under twelve years of age were not kept in the annex, but investigation showed that children as young as nine years of age have been held there—one boy as long as three days. He had for company during this period three older boys, three older girls, two insane persons, and two men with delirium tremens! The full extent to which the law has been violated could not be ascertained, for the jail records do not give the ages of those detained —a serious deficiency in itself.

This confinement of boys and girls in the annex with insane persons or those with delirium tremens is not merely an occasional happening, but the rule. On 272 of the 365 days in the year 1913 —three-quarters of the time—this condition obtained. The data for a few days when conditions were at their worst are as follows:

TABLE 11.—CHILDREN, INSANE PERSONS, AND PERSONS WITH DELIRIUM TREMENS, IN SANGAMON COUNTY JAIL ANNEX ON SPECIFIED DATES IN 1913[a]

Date	Boys under 17	Girls under 18	Insane persons	Persons with delirium tremens
February 24	8	1	4	1
February 27	11	5	2	..
April 25	2	1	2	3
July 4	2	3	1	3
July 19	1	..	1	5
August 7	4	3	..	2
October 12	3	3	2	2
October 13	3	1	2	1
November 12	6	..	..	3

[a] The annex has but six cells, three on each floor to accommodate these different groups.

Neither is it true that most of these children, many of whom are detained not as delinquents, but merely as poor children, suffer contact with the insane and those with delirium tremens

for only a few hours. Many were held for periods of several days—one boy as long as 37 days—as will be seen from Table 12.

TABLE 12.—DAYS OF DETENTION OF CHILDREN IN SANGAMON COUNTY JAIL ANNEX IN 1913

Days of detention	Boys held	Girls held
1	28	8
2	51	22
3	26	4
4	15	1
5	13	1
6	2	1
7	6	1
8	5	..
9	2	2
10	3	2
11	3	1
12	1	..
16	1	..
19	1	..
23	2	..
37	1	..
Total	160	43

The reason why those in charge of the county jail should be willing to lodge persons suffering from delirium tremens (generally the last stage of degradation) and insane persons with children rather than with adult prisoners is incomprehensible. Whatever the reason, the condition is a violation of the rules of common decency which the people of the community should not tolerate.

As already stated, the inside doors of the annex are of bars and permit persons confined in one room to look through into the others. The chief jailer informed us that generally boys were kept upstairs and girls down, but that sometimes the upstairs became overcrowded and boys were kept on the ground floor. Insane men and men with delirium tremens are likewise usually kept upstairs, while women in these conditions are kept downstairs. Whatever the usual arrangements, however, there frequently must arise occasions when persons of the opposite sex,

insane persons, those with delirium tremens, and children, are kept on the same floor. One wonders, for instance, how on February 24 eight boys, one girl, four insane persons, and one man with delirium tremens—fourteen persons in all—were divided in six rooms so as to protect the girl in privacy and shield the eight boys and the girl from close contact with the four insane persons and the man with delirium tremens. On other days the problem was equally or even more puzzling. The fact is that even if the authorities were most careful in their efforts to separate children and adults, and the two sexes, there were many days and nights when it could not have been done. It would appear, moreover, that careful efforts to so separate them are not made, for on the occasion of one visit to the annex at a time when it was supposedly under the charge of the matron, the lower floor was vacant, while upstairs three boys were peering through the bars into a room where a man was just coming out of the extreme stage of delirium tremens. "He's pretty dizzy, isn't he?" remarked one boy who seemed especially interested in the proceedings.

On a number of nights throughout the year many of the boys, if not the girls, must be forced to sleep on the floor, for there are but five beds in the six rooms. How the eleven boys, five girls, and two insane persons were provided for on February 27 is difficult to see. The jailer informed us that in case of need cots were brought in. On the occasion of the two visits over a month apart we noted, however, that conditions were the same. It may be that extra cots have at times been brought in. That all the boys, girls, and others confined there have always been provided with comfortable places to sleep we very much doubt.

The matron of the jail and annex is on duty during the day. At night, when a matron is most needed, especially in view of existing conditions, the annex is in charge of a male keeper.* Viewed as a whole the conditions which exist are inexcusable.

* Since the time when this report was written and presented through the local newspapers and the Survey Exhibition, a new sheriff has come into office. Improvements in the jail annex have been made and a trained nurse has been appointed as matron. These commendable changes cannot, however, render the annex a suitable place for the detention of children or lessen the need for an adequate detention home.

Perhaps the least excusable thing of all, however, is that children should continue to be confined under such conditions, when the county provides and pays for a detention home, which, according to the state law under which it is established, is for all children coming under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court (boys under seventeen, girls under eighteen years of age).*

The Detention Home

The detention home is located at the corner of Enos and Twelfth Streets in a seven-room house rented for the purpose. The building was formerly a residence and has not been altered in any essential way to adapt it for its present uses. When visited it was in a good state of repair but was not suitable to serve as a detention home for a city of Springfield's size.

Downstairs are a parlor, a sitting room, a dining room, and a kitchen. Upstairs are a bedroom for boys, containing three three-quarter beds (accommodations for six boys in emergencies), a girls' bedroom containing two three-quarter beds and a double one (accommodations for six girls), a bedroom for the superintendent and her assistant, and a bathroom.

A woman superintendent is provided who has the help of a woman assistant. Both had previous experience in institutional care for children and seemed to be making the best of present facilities and providing as good care for the children sent to them as possible. At the time of our visit the place was clean and homelike and the children were neat and apparently happy.

* Chapter 75 of the Illinois Statutes provides that the grand jury at each term shall visit the county jail and make a report to the court which shall be filed with the clerk. One wonders how careful these examinations have been, for the last two reports are as follows:

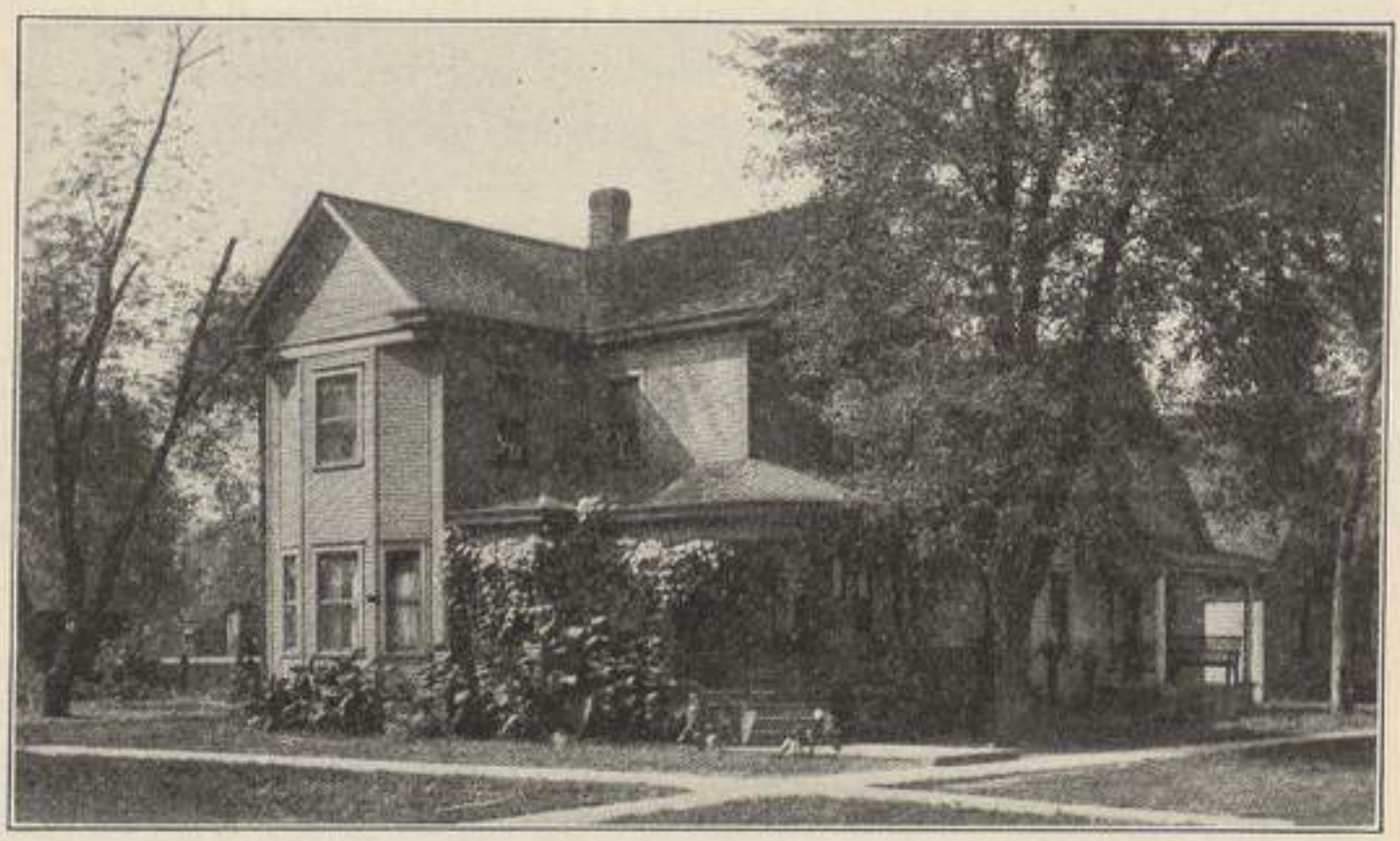
Filed June 6, 1914—"The Grand Jurors chosen, selected and sworn in and for the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois, report that they have examined the jail and premises and find same to be in good and sanitary condition. We recommend that a new jail be built."

Filed January 2, 1914—"The members of the Grand Jury beg to report to the court that they have, in pursuance of their duties as such Grand Jurors, visited the county jail of Sangamon County and examined into its conditions, and the treatment of the prisoners therein confined.

"We find the jail well kept, in a cleanly and sanitary condition; the prisoners well cared for and furnished with wholesome food. We especially commend Henry Mester, Sheriff, and his estimable wife for their care of the County property and their humane treatment of the prisoners."

Children of school age have been sent regularly to school and all children have been allowed to go out to play at their pleasure, balls, bats, and other play apparatus being provided.

So much for the good features of the home. On the reverse side two facts stand out: first, the facilities do not permit proper classification of the children; second, it is difficult if not impossible to hold children who may try to run away. For this reason the use of the home for detention of older delinquent children has been rendered very difficult. Indeed it is stated in



SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE DETENTION HOME

Clean, homelike, and well managed but altogether inadequate for holding of delinquent children. An adequate detention home should be secured at the earliest moment, and use of the county jail annex for detention of children should be abandoned

the records of the probation officer that one delinquent boy had to be removed because incorrigible!

From the time the home was established in June, 1912, up to April 1, 1914, a period of 22 months, 50 children have been detained. Of these, eight were delinquent and 42 dependent. One delinquent child was detained twice. All the delinquents were boys who ranged in age from eight to sixteen years. Of the 42 dependent children, 20 were girls and 22 boys. ranging in age from three months to seventeen years.

That boys and girls should be separated, that dependent and delinquent children should be separated, and that children past the adolescent period should be kept apart in sleeping quarters from those who have not yet reached adolescence is the generally accepted opinion of authorities on children's institutions. At the detention home the sex classification has been followed for the most part, though even there overcrowding of the boys' bedroom has at times forced the transfer of very young boys to the bedroom for girls. Classification by age and the separation of dependent and delinquent children has, however, been impossible.

As was previously shown, the detention home has served only to a small extent as a detention place for delinquent children. One of the main reasons has been the fact that the home is not fitted to hold those desiring to run away, and its facilities in any case are inadequate to provide for all. Inability to prevent escapes is more or less inevitable when a house is rented on a short time lease, for considerable alterations both in house and yard are necessary to fit a private residence to serve as a detention home.

Under the present arrangement the superintendent of the home and her assistant receive $50 a month each and whatever they can save out of the regular appropriation of $75 a month for maintenance which does not vary whether there are one or a dozen children to be kept. This allowance of a stipulated sum for expenses every month, for which the superintendent does not give account, is thoroughly vicious, and while we do not believe it has led to abuse under the present superintendent, it places a constant temptation before those in charge to economize at the expense of the children. Sooner or later it is almost certain to lead to abuse of a serious nature. No private business organization would think of adopting such methods of finance. That the county should do so is a sorry commentary.

The state law requires that the superintendent of the home keep a record of all expenditures for care and maintenance and make an annual report to the county board of supervisors by December first of every year, which shall contain an itemized statement of expenses together with the number of inmates during each month. It also requires that the expenses be paid by

requisition upon the chairman of the committee of the board of supervisors in charge of the home. The home has been in operation for two years but no report has been made. The provisions of the law should be followed and the exact expenses only should be paid by the county.

The state law granting the county judge, who is also judge of the juvenile court, authority to establish the detention home, specifically states that children may be committed "to said home temporarily." It was not the intention of the act that the home should become a place for the detention of either delinquent or dependent children in need of institutional care. The state provides schools for such children and it is undesirable that the county should go to the expense—and it would not be small if the children were given adequate treatment—of duplicating their work.*

As a matter of fact the present detention home has not been designed for, and cannot provide, treatment of an educational or reformative character which institutions holding delinquent children for more than temporary periods are expected to provide. Yet the court has shown a tendency to use it for purposes of more than temporary detention, as will be seen from Table 13.

TABLE 13.—DAYS OF DETENTION OF CHILDREN IN SANGAMON COUNTY DETENTION HOME. JUNE 29, 1912, TO APRIL 1, 1914

Days of detention	Delinquent boys held	Dependent boys held	Dependent girls held
1 to 10	2[a]	6	5
11 to 23	2	4	10
31 to 34	..	3[b]	1
45 to 47	..	2	..
54 to 55	..	..	2
64 to 68	2	..	1
77 to 82	..	2[b]	1
100 to 107	..	4[b]	..
144 to 162	1	1	..
450	1	..	..
571	1	..	..
Total	9	22	20

[a] One delinquent boy was held twice, each time for less than 10 days.

[b] Two boys held 32 days, one boy held 77 days, and one boy held 100 days, were still at the Home April 1, 1914.

* The state schools are, we understand, overcrowded. This is a condition, however, for the state to remedy.

It is seen that five of the eight delinquent boys were detained two months or more, two being held more than a year, one as long as 19 months, while quite a number of dependent children were held more than a month, nine more than two months. This can hardly be considered temporary detention and it is apparent that in some instances at least the court has viewed the detention home as a place for institutional care.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In reviewing the provisions for the detention of children in Springfield, certain facts stand out:

1. Conditions in the county jail annex where most delinquent children are held are unspeakably bad.

2. The detention home, while well administered by its superintendent, is not serving its purpose and is not fitted to do so.

3. The county is maintaining two institutions where one, organized and administered on right lines, could serve the same purpose a great deal better and at probably no greater expense.

To provide more adequately for the holding of children it is recommended that the county as soon as possible provide a more satisfactory detention home and that holding of children in the county jail annex be abandoned. For the acquirement and management of the home detailed suggestions are offered, as follows:

1. The home should be planned and managed as a place for temporary detention, not for institutional care.

2. It is desirable not to have delinquent and dependent children housed in the same institution, and if arrangements can be made by which the Home for the Friendless will hold dependent children temporarily pending their disposition by the court, the detention home should be planned for delinquent children only.* Otherwise it should be planned for delinquents and dependents.

3. The home should provide for the holding of all delinquent

* It is understood that the Home for the Friendless directors are willing to undertake this work.

For further discussion of the handling of dependent children see companion report, Charities in Springfield, Illinois, by Francis H. McLean (The Springfield Survey); section on institutional care of dependent children in Springfield, by Florence L. Lattimore.

boys up to seventeen years and delinquent girls up to eighteen years of age.

4. Building a new detention home rather than remodelling some present structure is recommended. The money is available, the voters having given consent to a one per cent tax levy for the purpose, and a more satisfactory home will thus be obtained. It also will be economy for the county to own the home rather than to rent, for this is to be a permanent county institution.

5. The home should be located, if possible, within six or eight blocks of police headquarters and the sheriff's office so that it will be conveniently accessible.

6. Plans for the building should provide a section for boys and one for girls entirely apart from each other. A separate sleeping room, which need not be large, should be provided for each child. There should also be in each section a dining room, a living room, and a bath room with shower baths only. Quarters will also need to be supplied for those in charge of the home, and it will be advantageous if provisions for juvenile court hearings can be made.

7. If the home is maintained for delinquents only, it should be planned to accommodate not less than 10 boys and five girls. The number will usually run much below this figure, but provision should be made to meet emergencies and future needs.*

8. As far as possible the institution should have the appearance of a home rather than a jail, and should, therefore, be attractively and comfortably furnished. It will be necessary, to prevent escapes, to cover the windows with heavy wire screening firmly fastened on. Bars should not be used. Adequate locks should be provided on all doors; also hinges of a kind which can not be removed. All these features should, however, be as unobtrusive as possible.

9. Children who have passed the age of adolescence should be kept apart from other children save when one of those in charge of the institution is present.

10. A yard at the rear, extensive enough to permit play, should be enclosed with a high board fence, with in-turned barb

* The largest number of children held in the annex in any one day in 1913 was 16. Just what proportion were delinquents is not known, but the majority probably were. The largest number of delinquent children held in the detention home on any one day in 1913 was five. A policy of temporary detention, however, would reduce the number to be held.

wiring at the top to prevent ready scaling, so that in good weather children may enjoy outdoor exercise.

11. There should be in charge of the institution not only a house mother, to look after the girls, but a house father to look after the boys. In fact the latter is absolutely necessary to care for older delinquent boys.* The present policy of having trained persons in charge of the home deserves to be continued.

12. The superintendent of the home should be required to keep a record showing the name, sex, age, and address of each child detained, the cause of detention, the day and hour received, the person received from, and the person discharged to. A record now kept by the probation officer gives most of this information, but it should be kept by the manager of the home as required by law. When the present record book is used up, a card catalog should replace it.

13. Accurate financial records should be kept, as required by law, and the exact expense of the home should be borne by the county.

The carrying out of plans for a detention home along these lines would, we believe, render a very unsatisfactory condition eminently satisfactory with—after the initial expense had been met—little or no increased expense to the community.

* A good many detention homes are under the care of a man and wife, a very satisfactory arrangement.

XIV

THE SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT

As we have already seen, for the 15 months from January 1, 1913, to April 1, 1914, the docket of the Sangamon County juvenile court shows that 54 boys and 17 girls—71 children in all—were brought before the court on petitions charging juvenile delinquency. Five of the boys were transferred for indictment by the grand jury, leaving 66 children to be disposed of by the court. The disposition of these cases is shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14.—DISPOSITION OF CASES OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN HEARD IN SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT. JANUARY 1, 1913, TO APRIL 1, 1914

Disposition of case	Cases disposed of		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Placed on probation	20	2	22
Committed to an institution	9	7	16
Dismissed by court	11	1	12
Placed in private home	..	1	1
Found not guilty by jury	..	1	1
"Discharged to report"	1	..	1
No disposition recorded	8	5	13
Total	49	17	66

The cases of all children coming before the court have not been entered upon the docket for, according to the probation officer's records, as many as 13 boys and one girl, whose names are not on the docket, were placed on probation during the period under discussion. This docket is the official record of the disposition of all cases, and carelessness in its keeping is not a matter for indifference.

Court Hearings

It is the practice of the judge to reserve Saturday mornings for juvenile hearings. This would be satisfactory did it not often

necessitate the holding of children in the county jail annex or detention home for several days awaiting the convenience of the court. County court work does not make large demands upon the time of the judge and there is no reason why an hour on Tuesdays and Thursdays—preferably after 3:30 p. m. when school closes—as well as an hour Saturday mornings, should not be set

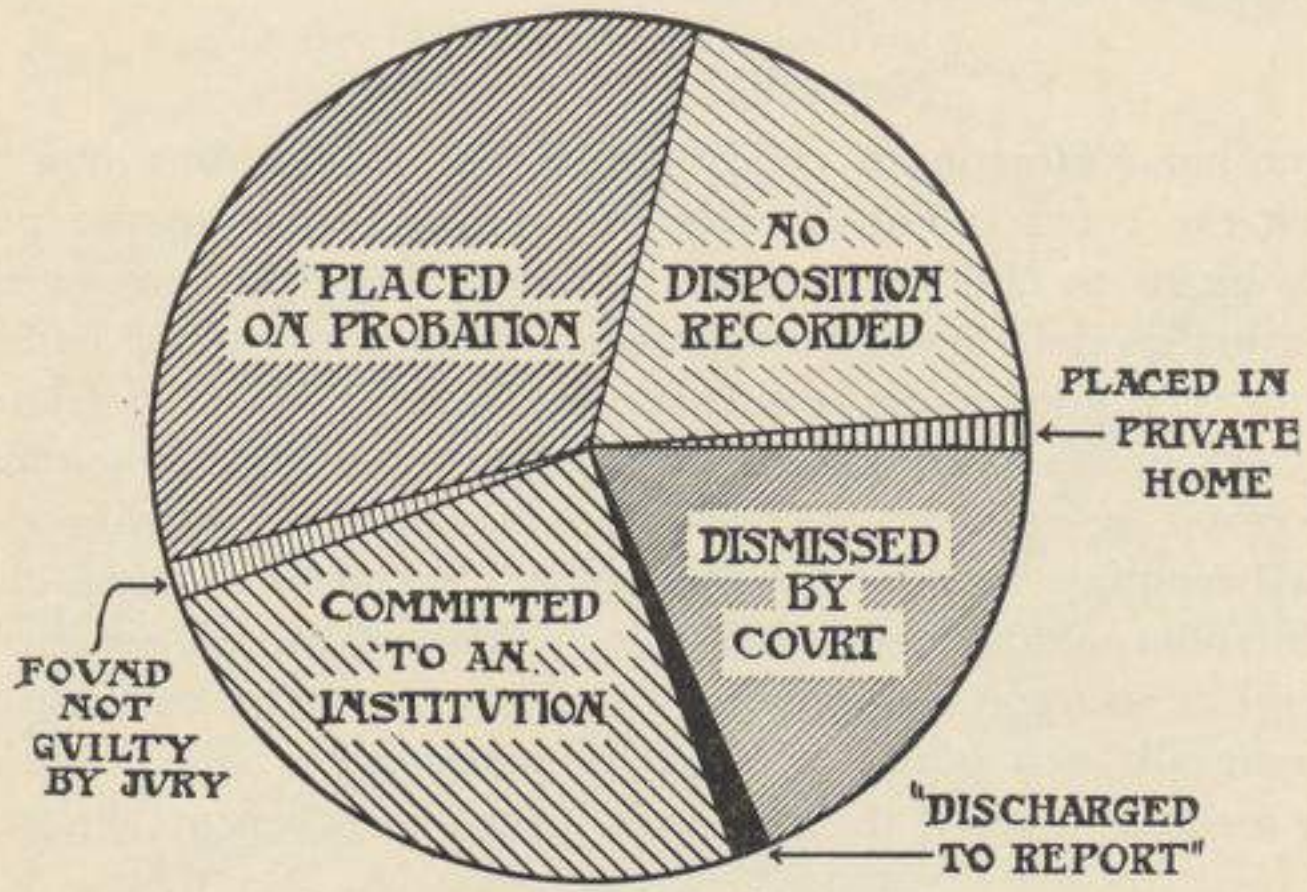


DIAGRAM 4.—DISPOSITION OF CASES OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN COMING BEFORE THE SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT FROM JANUARY 1, 1913, TO APRIL 1, 1914

The large number of cases in which no disposition was shown indicates carelessness in the keeping of the court docket. The disposition "discharged to report" is unusual, for when the court discharges a child it relinquishes its authority to order the child to report. That any children should be tried by a jury is unfortunate. Child law breakers are not criminals but wards of the state and formality in their hearings should be eliminated. The court should endeavor to discourage employment of attorneys and jury trials in juvenile court cases

aside for juvenile hearings. This change is strongly recommended.

These hearings are held in the judge's chambers where privacy and a friendly atmosphere—very good features—are to be had. Most of them are informal. In four instances in this period, however, attorneys were present and in one of these there was trial by jury. Such procedures are undesirable for they give

the hearing the air of a criminal action. The court cannot refuse those demanding the right to be represented by an attorney or tried by a jury, but if the judge should in all cases give parents to understand that his purpose is not to mete out punishment but to help them prevent their children from acquiring delinquent habits, it is probable that few if any would employ attorneys or demand a jury trial.

Newspaper Publicity

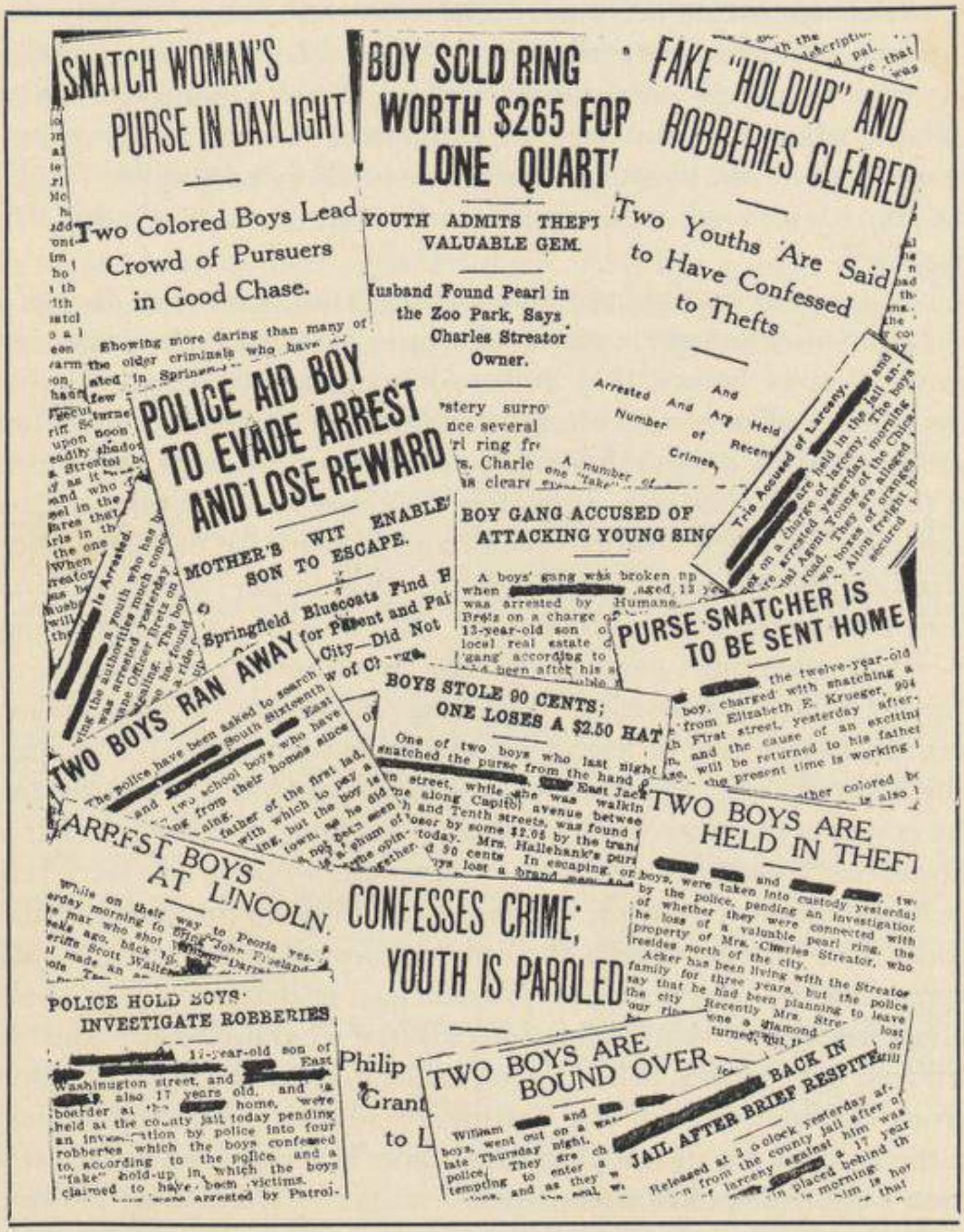
Another unfortunate condition in Springfield, but one for which the court is not directly responsible, is newspaper publicity given to children's cases. Among their companions this often makes delinquent boys heroes, while on the other hand it injures their good name just at the time when they are beginning the work of life and makes it hard for them to get employment. The resulting enforced idleness often increases the likelihood of their becoming confirmed delinquents. Accounts of these child misfortunes seldom have much news value and the newspapers of several cities upon the request of the juvenile court have agreed to omit all such items. Springfield newspapers will doubtless take a similar view if the matter is brought to their attention.

Investigation Before Hearing

The purpose of juvenile court hearings, as suggested in the Illinois juvenile court act, is not so much to discover whether specific illegal acts have been committed, as to determine whether children are in need of the care and guidance of the state. Court decisions, moreover, are aimed not to punish delinquent children, but to remove the causes of their delinquency and so save them from growing up to lives of crime. It is obviously important, therefore, that the court have a complete and correct understanding of the causes which lead to children's delinquency. In fact, nothing is more important, if correct remedies are to be prescribed. The juvenile court of Sangamon County, in cases coming before it, unfortunately has not taken steps to obtain adequate knowledge of the causes of children's delinquency.

In any effort to discover these causes and to plan for preventing further delinquency, it is essential to know children's home

environments and school records. It is helpful also to know church connections or lack of them, physical and mental condi-


SNATCH WOMAN'S PURSE IN DAYLIGHT

Two Colored Boys Lead Crowd of Pursuers in Good Chase.

BOY SOLD RING WORTH $265 FOR LONE QUART'

YOUTH ADMITS THEFT VALUABLE GEM.

Husband Found Pearl in the Zoo Park, Says Charles Streator Owner.

FAKE "HOLDUP" AND ROBBERIES CLEARED

Two Youths Are Said to Have Confessed to Thefts

POLICE AID BOY TO EVADE ARREST AND LOSE REWARD

MOTHER'S WIT ENABLES SON TO ESCAPE.

Springfield Bluecoats Find H... for Parent and Pal... City—Did Not

TWO BOYS RAN AWAY

BOY GANG ACCUSED OF ATTACKING YOUNG SING...

PURSE SNATCHER IS TO BE SENT HOME

BOYS STOLE 90 CENTS; ONE LOSES A $2.50 HAT

ARREST BOYS AT LINCOLN

CONFESSES CRIME; YOUTH IS PAROLED

TWO BOYS ARE HELD IN THEFT

POLICE HOLD BOYS INVESTIGATE ROBBERIES

TWO BOYS ARE BOUND OVER

JAIL AFTER BRIEF RESPITE

JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN THE SPRINGFIELD PRESS

Publicity of this kind hinders efforts of court and probation officer to save children from lives of crime. In some cities newspaper editors have agreed not to publish articles on child delinquency

tion, employment, recreation, companions, relatives who may be counted on to help, and similar facts. Obviously the judge

is not himself in a position to go out and visit homes, schools, churches, employers, family physicians, relatives, and neighbors in order to make personally the necessary observations and inquiries. Fortunately, therefore, the state legislature, appreciating this fact, has empowered the court to appoint probation officers, whose first duty is "to make such investigations as may be required by the court" and who are further charged "to furnish the court with such information and assistance as the judge may require."

The court in Springfield has not, however, with any degree of consistency called upon the probation officer to make investigations of cases before they have come up for hearing. In fact the present officer, whose term dates from October 15, 1913, had not up to April 1, 1914, made a single investigation of this kind.* In two cases the records show that the court had mental examinations of delinquent children made and in one case had a physical examination given.† It is possible that other such examinations were made and not recorded. But even so, it is unquestionably true that most decisions of the court have been made without adequate knowledge regarding children's homes, school records, health, use of leisure time, employment, or other matters which throw light upon the causes of wrong-doing; or regarding the constructive forces which might be brought to bear, such as interested friends or relatives, churches, or boys' clubs. It is useless to protest that all of these facts may be brought out in a brief court hearing where the only witnesses present are usually complainants, who are often prejudiced; parents, who are themselves frequently responsible for children's delinquency; and the children themselves, who are generally frightened and to whose wrong-doings much of the testimony relates. The inadequacy of the hearing for developing these facts is recognized by all well-known juvenile court authorities.

* Investigations of this officer have been confined almost entirely to following up informal complaints.

† These examinations were made by Drs. Frank P. Norbury and D. W. Deal, who volunteered their services.

Cases of Inadequate Investigation

Failure of a court to require these careful inquiries must almost certainly lead to disposition of cases which, were the facts known, would seem clearly unwise. A few cases heard by the Sangamon County court will serve to illustrate how insufficient for a clear understanding of children's needs the facts at present collected often are.

Edward M———, aged 12, in February, 1913, was brought into court for bad conduct in school and placed on probation to the paid officer who upon investigation reported upon the records: "Father dead; mother works out through the Associated Charities; Mrs. M——— is an improper guardian; she drinks and the home is very dirty." Later in the same month Edward was arrested for stealing and the court disposed of the case by placing him on probation to his mother, whom the probation officer had previously recorded as an improper guardian and whose own shortcomings were undoubtedly a large factor in the boy's delinquency. Of course there was no improvement and less than four months later the boy was again in court upon a new charge.

Here is a case from the court's own records showing about as clearly as could be shown the desirability in each case of calling upon the probation officer to supply all the data which has been or may be gathered.

It seems to have been a favorite method of the local court to place children on probation to their parents. If delinquency is more than a casual mishap, the wisdom of such disposition may be seriously questioned, for, save the trip to court—too soon forgotten—it brings no new forces into a child's life to correct his wayward tendencies. And if home conditions are bad and parents irresponsible, the undesirability of placing children on probation to their parents is self-evident.

Another case is that of Lester C———, also aged 12, brought before court for stealing a revolver. The probation officer made no investigation, the court in making disposition relying upon the data brought out at the hearing. The docket shows the boy to have been placed "on probation to his parents."

A woman with considerable experience in work with delinquent and neglected children visited this home for the survey and re-

ported among other things as follows: "This is a very, very poor home. Dirt and disorder rule it. Mrs. C. personally seems capable but nothing about the house would indicate it." It was the opinion of the investigator that the home conditions and neglect of the parents to properly train the boy were contributing causes to his delinquency. What was needed to save him was a powerful outside influence which would among other things endeavor to have these conditions improved. But the boy was placed on probation to his parents and up to the time of the survey no one connected with the court had ever been near the home to discover the real needs or to attempt to remedy them.

In a third case, lack of thorough knowledge of the conditions led the court to prescribe treatment which was apparently quite inadequate.

Fred H———, aged 11 years, was brought before the court in February, 1912, for stealing from freight cars. No visit was made to his home but the court had the child examined physically and found that he was suffering from swollen glands in his neck. He was put on probation to report weekly but his physical ailment was not remedied. In October, 1913, he ran away to Chicago and while there stole money to get home. He was arrested, sent home by the police, and again placed upon probation, but no effort to improve his physical condition or to discover his mental condition was made.

The survey investigator visited the home of this boy in May, 1914, and reported as follows:

Fred has taken a dislike for school this year and seizes every opportunity to stay out. Physically and nervously he is in a bad way. He has adenoids and enlarged glands in his neck; when he has a slight cold his throat almost closes and a doctor has to be summoned. The mother desires medical advice other than that she has been able to secure. Fred is so nervous at night that he will not stay in a room alone or sleep in a bed alone. Even someone in an adjoining bed is not sufficient to allay his fears. He has been so only since his father's death. His father committed suicide and Fred has visions of him with his head off. Fred loses his temper at the slightest provocation and will throw away anything he may have in his hands. His mother does not punish him for his fears or fits of temper for she believes he can not help them. The mother is anxious for him to receive medical and mental attention that she does not know how to secure.

When sent back from Chicago the boy was placed on probation to report weekly and this he has faithfully done. But what inadequate treatment! It is likely to succeed about as well as it succeeded in 1912. That the court could have known the boy's real condition and still have prescribed nothing but weekly reports to the probation officer is not believable. If the lad is to be saved from confirmed delinquency if not insanity, he must have intelligent physical and mental care.

These three cases illustrate how essential it is that thorough and careful inquiry be made into the real causes of children's delinquency before cases come up for hearing.

Grand Jury Indictment of Children

Besides these three cases where lack of information led to mistaken or inadequate treatment, six other cases show the need of a better appreciation of the protective purposes of the juvenile court. Five of the six are cases of boys who were transferred to the jurisdiction of the circuit court for indictment by the grand jury. These boys were brought in by railway detectives for stealing from box cars. One was fourteen years old, another sixteen. The ages of the others are not known except that they were under seventeen. Two of the five, the fourteen-year-old boy and another, were actually indicted by the grand jury, their cases being later "nolle prossed" in the circuit court.

While the state law unwisely permits children of juvenile court age to be proceeded against by ordinary criminal procedure if the court so directs, such action is far from desirable. Children of this age should not be brought into contact with the criminal machinery for adults—not even for pillaging box cars. The juvenile court has the authority to commit boys to the state industrial school at St. Charles and to the reformatory at Pontiac, or to place them upon probation—treatment adequate for such cases—and there is no need or excuse for taking them before the grand jury.

Placing-out

The last of the six cases cited is one in which the court placed a fourteen-year-old girl guilty of seriously immodest and immoral conduct, with a woman who kept a country hotel. It is fre-

quently wiser when children have to be removed from their own homes, to place them with persons who will assume their guardianship rather than to send them to institutions. In such instances, however, it is very important that the persons with whom they are placed be of good character and that the new environments be thoroughly wholesome.

In this case two certificates of character were presented for Mrs. O ——, proprietor of a country hotel, the woman to whom the child was given. One was from an agent of the state board of charities, the second from a man whom the woman had given as a reference. The first report was favorable, but the woman's own witness reported that Mrs. O——'s honesty, morality and trustworthiness were "fairly good," that the habits of her own children were "fairly good," that he didn't know whether she drank or not; and he ended with the opinion that "as a rule hotels are not fit places for bringing up children." Any one reviewing his report could not fail to see that he questioned the advisability of placing a child with this woman. Had he known that the child was a girl who had shown immoral tendencies, one can hardly doubt that he would have been even more confirmed in this opinion. Fortunately, however, the result in this case did not after a two months' trial seem to be unfavorable, for the girl's mother reported that her daughter liked her new home and had joined the church. But even if the results in this instance did not prove disastrous, the case again suggests the desirability of the court's obtaining as much information as possible before disposing of cases and then using the information to the fullest extent in making its decisions. For placing out delinquent children only those homes should be selected which are altogether above question.

Conditional Probation

Probation in the Sangamon County juvenile court, so far as the official records show, has never been accompanied by conditions of any sort. In overlooking the possibilities of conditional probation the court has, we believe, failed to use its full authority to bring about needed changes in the habits or environment of delinquent children.

A most frequent condition attached to probation in other cities is that children who have stolen valuable property or maliciously destroyed it be required to pay the owner the value of the property. The effect of such a provision in impressing upon a child that his act was wrong is often wholesome. In these cases children should be made to earn the restitution money themselves, provided they are old enough to work and there is no actual need of their earnings for family support.

Again, investigation by the probation officer may show that a boy sells papers in the downtown district, or that he is a night messenger, or peddles, or begs,—occupations which often have a bad effect upon young children. In such cases the court may put the child on probation on condition that these employments be given up.

In some cases, too, investigation will show that the child is living in a bad district. The court may in such instances allow parents the option of giving up the child or accepting the aid of the probation officer in finding a new home in a better quarter. Again, where boys have joined "gangs" engaged in frequent depredations, the court may try to break up the gangs by forcing the families of the ringleaders to move or have their boys sent to institutions.

In neglecting to attach conditions to probation the court has apparently overlooked an important means for helping delinquent children.

Need of Referee for Delinquent Girls

Cases of delinquent girls in Springfield, like boys' cases, have been heard by the judge. There is a growing belief among juvenile court authorities, however, that more satisfactory results will be obtained if delinquent girls are heard by women, for women are usually better able than men to gain their confidence.

Recently in St. Louis and Chicago plans to this end have been worked out. The court in Chicago informally appoints a woman probation officer as referee for delinquent girls, permitting her to hear cases and arrive at judgments, which are then entered as verdicts of the court. Whenever demanded or deemed necessary the court reviews the testimony and the referee's judgment is

confirmed or revised. We recommend the adoption of this procedure for Springfield whenever in the court's opinion a probation officer has the necessary experience and judgment to perform these functions adequately. To secure an officer fitted for this work is the court's duty. In a later section, dealing with needed amendments to the Illinois juvenile court act, changes to give formal legal sanction to the appointment of women as referees in girls' cases will be recommended.

Recommendations

To make the court more effective, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That the court see that the names and disposition of all children coming before it are entered fully upon the court docket.

2. That an hour each on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays be set apart regularly for hearing juvenile cases.

3. That the court do all in its power to discourage the employment of attorneys and trial by jury in juvenile cases.

4. That the court in person request the owners and editors of the newspapers to refrain from publishing items regarding the delinquency of children.

5. That the court refuse to allow any child coming under its jurisdiction to be proceeded against according to ordinary criminal procedure.

6. That before any case is disposed of a report be required from the probation officer showing as fully as possible the cause of the child's delinquency and the constructive forces which may be brought into play.

7. That the court examine the facts presented in such report with great care and decide the disposition of each child on the basis of the kind of treatment that will tend most strongly to prevent the child from committing further acts of delinquency.

8. That use be made of conditional probation where it is desirable, the probation officer being required to see that the conditions imposed are fully complied with.

9. That probation to parents, if resorted to at all, be used only

when homes have been proved satisfactory and children's delinquent acts have been casual mishaps not likely to be repeated.

10. That when delinquent children are placed in private homes, the court insure by having careful investigation made that the homes selected are entirely above question.

11. That whenever the court deems a woman probation officer fitted by character and experience to perform the function, she be assigned to act as referee in cases of delinquent girls.

XV

JUVENILE PROBATION WORK

Appointment of Probation Officers

Juvenile probation work, as we have seen, is intimately connected with the work of the juvenile court and directly under the court's supervision. The probation officer is appointed by the court, the latter being the sole judge of the qualifications of candidates, and is directly responsible to the court.

The salary of the probation officer is determined by the county board of supervisors and at present is $75 per month. At one time during 1913 it was set at $100 a month, a figure more likely to attract persons with technical training necessary for the performance of efficient work.

An allowance for carfare, postage, and similar items based upon the officer's actual expenses is also made. In the year ending November 30, 1913, these amounted to $3.80 the first quarter, $4.88 the second quarter, $9.25 the third quarter, and $12.75 the fourth quarter. The small amount expended for the year—$30.68—suggests that reasonable vigor has not been shown in administration of the work. Carfare, postage, and incidental expenses of an energetic probation officer ordinarily should amount to about $10 a month.

During 1913 there were four different probation officers; the first had previous training in probation work in Chicago but left because of the low salary; the second was without training and filled the position only temporarily; the third had previous experience but left after disagreement with the judge; the fourth—the officer at the time of the survey—was without experience or training when appointed, a condition which has been a serious handicap to her work.

With four probation officers in a single year, the carrying out of constructive plans for the various children on probation was

rendered difficult if not impossible, and the work could not be satisfactory. As a matter of fact, it was less satisfactory than might have been expected. Some officers started upon their work partially ignoring children who were under the supervision of their predecessors, with the result that the care of several children whom the court thought in need of probationary supervision was allowed to lapse. For instance, when the present officer took up her duties, October 15, 1913, there were four children who had been placed on probation during the year and had not been discharged, but save in the case of one boy brought up for a new act of delinquency, no further supervision was given.

The main duties of a juvenile probation officer in work with delinquent children are fourfold: first, investigation to determine the validity of informal complaints regarding the delinquency or dependency of children; second, investigation of cases before they come up in court to furnish the judge with the information necessary for making wise dispositions; third, supervision of children placed on probation for the purpose of removing as far as possible the causes of delinquency; and fourth, keeping of full and accurate records.

Besides work with delinquent children the probation officer has additional duties in handling cases of dependent children and, in Illinois, in the administration of the widows' pension act. Special attention, however, is given to these matters in a companion report on charities in Springfield,* and they will therefore be mentioned here only in so far as they affect the ability of the officer adequately to perform the work with delinquents.

Investigation of Informal Complaints

Into every juvenile probation office come numerous complaints of all sorts concerning the delinquency or neglect of children. These cases need careful and thorough investigation, for while many of them are trifling and made to satisfy spite, some are of a serious nature. It is difficult to judge how these complaints have been handled in Springfield, for no records of them were kept prior to January 13, 1914, and since then not all have been

* McLean, Francis H.: The Charities of Springfield. (The Springfield Survey.)

recorded. The records from that date to April 1, 1914, show 13 complaints investigated. Eight were complaints of neglect, five of delinquency. These cases, and the disposition made, are as follows:

NATURE OF COMPLAINT	COMPLAINANT	DISPOSITION MADE
Home very dirty	School nurse	Referred to board of health after investigation
Children neglected, father white, mother black, no proper home	Humane officer	"Child let stay until we can find a place fit for it."
Children neglected, mother drinks and is immoral	Private citizens	Investigated. No action
Baby deserted	Private citizen	Mother came for baby
Neglected motherless children	Private citizen	Children placed out by court
Children annoy neighbor	Private citizen	Investigated. No action
Children out of school	Private citizens	No action as mother said she was going to move
Child out of school, mother drinks	Private citizens	Brought into court. No action
Girl without a home	Private citizens	Placed in Redemption Home
Boys fighting	Private citizens	Investigated. No action
Children neglected on account of poverty	Private citizens	Petition for widows' pension filed
Girl neglected, bad associates	Private citizens	Mother came to see the judge
Neglected girl in bad environment	Private citizens	Investigated. No action

To what extent a probation officer should investigate complaints of this character depends upon the other local agencies which may be called upon. In Springfield there are three existing officers or agencies to whom in suitable instances cases might be referred: the truant officer, the Associated Charities, and the humane officer of the police department. Complaints in which the main trouble is truancy should always be referred to the truant officer whose duty it is to investigate them. Complaints in which poverty seems to be the main cause—except widows'

pension cases—may be referred to the Associated Charities. It is a little doubtful to what extent in Springfield complaints of delinquency other than truancy, and complaints of neglect not due directly to poverty, should be referred to the humane officer. Certainly girls' cases should not be so referred, for the humane officer is a man and these require a woman's attention. Moreover, it is generally unwise to bring children into contact with the police department; and the treatment of children by the Springfield department, as we have seen, only confirms the objection to police handling of these cases. If, therefore, the probation officer can investigate all complaints not referable to the truant officer or the Associated Charities, such action is desirable. At present, however, as will be seen in reviewing current probation work and needs, the probation officer has more duties than even a trained person could perform efficiently. An additional officer is greatly needed. When such an officer is appointed, it will be well if none of these complaints is referred to the police department. Until then it will be wise for the probation officer to transfer informal complaint investigations to other agencies, whenever it can be done, in order to save time for other important duties which unless performed by her will not be performed at all.

Investigation of Cases for Court Hearing

Investigation of cases before they come up for court hearing, in order to place before the judge data to help him make wise dispositions of delinquent children, is one of the most important duties of the probation officer. It is, in fact, of fundamental importance, for the whole plan of treatment depends upon the judge's decisions. In reviewing the work of the court, we have already commented on the inadequacy of these investigations in Springfield. Table 15, which is most liberal in acknowledging information to be found in the probation officer's records as a result of data collected before or after hearings, indicates the meagerness of the information recorded.

It is seen that in three-fourths of the cases information on such important matters as home and family conditions, school record and children's physical condition is entirely absent. And of the 16 school records given, which in this case constituted the other

25 per cent, practically all are records which probationers brought with them after being placed on probation. In no case, after October 1, 1913, were school records of any other sort found. In fact, for the latter months of the period covered, data regarding delinquent children are even less complete than in the earlier ones.

TABLE 15.—INFORMATION REGARDING SPECIFIED MATTERS GIVEN IN PROBATION OFFICER'S RECORDS FOR CASES COMING BEFORE SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT. JANUARY 1, 1913, TO APRIL 1, 1914

Points on which information should have been given	Cases in which information was		Per cent of cases in which information was	
	Given	Not given	Given	Not given
Reason for bringing of case	48	23	68	32
Home and family conditions	19	52	27	73
School record	16[a]	48	25	75
Physical condition	13[b]	58	18	82

[a] Seven children were not in school so that their school record could not be given. The figures referring to school records do not include these seven.

[b] In but one case was the statement regarding physical condition the result of a physician's examination. In no case were specific ailments noted, the usual description of physical condition consisting of the words "good," "fair" or "poor," so that value attaching to the notations is almost negligible.

It should be noted further that the records show mental condition in but two out of the 71 cases, and that they present no data on church relations of children and very little on employment, associates, or constructive influences which might be brought into play. The conclusion is inevitable that the investigational work of the probation officers has been decidedly inadequate.

Supervision of Probationers

Perhaps the most important of all functions of the probation officer is the supervision of the children on probation. If one includes those appearing on the probation officer's records only, as well as those appearing on both probation records and the court docket, these numbered 38 from January 1, 1913, to April 1,

1914. The persons who served as probation officers in these cases are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.—PERSONS TO WHOM CHILDREN WERE PLACED ON PROBATION BY SANGAMON COUNTY JUVENILE COURT. JANUARY 1, 1913, TO APRIL 1, 1914[a]

Persons to whom children were placed on probation	Cases		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Paid probation officers	14[b]	3	17
Parent	9[c]	..	9
Other relatives	4	..	4
Volunteer officers	2	2	4
Parent, later to volunteer	1	..	1
Not given on court docket	3	..	3
Total	33	5	38

[a] Cases shown in this table include all children who appear either from the court docket, or the probation records, to have been placed on probation. Figures given in Table 14 cover only children who appear on the docket.

[b] One boy was twice placed on probation to paid officer.

[c] In six of these nine cases the court docket records the child as being "paroled to parents" while the probation records show the child under that officer's supervision. In Table 14 these six cases have been included in the group of children "placed on probation."

Children thus placed on probation have shown delinquent tendencies which are often the outgrowth of conditions around them. The court allows them to return to those conditions. Unless some new influences are brought to bear on them, the forces which led to former acts of delinquency are very likely to produce the same results again. To supply these new influences is the function of the probation officer.

This function in Springfield has been performed very badly. Under the local methods of work it could not be otherwise, for if an officer is to act as a new force in a child's life, she must clearly understand the conditions of that life: first, the child's physical and mental condition; second, his environment,—at home, at school, at church, at work, at play; third, other persons or agencies which may be counted on to help. But the probation officer has seldom taken the trouble to gain adequate knowledge of these things. As a matter of fact, probation in Spring-

field in most cases has merely meant that a child must report every Saturday with a record of his school attendance. In a few cases the officer has had parents come to her office and in a very few cases she has visited the home.

JUVENILE PROBATION
Panel from Springfield Survey Exhibition

Because of the meagerness of records and the necessity of going behind them, our review of probationary supervision could not extend back of October 15, 1913. Since that date, up to April 1, 1914, 15 delinquent children, 14 boys and one girl, have been under the supervision of the paid probation officer.* Three

* Six of these cases do not appear on the court docket. Four others were recorded on the docket as being placed on probation to parents.

of them were discharged before April first, leaving 12 on probation at that time. In not one of the 15 cases is there any record of visits to the home. Usually the only reports recorded are those from the school, brought by probationers on their periodic reports to the officer. These were generally made weekly, though in one case they were made monthly only, in another very irregularly—but seven times in 18 weeks—and in still another not at all. In the last two cases the record offers no explanation for the lack of regular reporting and gives no reason why the officer did not insist upon it.

To discover whether lack of records was indicative merely of faulty record keeping or of faulty supervision, agents for the survey made visits to the homes of seven of these children chosen at random. The facts thus quickly gathered are very significant. They may be stated briefly as follows:

CASE I. Boy, aged ten years. Placed on probation November 1, 1913. Survey visit made March 30, 1914. Father and boy interviewed. Father said he didn't know Frank was in trouble until a telephone message came one evening stating that Frank was at the jail and that the father should come for him. An officer went to school that afternoon and took Frank to court. He was put on probation, but the father does not know yet what Frank's offense was. (Probation records show stealing from box cars.) No one from the court has ever been to the house and the father has never been to the court house. Frank plays truant frequently. He is meek and frail looking. His father does not send him alone to the court house to report. He is afraid Frank will go off with other boys.

This is the boy who made but seven school reports in 18 weeks. The facts show that the officer made no efforts to secure regular reports or to bring the boy before the court again for playing truant. It is an example of inefficient probation: no investigation before or after the hearing; regular reporting not enforced; new act of delinquency (truancy) not reported to the court; no effort to acquaint parents with facts or to enlist their aid in any plan for helping the child.

CASE II. Boy, aged twelve years. Placed on probation October 22, 1913. Survey visit made March 28, 1914. This is the case of the boy already described as having adenoids and diseased glands in his neck. No home visits were made by any court officer and no effort put forth to help

the mother get the physical and mental treatment which is probably essential if the boy is to be saved either from becoming a criminal or going insane. His probationary supervision has consisted in having him bring a school report to the probation officer every week.

CASE III. Boy, aged twelve years. Placed on probation July, 1913. Discharged February 14, 1914. Survey visit made March 28, 1914. Fred is hazy about his offense. He was with six or eight children, little fellows, when the humane officer came along and took them all to the court house. There he and another boy were told to report every Saturday. The others were not required to report. Fred's father and mother said they did not know just why he was taken up,—no one had ever come to the house,—but that he was in a crowd of boys that had been making trouble carrying off old iron and things lying around.

CASE IV. Boy, aged thirteen years. Placed on probation July, 1913. Discharged February 7, 1914. Survey visit made March 28, 1914. This boy was in the gang referred to in Case III. No one ever called at home, but his mother went once to the probation office.

CASES V AND VI. Boy, aged eleven years, and brother, aged nine. Both placed on probation October 24, 1913, and again March 14, 1914. Survey visit made March 28, 1914. Both boys at home all week on account of suspension by school principal. Will return April 6. Boys did not report to probation officer this week because they had no school report to take! Probation officer has never called at home, but has seen the father at his place of business. Both boys are fine looking, clean, and intelligent. Home, mother, and little sisters are models of cleanliness. Both boys have been in the jail annex at two different times, October, 1913, and March, 1914. The older readily describes the classes of men imprisoned in the police station and the jail.

CASE VII. Boy aged twelve years. Placed on probation March 24, 1914. Survey visit made March 28, 1914. Humane officer came to home, told parents about trouble, and took Lester to court house. He was placed on probation and reported today for the first time. No one has called at the home aside from humane officer when he took Lester away. This is a very, very poor house. Dirt and disorder rule.

It will be noted that in not one of these seven cases did the probation officer visit the home either before or after the children were placed on probation. In the cases of but three of the children, two belonging to the same family, was any communication

had with the parents. In no case was a plan of any sort put into operation for improvement of conditions, though in some cases the need was clearly apparent. To all intents and purposes probation in these cases meant only that the children had to bring school reports to the probation officer weekly, and in some cases even these were allowed to lapse.

Suggestive of the failure of such probation to achieve any lasting results is the fact that eight of these 15 children had been placed on probation by the same court previous to their last offense. Knowing the facts, one will hardly wonder at the result. Probation can never be really effective until it becomes "an intimate, personal relation which deals with all the factors of a child's life, particularly his home. Its chief function is to adjust the forces of the community to the child's life. Every social agency is called into play, the object being to surround the child with a network of favorable influences which will enable him to maintain normal habits of life." This definition of probation is from Juvenile Courts and Probation, by Flexner and Baldwin,* and has the endorsement of the National Probation Association. If this be probation, clearly the work in Springfield does not come within the definition.

Probation to parents is the second favorite form of probation with the Sangamon County court, nine children having been so placed between January 1, 1913, and April 1, 1914. In six of these cases probation records show the children bringing their school reports periodically to the paid officer. In one case a child was visited by the officer in the home. It thus appears that probation to parents has often meant, as it should, that children so placed are not released from the supervision of the paid officer. The supervision given, however, has been quite inadequate.

In the period from January 1, 1913, to April 1, 1914, four children were placed on probation to relatives other than their parents. Unlike probation to parents, such action frequently brings a new authority into the child's life—that of a person, moreover, who is generally more than commonly anxious that probation succeed. If some interested relative is shown to be a

* Flexner, Bernard, and Baldwin, Roger N.: Juvenile Courts and Probation. New York, The Century Co., 1914.

suitable person to effect the needed changes in the child, the appointment of such person as probation officer is to be commended. That a person is related to a child is no guarantee, however, either of character or of wisdom, and emphasis needs to be placed on the fact that the relative must be a suitable individual to effect the child's improvement. Such suitability should be subject to careful investigation by the paid probation officer, who should make a report to the court. No such investigations have been made in Springfield, and in two of the four cases in which relatives served as probation officers the children were later brought into court for new acts of delinquency and again placed on probation.

Because a child is on probation to a relative should not, moreover, free him entirely from the control of the paid officer. The relative should be required to make regular reports to the paid officer on the progress of the case and the officer should occasionally take steps to insure that those reports are correct. This has not been the procedure in Springfield, but on the contrary, probation to relatives has meant freedom from supervision by the paid officer.

During the fifteen months studied, four children were placed under the care of other volunteer officers. Two of these were girls, placed on probation to women who, though the records do not show it, probably took them into their homes. The other two were colored boys, placed on probation to an attorney, the character of whose legal practice makes the wisdom of his appointment somewhat questionable. The court, through the regular probation officer, should examine with great care into the qualifications of persons offering to serve as volunteers, and only those with an unquestionable desire to care for and protect the children should be appointed.

At the same time, the enlistment of volunteer officers of all races and creeds should be encouraged. It often happens that some child needs more frequent and more personal attention than the busy paid officer can give and in such cases the assistance of volunteers is of incalculable benefit, conserving the time and energy of the paid officer and giving the child more careful supervision than could otherwise be had. For such purposes the

court could to advantage enlist a larger number of persons than have yet presented themselves in Springfield. One point needs to be emphasized, however: putting a child on probation to a volunteer officer should not remove the case, as it has in Springfield, from supervision by the paid officer. All children placed on probation, whether to parents, relatives, or volunteer officers, should be under the general supervision of the paid officer, to whom volunteers should be required to make periodic reports of the progress of their cases.

Record Keeping

For the most part the record-keeping system in use is satisfactory. One improvement—the recording of informal complaints—has been made by the present officer. The blank provided for this purpose though small and not in card form is satisfactory, provided that when court action is instituted the facts are presented in full in the probation officer's case record.

Besides the complaint blank the record forms include one for children's reports from school. This is satisfactory, except that the school grade is not called for, a provision which should be made when more of these blanks are ordered. There is also a blank used for recording data gathered in investigations of cases. This form—the most important of all—is not satisfactory. It fails to call for data on home conditions, school record, church relations, habits and associates, and physical and mental condition. The immediate abandonment of this blank and the adoption of that recommended by Flexner and Baldwin is strongly advised.*

Two other new blanks also are recommended. The first is a progress record in which should be recorded visits by the officer, reports to the officer, and other data gathered during the progress of the case. For convenience this should be in card form and should be kept on the officer's desk for ready reference. The second is a blank containing a brief statement of the conditions of probation to be supplied to all children placed under the officer's supervision. Such a card when signed by the court will serve to impress upon probationers that their acts are subject to

* Flexner and Baldwin: Juvenile Courts and Probation, pp. 211–215. Op. cit.

public authority and that they must observe the conditions of their release.*

The various blank forms used in Springfield relating to particular cases are gathered in manilla envelopes and filed alphabetically, those for children on probation being separated from those for children sent to institutions and those for children placed out in families. Except that "active" and "completed" cases are not fully separated, the form of filing is satisfactory; but it would save time if throughout the system blanks for delinquent children were of one color and those for dependent children of another. In a large probation office with many officers supervising many children the present filing system might not be adequate; but with the alterations suggested it should serve Springfield's needs for many years to come.

Summary and Recommendations on Juvenile Probation Work

The review of juvenile probation work has indicated that in many ways conditions are far from satisfactory. This is due to four main causes:

1. The work has not been properly organized or administered, the court not requiring the degree of efficiency which should be demanded.

2. There were four successive officers in 1913, which thoroughly disorganized the work.

3. The present officer when appointed was without previous training to fit her for the position and has never been adequately instructed in the duties of the office.

4. The tasks falling to the lot of the officer are greater than could be performed, even by a trained person, with the degree of thoroughness which the work requires.

To remedy the weakness of organization, the court should adopt and enforce rules laying down the duties of the probation officer in detail. A set of rules suggested for this purpose is presented in Appendix C, page 175 of this report.

* Good forms for all these records are to be found in Flexner and Baldwin: Juvenile Courts and Probation, op. cit.

To remedy the second and third difficulties in the way of efficient service and to prevent their recurrence, we recommend:

1. That the county board of supervisors raise the salary of the first probation officer to $100 a month. This is necessary to attract persons of experience.

2. That the court appoint a county board of visitors, such as is provided for in the juvenile court act, composed of "six reputable inhabitants," and request such board to prepare an examination to be given to candidates for probation officer, which examination shall be open to non-residents as well as residents. The board of visitors should hold such examination and grade the candidates, counting 40 per cent for written examination, 40 per cent for experience, and 20 per cent for personality as determined by oral examination. The judge should pledge himself to appoint one of the three persons standing highest in the ratings.

This method while not guaranteeing tenure of office and while permitting the court to remove an officer without review will nevertheless tend to secure longer tenure in office than has been had in the past. It will also serve to secure probation officers who are at least fairly well fitted for the position and familiar with the tasks imposed upon them.

For the improvement of the fourth condition,—too many duties falling upon the probation officer,—a complete solution is not easy. The probation officer is now asked to perform the following tasks: (1) probation work with delinquent and neglected children; (2) investigation of petitions filed under the widows' pension law; (3) record keeping for these two kinds of work; (4) keeping of detention home records; and (5) answering of telephone for the court and for the court stenographer. The first duty is imposed on the probation officer by law and cannot be escaped. The second is placed by law upon "some officer of the court," the probation officer being the most logical person to perform it. The third is a necessary accompaniment to the adequate performance of the first two. But the last two may easily be shifted, one to the superintendent of the detention home where it properly belongs, the other to the court stenographer or bailiff. This action should be ordered by the court. But even if a little time can thus be saved, the duties of the pro-

bation officer in supervising children, investigating probation and widows' pension cases, and keeping adequate records make more work than one person can perform satisfactorily.

There is only one way to change this condition and that is by the employment of a second probation officer. The county board of supervisors, upon the recommendation of the judge, is now empowered by law to provide for the appointment of a second probation officer. We strongly recommend that this power be used, that the salary of the second officer be fixed at $75 a month, that he or she be assigned to handle, under the supervision of the other paid officer, that part of the work which deals with widows' pensions. Without the adoption of this suggestion there is no way in which the probation work for children, with all of its possibilities for crime prevention, may efficiently be carried on.

XVI

LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE NEEDS

Action to bring about more adequate and effective work in the handling of child delinquency in Springfield, as described in the foregoing pages, will follow two main lines: amendment of certain sections of the Illinois juvenile court law and improvements of an administrative character involving no new legislation.

Changes in the Juvenile Court Law

The Illinois juvenile court act, as amended by the legislature of 1907, is one of the best in the country. It provides for civil, not criminal, procedure. It grants the court jurisdiction of all delinquent, dependent, and neglected boys under seventeen years of age and girls under eighteen years of age. It constitutes the judge of the county court also judge of the juvenile court, except in Cook County in which Chicago is located, so that children of smaller places are protected from contact with ordinary criminal procedure. It authorizes the court to appoint one or more paid probation officers.

In certain details, however, the law may be improved, and tentative drafts of several amendments are here offered with a view of increasing its effectiveness.

First, a new section should be added to the act to read:

> Until the first hearing of a case the court may release a child on its own recognizance, or upon the recognizance of the parent or persons having the custody, control, or supervision of the child, or upon bond or other security to appear before the court at such time as may therein be fixed.

The purpose of this section is to facilitate the release of children who need not be detained pending court hearing. It will prevent unnecessary detention of children and relieve congestion at the detention home, or, in counties where there is no detention

home, prevent the holding of children under unfavorable circumstances.

Second, Section II of the act should be amended to read as follows:

All children unable to give bail and whom it is undesirable to release on their own recognizance or upon the recognizance of their parent, guardian, or custodian may be held temporarily, pending the disposition of their cases, in the detention home or such other suitable place or places provided by the city or county or by private parties as may be designated by the juvenile court. No court or magistrate shall, however, commit any child coming within the provisions of this act to any jail, lock-up, or other place where said child may come into contact at any time or in any manner with adults convicted or under arrest. No sheriff, jailer, or other person shall detain children coming under the provisions of this act in such places.

The purpose of this amendment is obvious. The statute preventing the confinement of children coming under the juvenile court's jurisdiction in jails now applies to children under twelve years of age only. The change would prevent such disgraceful conditions as have existed in the county jail annex.

Third, a new section should be added to the act, as follows:

The court shall have power to devise and publish rules and regulate the procedure for cases coming within the provisions of this act, and for the conduct of all probation and other officers of the court, and such rules shall be enforced and construed beneficially for the remedial purposes embraced herein. The court may devise and cause to be printed for public use forms for records, petitions, orders, processes, and other papers and reports connected with cases coming within the provisions of this act. The court shall also have prepared and printed an annual report setting forth briefly the work of the court, the juvenile probation officers, and the detention home. All expenses incurred by the court in complying with the provisions of this act shall be paid out of the county funds.

The purpose of this section is threefold: to place definitely upon the court the duty of making rules for the proper organization of its work; to provide the court with adequate funds for forms and blanks necessary for its efficient conduct; and to assure the publication of an annual report so as to bring the

largest public interest to bear upon the important task of caring for delinquent and dependent children.

Fourth, Section VI of the act should be amended by striking out the second sentence and substituting a more detailed statement of the exact duties of probation officers. The second sentence now reads:

In case a probation officer shall be appointed by any court it shall be the duty of the clerk of the court, if practicable, to notify the said probation officer in advance when any child is to be brought before the court; it shall be the duty of the said probation officer to make such investigation as may be required by the court; to be present in court in order to represent the interest of the child when the case is heard; to furnish to the court such information and assistance as the judge may require; and to take charge of any child before or after trial as directed by the court.

Our suggestion is that the following substitution be made:

In case a probation officer or probation officers shall be appointed by any court, it shall be the duty of the clerk of the court to notify in advance the said probation officer, or if there are two or more, one of them, when any child is to be brought before the court.

It shall be the duty of the probation officers:

1. To investigate cases assigned to them and whenever practicable make a written report to the court before each case is heard on (a) the facts regarding the specific complaint as ascertained by the probation officer; (b) the home conditions of the child; (c) his school record, if obtainable; (d) other matters which in the opinion of the probation officer throw light upon the cause of the child's delinquency or suggest the desirability of making some particular disposition of the case.

2. To be present in court, when it is required, and furnish such additional information and assistance as the court may request.

3. To receive upon probation such persons as may be committed to their care, see that the conditions of probation as laid down by the court are carried out, and endeavor as far as possible to remove the causes which led to the delinquency or neglect.

4. If assigned to do so by the court, to act as referee in cases coming within the court's jurisdiction.

5. To keep records showing: (a) all informal complaints investigated, with results of such investigations; (b) all formal complaints investigated before court hearing with results of such investigations; (c) all children

placed on probation by the court, with the kind of supervision given and its results.

6. To make monthly and annual reports to the court showing, (a) number and disposition of children coming before the court during period;* (b) children on probation at beginning of period; (c) additional children placed on probation during period; (d) number on probation at end of period.

7. Perform such other acts in the care and supervision of delinquent and dependent children as the court may require.

At the end of Section VI it would be well to add a sentence conferring upon probation officers the powers of a peace officer.

The reason we believe it desirable to thus specifically define in the statute the duties of probation officers is that in Springfield and elsewhere we have found courts and probation offices where many of the important duties of the probation officer were either disregarded or not known. The enactment of this amendment would, we believe, result in better probation work not only in Springfield, where conditions may doubtless be improved without its enactment, but throughout the state.

Fifth, a section should be added to the act as follows:

In any county in which there are one or more female probation officers serving in the juvenile court the judge of said court shall assign such female probation officer, or if there be more than one, one of them, to act as referee in the first instance to hear the case of any girl coming within the provisions of this act and to make a report thereof together with said referee's conclusions and recommendations. If no exceptions be taken to said report and no review be asked thereof, such report and recommendations, if confirmed by the court, shall become the judgment of said court. A review of the conclusions and recommendations of said referee may be had by any child, or the parent, guardian, or custodian of any child, by filing a petition for review thereof with said referee at any time within three days after the entry of the finding of said referee.

The purpose of this section is to provide in the law a means by which cases of delinquent girls may be heard and decided by a woman, a procedure which is now being followed in St. Louis and

* Desirable blank forms for these purposes are to be found in Flexner and Baldwin: Juvenile Courts and Probation, op. cit.

Chicago—in the latter city by the voluntary action of the court—with pleasing results.

Sixth, a new section should be added to the act as follows:

Whenever a child within the jurisdiction of said court and under the provisions of this act appears to the court to be in need of medical care, and the parents, surviving parent, guardian or person having the custodial care of such child shall fail to furnish such care on notice from the court, then a suitable order may be made for the treatment of such child in a hospital, and the expense thereof shall be a county charge. For that purpose the court may cause any such child to be examined by any health officer within the jurisdiction of the court, or by any duly licensed physician. The county may recover the said expense in a suitable action from the person or persons liable for the furnishing of necessaries for said child.*

The purpose of this section is to provide means by which the court may discover the physical needs of children and when parents can not or will not provide adequate treatment, a way by which such treatment may be secured. A case illustrating the need of such legal provision is presented on page 116 of this report.

The enactment of these amendments would, we believe, strengthen the ability of the court to protect and care for the children coming under its jurisdiction without in any way interfering with the excellent features of the law as it now stands.

Administrative Improvements

In addition to these legislative changes, certain improvements need to be brought about by administrative action. These have already been suggested in considerable detail. In summing up, however, it may be useful to review the more important points and indicate where the responsibility for action lies. These changes may be grouped under three main heads, as follows:

I. Improvements in the Handling of Arrests of Children

1. The city civil service commission bears the responsibility for the adoption of the special police rules for the handling of delinquent children such as those presented in Appendix B, page 174 of this report.

* Section taken largely from Flexner and Baldwin: Juvenile Courts and Probation, op. cit.

II. Improvements as to the Detention of Children

1. The sheriff is responsible for improving as far as facilities permit, conditions in the county jail annex.
2. The judge of the county court is responsible for securing an adequate detention home, so that holding of children in the annex will no longer be necessary. Funds for this purpose are at his disposal.

III. Improvement of Juvenile Court and Probation Work

1. The county court judge, who is also judge of the juvenile court, is solely responsible for (a) making improvements in the organization and administration of juvenile court and probation work, (b) securing trained and efficient probation officers and keeping them as long as they perform their duties well.
2. The county board of supervisors bears the responsibility for raising the salary of the first probation officer to $100 a month and for allowing $75 a month for a second probation officer.

Back of legislative and administrative needs is another need fully as pressing. The passage of laws and the election of officials alone cannot guarantee good work. Intelligent co-operation from the community is also essential if year in and year out efficient service is to be rendered. If the people of the city and county really desire that delinquent children receive treatment which will prevent their growing up into confirmed criminality, they must help, and an important means to that end will be a sympathetic but firm holding of public officers to the performance of their duties.

Every day a score or more adults are taken into custody in Springfield and lodged in jail at the tax payers' expense. The object is community protection. Yet the salvation of one boy or girl from growing up to a life of crime may in the long run mean more for community protection than the jailing of 50 adults. The use, therefore, of the best possible methods in the treatment of delinquent children is something upon which, for selfish reasons if for no others, every citizen should insist.

PART THREE

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

XVII

POLICE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Reference to the work of the Springfield police department has already been made in a number of places. Thus far, however, the report has dealt mainly with the treatment of offenders after conviction, whereas the police are concerned with their detection and arrest. It has seemed desirable, therefore, to take up the police problem separately, going into both the department's organization and its policies.

Size of the Force

The Springfield police department in April, 1914, was made up of 52 persons, all men. There were 34 patrolmen, 8 detectives, 3 patrol wagon drivers, 3 alarm operators, 3 sergeants, and the chief. As compared with police forces of cities of approximately the same size, Springfield's force is below the average in numbers; in fact, it is a quarter smaller than the average force for the 16 American cities which have from 53,000 to 63,000 inhabitants. This will be seen from Table 17.

It is a fact, of course, that some cities because of peculiar local conditions need more policemen than others; but it is our belief after careful review of crime conditions that one man on the police force to every thousand people is not too large a ratio for Springfield, if thoroughgoing police efficiency and adequate patroling are to be expected. At the same time, except for the addition of a policewoman,* to be discussed later, we do not recommend immediate increase of the force because other changes —the remodeling of the jail system and the establishment of probation and parole—should have first call upon the available resources of the community.

* Since the first drafting of this report and its publication through the newspapers and the Survey Exhibition, a policewoman has been appointed.

TABLE 17.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON POLICE FORCE IN 16 CITIES OF FROM 53,000 TO 63,000 INHABITANTS. APRIL, 1914[a]

City	Population	Persons on police force	Inhabitants to one person on police force
Atlantic City, N. J.	53,952	145	372
Charleston, S. C.	60,121	111	542
Mobile, Ala.	55,573	88	632
Portland, Me.	62,161	98	634
Chattanooga, Tenn.	57,077	68	839
Average	**57,587**	**68.6**	**840**
Holyoke, Mass.	62,852	74	849
Pawtucket, R. I.	56,901	67	849
Covington, Ky.	55,896	65	860
Saginaw, Mich.	53,988	58	931
Little Rock, Ark.	53,811	57	944
Sioux City, Iowa	54,098	50	1,082
Springfield, Ill.	**57,972**	**52**	**1,115**
Sacramento, Cal.	62,717	45	1,394
Altoona, Pa.	56,553	40	1,414
Allentown, Pa.	60,297	42	1,436
Canton, Ohio	57,426	37	1,552

[a] Data on size of forces obtained from chiefs of police; population figures from United States Census estimates, 1914.

Department Control

Control of the police department is supposedly vested in the commissioner of public health and safety who appoints the chief. Other members of the force are selected through examinations by the city civil service commission, which, except in cases of promotion, certifies a single name for each appointment. Those so appointed may be removed by the chief within six months without review. After six months, tenure of office is secure unless a member is removed by the civil service commission. That commission, therefore, through its power to control selections and removals, determines to a greater extent than the chief or commissioner of public health and safety the make-up of the department, and in this way to a considerable extent controls its policy. It may, by refusing to remove men, easily block a chief who desires to administer police affairs in a progressive and efficient manner. The civil service commission also makes all rules governing the conduct of members of the force and hears charges for violations.

The commission, however, is appointed by the mayor, so that control of police affairs in large measure is divided between the mayor and the commissioner of public health and safety.

SPRINGFIELD POLICE HEADQUARTERS
The city jail is located at the rear of this building. The city magistrate's court is upstairs

In another particular also responsibility is divided. While law enforcement in saloons and other licensed places is in the hands of the commissioner of public health and safety, the mayor issues licenses and has the power to revoke them, which is one of the penalties attaching to violations of the law by saloon keepers. The result is that responsibility for law enforcement in these places may easily be obscured.*

* This was illustrated in the winter of 1913–14, when conditions in "Jonnie" Connor's saloon and theater were under fire. The question of official accountability was footballed back and forth in a most confusing manner between the mayor and the commissioner of public health and safety.

Direct control of the Springfield police department, where definite accountability of one official is more needed than in any other municipal department, should, we believe, be returned to the mayor, where it formerly rested. By such action only, under the present city charter, can responsibility in police affairs be definitely fixed.

Selection of the Force

Nothing is more important in securing efficiency in the police department, especially in the light of assured tenure of office, than that thoroughly competent persons receive appointment. Two things govern appointment: first, the qualifications of the candidates; second, the judgment of the civil service commission in making selections from among those who take examinations.

The most important factor in determining the quality of candidates is the salary offered. Springfield seeks $75-a-month men for her police force. Moreover, except for the chance of becoming a sergeant at $85 a month, there is no possibility for advance. The result is that the city attracts to her police force men who grade in ability below the skilled mechanic and not much above the unskilled laborer.

In this she is not alone among Illinois cities, though the salaries offered are somewhat below the average. Peoria and East St. Louis pay patrolmen $80 a month. Rockford starts them at $75 the first year, but pays $80 a month the second year, and $85 a month thereafter.

Figures as to the patrolmen's salaries in the 16 cities with from 53,000 to 63,000 inhabitants show that in 1914 while Springfield salaries are slightly larger the first year than the average for these cities, the highest salaries paid patrolmen are considerably less, as are also average earnings covering a ten-year period, the best basis for comparison.

If Springfield is to attract to its force men capable not only of seizing law breakers and taking them to jail, but able also to help in a program of crime prevention; men who can not easily be led into alliance with law-breaking elements, but who can gain

TABLE 18.—SALARY SCHEDULE OF PATROLMEN IN 16 CITIES OF FROM 53,000 TO 63,000 INHABITANTS. 1914[a]

City	Average yearly earnings first ten years under present schedule	Beginning yearly salary	Advances	Highest yearly salary
Sacramento, Cal.	$1,224	$1,224	None	$1,224
Holyoke, Mass.	1,140	900	$1,000 second year, $1,100 third year, $1,200 thereafter	1,200
Atlantic City, N. J.	1,095	900	$50 a year increase until $1,200 is reached	1,200
Portland, Me.[b]	1,038	894	$1,040 third, fourth, and fifth years, $1,095 thereafter	1,095
Charleston, S. C.	1,002	900	$960 second year, $1,020 thereafter	1,020
Pawtucket, R. I.[b]	994	912	$1,003 after first year	1,003
Little Rock, Ark.	983	924	$990 after first year	990
Canton, Ohio	960	960	None	960
Sioux City, Iowa	916	780	$820 second year, $900 third and fourth years, $960 thereafter	960
Altoona, Pa.	900	900	None	900
Covington, Ky.	900	900	None	900
Springfield, Ill.	**900**	**900**	**None**	**900**
Chattanooga, Tenn.	885	810	$840 second year, $900 thereafter	900
Allentown, Pa.	840	840	None	840
Mobile, Ala.	822	720	$780 second year, $840 thereafter	840
Saginaw, Mich.	810	810	None	810
Average for 16 cities	**$963**	**$892**		**$984**

[a] Data obtained from chiefs of police.

[b] Paid by the day. Time out would make actual salaries somewhat less.

and hold the respect of law breakers and the community, the city must pay larger salaries with increases for long and efficient service. Again, however, reconstruction of the jail system and establishment of probation and parole work should be given precedence over this need.

In making selections the civil service commission gives physical and mental examinations of candidates. The blank for physical tests is full and satisfactory and the character of the questions asked is excellent. While the relatively small importance attached to knowledge of police rules in the gradings may be a mistake, there is no reason, if examinations are fairly given and markings fairly made, why the commission's methods should not result in securing the best qualified of the candidates who present themselves.

Fitting Men for Duty

Another way for securing greater efficiency is to use every means for fitting men for their duties. There are opportunities in this direction which Springfield has not yet taken advantage of.

That men succeed in passing civil service tests is no warrant that they are at once qualified to take their places as capable policemen. The civil service commission vouches for their physical fitness, their educational qualifications, their knowledge of the city, and for some understanding of police rules. It does not guarantee their knowledge as to first aid to the injured; of what is legal evidence, or of how to present their cases in court; of ways in which the police may co-operate with other public and private agencies; of the primary facts of sex hygiene which every policeman should command; or of methods which may be used in crime prevention.

In larger cities where numbers of men are added to the force at the same time, recruit schools are commonly formed to instruct them in these and similar matters. While a school of this sort is not practicable in Springfield, its purpose could be served fairly well if the chief would send new members of the force to see (1) the health officer for instruction in first aid to the injured, sex hygiene, and ways in which the police may help preserve the public health; (2) the city attorney for instruction as to how cases should be presented in court and what constitutes legal evidence; (3) the juvenile court judge to be told how patrolmen may help in safeguarding the interests of delinquent children; and (4) the secretary of the Associated Charities to learn how policemen may aid in caring for the poor. The chief himself

besides giving instruction in general matters of department policy should explain to new men carefully and fully methods by which crime and the development of criminals may be prevented in the community. At present new men receive little instruction but patrol a beat for a few days with other patrolmen, to absorb as best they can knowledge of these matters. Obviously by such methods much that is important is likely never to be absorbed, which may be one of the reasons why more than 53 per cent of all police arrests on charges in 1913 did not lead to convictions.

Appearance of the Force

The appearance of Springfield's force is by no means bad, but it is open to improvement. Uniform neckwear for men on duty may very well be required. The city might also provide in headquarters, for the use of the men, a shoe polishing stand and equipment for pressing uniforms. The expense would be trifling and the good effect would be noticeable.* Patrolmen's appearance has been thought worthy of attention in many cities, for good appearance raises the standing of the men in their own opinion and in that of the community, both of which are reflected in the character of their work.

Discipline and Honors

In the administration of the police department nothing is more important than that discipline for poor service be certain and just and that good service be adequately rewarded.

Discipline in Springfield is divided between the chief and the civil service commission. The chief may reprimand, fine not to exceed thirty days' pay, or dismiss during the six months' probationary period without review of his action by the civil service commission. Other fines and all dismissals except during the probationary period are determined by that commission.† Under

* The chief in 1914 included in the department budget an item to provide from public funds for new uniforms spring and fall. This practice while not common has much to commend it. If such a course is adopted, however, uniforms should not be worn save when men are on duty.

† Civil service laws have done much good in breaking up the spoils system. At the same time they have in some cases had an unfortunate effect in destroying the discipline of executive officers over their subordinates. It is the belief

the present chief no non-reviewable penalties have been inflicted. Moreover, no charges have been filed by the chief against any member of the force. Five men, however, have resigned under fire for intoxication or drinking while on duty.

While a number of charges have been lodged against officers by private citizens, but two, both against the same officer for unprovoked assault, have been pressed. In the first case the officer was let off to be reprimanded by the commissioner of public health and safety. In the second, he was suspended for three months. The circumstances of the second case were particularly discreditable and the judgment of the commission in not ordering dismissal, especially after the previous offense and warning, is open to serious question. Men with no more self-control than this officer exhibited are not suitable for police service. Free use of night sticks seems to be a failing of some members of the force which the chief and civil service commission should use all their power to correct.

The officer suspended in this case brought charges against the chief of police before the city commission, alleging that the chief had accepted gifts from keepers of disorderly houses, but later he withdrew the charges with the commission's permission.

Alliance of the police department with the segregated district is as serious a charge as could be brought against the department, especially against its head. For the sake of the men accused as well as for the benefit of the community, every charge of this nature or rumor to this effect, whether pressed by the complainant or not, should be thoroughly and carefully investigated by the civil service commission when classified men are involved; by the city commission otherwise. No member of the force can afford to let such a charge go without demanding full investigation of the facts. Indifference raises a presumption of guilt and proves incompetency.

For the reward of meritorious service no system of honors is in use by the department. Such a system is a stimulant to esprit de corps and good service and may also be used effectively as a

of the writer that selection by competitive examinations should be strictly upheld but that executive officers should at all times be empowered to remove subordinates without review after notifying them of the cause of their removal.

disciplinary means—revocation of honors being attached to violation of police rules. The plan of granting arm bands, stars, or other insignia for each year of meritorious service or for special acts of courage is worthy of adoption.

Efficiency Record

The police book of rules requires that an efficiency record be kept at the police station for recording the efficiency of members of the force. No book of this sort is kept, however, and the civil service commission has required no efficiency reports during the two years preceding this survey. These records should be kept and should show not only acts of meritorious service, as the rule book specifies, but also all complaints against members of the force with results of investigations thereof, and all violations of police rules or other instances of inefficient service. The award of honors at the end of each year should depend upon efficiency as shown in this book, and whenever examinations for promotion are held these records should count in the grading. Demerits may also postpone increase in salary when a graduated salary schedule is put into operation.

Other Records

If the requirements of the book of rules were met, 28 different record books would be kept by the police department. As a matter of fact only one, an arrest and disposition book, is kept. The rules are copied from the Chicago rule book and in many ways are not adapted to the organization and administration of a department in a city of Springfield's size, one instance being this too extensive record system prescribed. The single record now kept is, however, not sufficient. We would recommend in addition to it the keeping of the following records: (1) efficiency record book, just discussed; (2) book of lost, stolen, and recovered property;* (3) complaint book, showing all complaints received

* In a city of Springfield's size there ordinarily is considerable unclaimed or confiscated property. What becomes of it at present we were unable to discover, being told that except for a few women's old dresses there was no property of this kind to dispose of! This record will serve to keep account of such property which, when there is reason to believe it will not be claimed, should be sold at public auction or otherwise disposed of, the money being turned over to the police pension fund as provided by law.

with action taken, whether against members of the force or other citizens.

In addition to such records, four files, one for correspondence, a second for patrolmen's daily reports, a third for notices of persons wanted, and a fourth for official orders, are desirable. These records are now preserved, but are not filed so as to make them conveniently available. A bulletin board for the posting of orders and "wanted" notices is also needed at headquarters.

Compilation of Ordinances

Ignorance of laws or ordinances is not a legal defense; yet it is doubtful if even the corporation counsel of Springfield knows all the city ordinances, to say nothing of policemen and justices charged with enforcing them and the public required to observe them. No compilation of the ordinances has been made since 1902 and all those passed or amended since then lie buried in the clerk's files. A new compilation is greatly needed.

Police Pensions

For retirement of men who have seen long service, a police pension fund is established under an act of the legislature of 1910 amended in 1913. The administration of the fund is in the hands of a board of three, one appointed by the mayor, one by the police, and one by the pensioners. Persons who may receive pensions, together with amounts are:

1. Men retiring who have served on the force twenty years receive one-half the last year's salary but not over $900 or under $600. Retirement after twenty years' service is optional.

2. Men injured while on duty receive, until re-instated, grants at the same rate as those retiring.

3. Widows, and children under sixteen, of men killed in performance of duties, receive the same amounts as men retiring.

4. Widows, and children under sixteen, of men who have served ten years and die or become insane, receive one-half of above amount but not over $900.

The purpose of this law is admirable; the law itself is an excellent example of very bad legislation.

In the first place, it does more than retire worthy veterans who have passed their period of usefulness and provide for those injured or the widows and children of those killed while on duty. It permits any man who has served twenty years on the force to retire on a life annuity of not less than $600 a year. Suppose a man enters the service at twenty-one years. At forty-one, in the very prime of life, he may retire and thus nearly twenty good years of service will be lost to the city while he—perfectly competent to support himself and family—receives a pension from the public. Of Springfield's 51 policemen,* 19 will be eligible to retire when under fifty years of age—six of them when under forty-five—and be paid $600 a year from public funds the rest of their lives. It is entirely possible that some of these men after only twenty years of police service will receive pensions for thirty years during fully half of which they will be well qualified to perform the ordinary work of life. The state law should be at once amended so as to make this impossible.

The law is bad, in the second place, because it creates a financial tie between the police department and the saloons by making the largest contribution to the pension fund dependent upon the continuance of saloons in the city. Table 19 and Diagram 5 show the large contribution which the saloon makes to the police pension fund annually.

TABLE 19.—SOURCES OF REVENUE OF POLICE PENSION FUND, SPRINGFIELD. YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY 28, 1914

Source	Revenue	
	Amount	Per cent
4 per cent of saloon licenses	$4,452.76	57.8
75 per cent of dog taxes	1,258.75	16.3
1.5 per cent of policemen's salaries	736.76	9.6
Fines for carrying concealed weapons and 50 per cent costs for violations of city ordinances	509.83	6.6
3 per cent of all license moneys other than above	427.66	5.5
25 per cent of pawnbroker, junk dealer, and second-hand store licenses	327.77	4.2
Total	$7,713.53	100.0

* This does not include the chief.

It is seen from these figures that much over half of the pension fund income is derived from saloon licenses. Whether the liquor interests had a hand in the enactment of this legislation or not, it is clear that it is not good practice to make funds for so

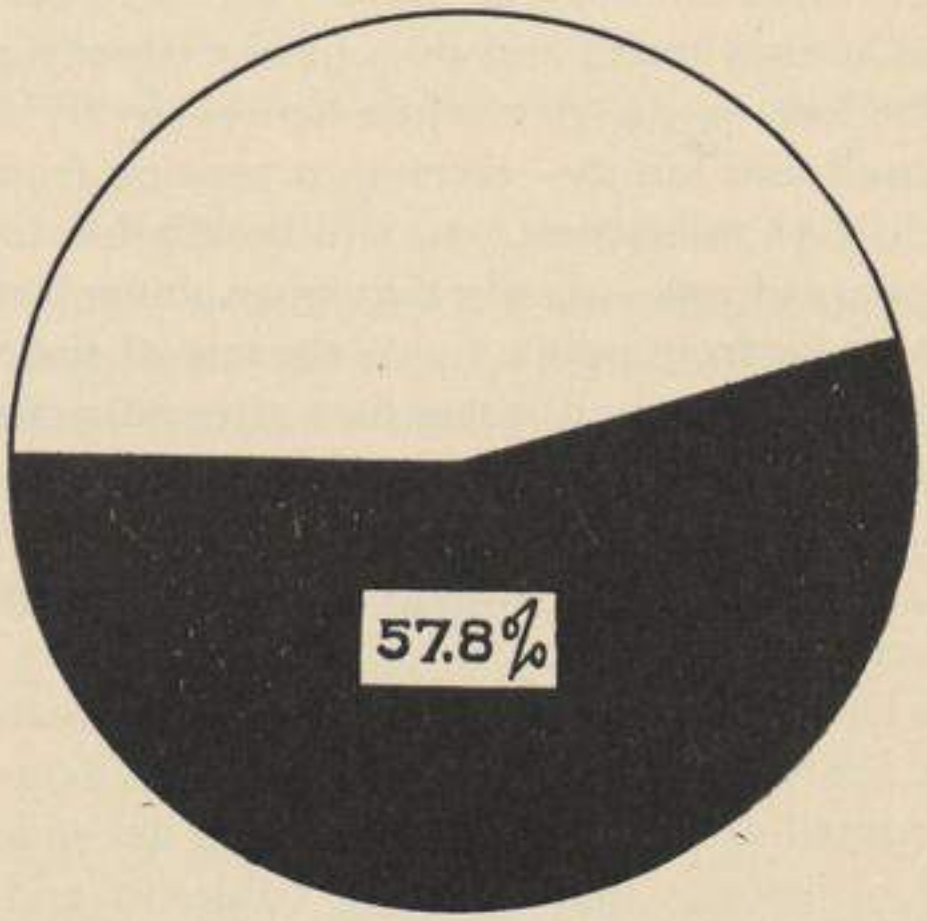


DIAGRAM 5.—PORTION OF 1913 POLICE PENSION REVENUES WHICH CAME FROM SALOON LICENSES

The part derived from saloon licenses is shown in black.

The Illinois police pension law in spite of its excellent purpose is for three reasons a piece of very bad legislation. First, by making police pension revenues dependent to a great extent upon continuation of saloons in the city, it injects a foreign issue into the saloon question which should be decided strictly upon its merits. Second, it diverts revenues to the pension fund without data on the amounts required. Results in this case are serious. Third, it permits the voluntary retirement upon a pension of $600 a year of any member of the force after twenty years of service, so that frequently men may retire with fifteen or twenty years of efficient police work ahead of them and be supported the rest of their lives by the city.

legitimate a community responsibility as pensions dependent upon the decision of a fairly debatable question of public policy.

The law is bad, finally, because it violates a principle of sound public finance, making, without data on how it will fit the need, a set appropriation to a fund the demands upon which will vary from year to year. In this case the income has greatly exceeded

the needs estimated on the basis of the periods of service of present members of the force.

Suppose, for instance, that every man in the department neither dies nor leaves the force until his twenty-year period is up, and upon reaching the end of that period immediately retires on a pension. Suppose also that the annual income of the pension fund does not increase. Under such circumstances, which cover minimum possible income and maximum possible outgo, save that men might be injured or killed on duty or might die or become insane after ten years' service—a condition which might minimize but would not be likely to change the general result*—the fund instead of being depleted would increase from the balance of $19,849.77 in April, 1914, at the following rate:

Year ending March 31	Balance
1914	$19,849.77†
1915	27,459.54
1916	34,659.56
1917	41,439.58
1918	47,789.10
1919	54,297.36
1920	60,968.32
1921	67,806.06
1922	74,814.74
1923	81,398.64
1924	88,147.14

These figures show that even assuming all these conditions the fund will mount to over $88,000 in ten years and still be on the upward trend. Indeed, if for succeeding ten-year periods the average annual outgo should remain the same as in the first ten years and the average annual revenues should remain the same, except for increasing amounts derived from interest at 2½ per cent, in 1934 there would be $175,054.12 in the fund, while in 1944 there would be $286,272.65, and the interest alone at 2½

* Increased outgo arising out of these causes would in all probability be more than offset by increased annual revenue aside from interest, by returns from a greater rate of interest, by failures of men to retire as soon as eligible for pensions, and by deaths of pensioners.

† These figures are obtained by adding each year's revenues, and interest at 2½ per cent, to the previous year's balance—and then subtracting the possible pension demands, excluding any which might arise because of injuries to men on duty or the death or insanity of men who have served ten years. If the interest were compounded quarterly, the amounts would be still larger.

per cent would be more than enough to pension 11 policemen. And still the fund would mount.

These calculations based on the exact present situation in the police force are made to show the colossal unwisdom not only of the present pension law, but of the method of public finance which sets aside annually for a given fund a sum not measured by the demands upon it. It would be infinitely wiser and more satisfactory if the state law, instead of diverting certain revenues from the city treasury to the pension fund, were to require the city to pay annually from the general revenues pensions to members of the police force who have been retired according to the pension law. Should it be deemed advisable to have a reserve fund planned on an actuarial basis to meet accident emergencies, this also could be raised in the same way. Under this arrangement, too, men could continue to contribute 1½ per cent of their salaries for pensions, demands being met from these contributions until such amounts were exhausted. We strongly recommend that efforts be made to have the state law in this particular amended. Other cities of the state undoubtedly need the change as much as Springfield. The money annually saved to the general treasury by this action might very well be added to policemen's salaries, where it could be used to much better advantage both for the policemen and the city.

There was, as we have seen, $19,849.77 in the pension fund in April, 1914. The fund is now drawing 2½ per cent interest. A fund of this nature not subject to unexpected withdrawals but certain to grow in size should command greater earning power. We would recommend that the police pension board endeavor to make better disposition of the funds, for the present arrangement is equivalent to making several hundred dollars' contribution annually to the bank in which the funds are deposited.

XVIII

POLICE POLICY

Discussion of the police department thus far has dealt largely with efficiency methods. As important from the standpoint of the effectiveness of the department in protecting the community are its policies. These concern, first, the making of arrests; second, crime prevention and the suppression of crime-producing conditions in the community.

The Making of Arrests

That every person found breaking the law should be arrested is a commonly accepted point of view, but in practice such a policy is never followed. If it were, in Springfield a goodly portion of the population would be in jail before night for cutting across corners at intersecting streets if not for breaking a hundred and one similar laws and ordinances. Policemen do and should exercise discrimination in making arrests. The purpose of the police department is to protect the community, not merely to make arrests; and when that purpose can be effectively served without arrests, they should not be made.

There is no reason, for example, why the contractor who unwittingly obstructs the streets, or the man who spits on the sidewalk, or the housewife who dumps ashes within ten feet of a building, or the driver who hitches his horse to a lamp post, or the hackman who fails to wear a badge, should immediately be taken to jail. In such cases warnings should be given; or if more stringent measures are desirable, the offender could be summoned to court without arrest being made. This does not mean, of course, that enforcement of these laws and ordinances should be allowed to lapse. There is a clear distinction between a policy of lax law enforcement and a policy of discrimination in making

arrests. The former is to be condemned; the latter is worthy of official recognition.

There are dangers, however, in the use of discretion by individual patrolmen which need to be guarded against. The latitude thus allowed may be used for extorting money from law breakers, and it may be used without judgment. These dangers, however, may be greatly minimized if the department will carefully instruct men as to when discretion should be used.

In general it may be said that for violations of a technical nature, such as those named, which do not indicate real delinquent tendencies, arrest is usually not necessary. Patrolmen in such cases may very well use their judgment, giving warnings, serving summons, or making arrests, according to the circumstances. For repetitions of such offenses arrest is usually advisable. On the other hand, offenses which suggest that the offender is developing tendencies likely to lead him further into delinquent ways should practically always lead to arrest so that as far as possible the tendencies may be checked. To make this distinction clear it may be wise for the chief of police definitely to designate offenses for the commission of which arrest must always be made. These would include practically all offenses against chastity, property, and the person, and some of the more serious offenses against public policy.

Besides making these rules, however, care should be taken to insure their enforcement and the wisdom of discretion where used. This may be done by careful examination of the daily reports of patrolmen which, by the way, should include all law violations noted, whatever their nature.

Crime Prevention

There are at least three ways in which crime may be prevented: first, by personal work with those who show indications of becoming delinquent; second, by the regeneration of those who have become so; third, by the elimination in the community of conditions which breed criminals.

The use of these methods is by no means the exclusive work of the police department. In fact, if causes of delinquency could be traced to their source it is probable that faults in the schools,

in homes, and in industry, and the lack of an adequate recreation program, would be found to share responsibility. Moreover, the task of regenerating those who have become delinquent is mainly the work of probation and parole officers and correctional institutions, while personal work with boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen years of age is a duty of the juvenile probation department. The police have, however, important parts to play in preventing the development of criminals in the community.

In the recreation section of the survey* the connection between lack of wholesome recreation and the prevalence of delinquency is pointed out more at length, and public regulation of dance halls and other commercial amusement places is recommended. The enforcement of ordinances enacted for this purpose will fall upon the police department. To assist in such work, and to help in the general handling of female offenders and delinquent young persons, women police officers have proved most serviceable in many cities,† and the appointing of such an officer for Springfield is recommended.‡

The second opportunity of the police for effective crime prevention lies in their power to regulate the conduct of saloons and to suppress to some extent at least, gambling, the sale of drugs, and vice. In general, however, it may be said that in their enforcement of laws governing these things the Springfield police have shown a policy of great leniency.

* Hanmer, Lee F., and Perry, Clarence A.: Recreation in Springfield, Illinois, pp. 5–22, 87. (The Springfield Survey.)

† The recommendation for the appointment of a policewoman is not a radical innovation. A list of policewomen compiled in July, 1914, included the following: Chicago 20; Baltimore 5; Los Angeles 5; Seattle 5; Pittsburgh 4; San Francisco 3; St. Paul 3; Minneapolis 2; Topeka 2; Toronto 2; Aurora, Ill. 1; Bellingham, Wash. 1; Colorado Springs, Col. 1; Denver, Col. 1; Fargo, N. D. 1; Grand Forks, N. D. 1; Omaha, Neb. 1; Ottawa, Can. 1; Racine, Wis. 1; Rochester, N. Y. 1; Salem, Mass. 1; San Antonio, Texas 1; Sioux City, Ia. 1; Superior, Wis. 1; and Syracuse, N. Y. 1; total 66.

‡ Since this recommendation was made through the newspapers of Springfield a woman deputy sheriff has been appointed for Sangamon County and also a policewoman. The need for a policewoman for regulation of commercial amusements, one of the most important functions to be performed by a woman peace officer, is unmistakable; and her appointment is here commended.

Police Policy toward Saloons

In the spring of 1914 the voters of Springfield by a considerable majority—women as well as men exercising the franchise—voted to retain saloons in the city. While various considerations somewhat clouded the issue, it seemed pretty clear that the majority of voters wished to continue them. As far, therefore, as saloons are a contributing cause of delinquency in the city—and examination of arrest statistics has shown that they are an important cause—the people of Springfield have chosen to keep them and assume the burden of caring for the men and their families who through them become paupers or criminals.

Accepting the evident fact that Springfield at present wants saloons, two questions of policy remain: first, the number of saloons which should be licensed; second, the enforcement of regulatory laws.

Springfield had 220 licensed saloons at the time of this investigation. On July 1, 1914, the number was reduced to 198, the reduction being due mainly to business laxity; though in a few cases keepers who were in the bad graces of the police department did not apply for renewals. There has been no policy of restricting the number of saloons in Springfield and practically every person applying for a license can get one upon making proper representations. In certain sections of the city it is easy to find a half dozen saloons in one block. For the purpose of supplying liquor to those who want it, such a number is entirely unnecessary and only results in the development of saloons of a low grade.

Under the keen competition which exists, in order to keep going and pay the high license fee every year, saloon keepers are often led into other activities than liquor selling, such as the introduction of gambling devices, or alliance with vice. Moreover, under the stress of financial need the temptation to encourage drinking in artificial ways, to sell to minors and habitual drunkards, and to break other regulatory statutes is unusually great. Springfield has indicated that she wants saloons, but has not indicated the kind desired. If she wants saloons conducted in an orderly way, free from connections with gambling and vice,

as a first step a policy should be adopted of restricting the number of licenses.

In the enforcement of regulatory laws the Springfield police department is not especially vigorous. The chief frankly states that "the Sunday closing law is a dead letter." Moreover no arrests have been made during the year for selling liquor to minors or for selling to confirmed drunkards. In 1913, 869 arrests were made in which drunkenness was specifically charged and these represent only a part of those in which arrested persons were intoxicated. Probably the majority of the 842 arrests for disorderly conduct were cases in which drunkenness was the direct contributing cause of delinquency. Moreover, 86 cases of acute alcoholism were treated at the county jail. The city may want saloons, but it does not want drunkards or persons with delirium tremens; and the need for more vigorous enforcement of the laws and ordinances prohibiting the sale of liquor to confirmed drunkards, intoxicated persons, or to any others in sufficient quantities to cause intoxication is quite apparent.*

Drugs

The use of cocaine, opium, and their derivatives, according to statements of the jailers and the city physician is common in the underworld of Springfield. While no records on the extent of their use are available, as a developer of criminal tendencies the use of drugs demands attention. It weakens will power and makes succumbing to temptation easy; and as has already been shown, often leads to trickery, forgery, or other illegal means to secure supplies of the drugs. The recently enacted federal habit-forming drug act has for the first time placed adequate restrictions upon the sale of such drugs in Illinois. The Springfield police should vigorously co-operate in its enforcement.†

* In May, 1915, a newly elected mayor revoked 14 saloon licenses for alleged infractions of the law.

† No valid objection can be made to the stringent restriction which the Harrison act has placed upon the sale of habit-forming drugs, for the check it has put upon the alarming increase of the use of drugs throughout the country must have a beneficial effect. At the same time much needs to be said in the interest of those who have already acquired the habit and need a supply of drugs. These people should have considerate treatment. A most satisfactory method for meeting the situation which arises when the sale of drugs is stopped

Police Attitude toward Vice

Segregation rather than suppression is the policy of the Springfield police department toward vice. This does not mean, however, that vice is entirely confined to the segregated district, for clandestine prostitution flourishes in many hotels and rooming houses.

The segregated district, according to the chief of police, lies immediately north of Washington and east of Seventh Streets. In this district at the time of the survey there were 33 recognized houses of prostitution containing white women,—five with but one inmate each,—and a considerable number of Negro houses with something like 60 inmates. In the white houses alone were 143 inmates in September, 1914. With the exception of three three-dollar to five-dollar houses and one two-dollar and three-dollar house, these Springfield houses charge $1.00 to $2.00. It is estimated by one who should know that taken as a whole, earnings of inmates average $25 a week. At this rate the total income of the houses containing white women alone would be $3,575 a week, $15,400 a month, and $185,000 a year. Another person estimates the total earnings of recognized houses black and white at $2,730 a week or $140,000 a year. Even on the basis of the lower figures it is clear that one reason why suppression of commercialized prostitution is so difficult, even though specifically forbidden by state law, is the size of the profits of the traffic.

In addition, however, to women in recognized houses, it is estimated by a person close to the local situation that there are approximately as many more women and girls in the city depending wholly or in part upon prostitution for a living, who use hotels, rooming houses, and assignation and "call" houses for the purpose.

At the time this investigation was begun the segregated district was indicated by red lights, house names painted on the doors, and soliciting from windows. Later, however, the names were removed and open soliciting largely abolished, but the

has been worked out by Dr. C. E. Terry in Jacksonville, Florida, where the city health department furnishes drugs to habitual users.

character of the district was still apparent. On the other hand, there are some favorable features in the Springfield situation. Inmates of the houses may not leave the district or be on the street after 7 p. m. according to a police ruling quite strictly adhered to, while street walking, except in the Negro section of the city, is very rare. No case of open solicitation in the downtown section was seen and in very few instances were women on the streets suspected of being in search for trade.

Among those who have given some thought to the matter two chief methods are put forward for dealing with this generally admitted evil: segregation, the present Springfield plan, and vigilant suppression. Advocates of the segregation policy claim in the first place that the district brings business to the city. Opponents on the other hand reply that the people it attracts are not of a desirable sort, that much money is spent in the district by local people which would otherwise go to legitimate callings, and that even if it should bring business to the city the benefit derived by the public is very small compared with the bad effects.

In the second place, advocates of segregation claim that the district localizes crime and makes it easy to control, with the result that general criminality is less than it would otherwise be.

Its opponents, however, claim that toleration of vice brings to the city the riff-raff of the surrounding country where vice is not permitted, and that crime is increased, not decreased. They claim further that the inevitable effect of toleration of vice by the police, in opposition to a state law forbidding it, is to ally the police department with the underworld, with the result that other law breakers besides keepers of houses of ill-fame are "protected." They point out still further that not only the police department, but the whole city government is likely to be undermined, because the vice interests and their allies have many thousands of dollars at stake, dependent upon the policy of the city administration, and will, therefore, spend large sums to maintain in office persons who, whatever their other qualifications for office, will support a policy of toleration.

Advocates of segregation claim, in the third place, that abolition of the district will subject all women to greater moral dangers.

Opponents, on the other hand, state that facts do not support this claim and cite such testimony as that of Mayor James R. Hanna of Des Moines, Iowa, who wrote in 1912, after the abolition of the segregated district in that city, "Quite to the discomfiture of those theorists who hold that a system of prostitution is necessary to protect chaste women against rape, the abolition of the segregated district has not in the least endangered the virtue of the rest of womankind in our city."*

Those favoring the segregation plan claim, in the fourth place, that the existence of the district causes less spread of venereal disease than would a policy of suppression, pointing to the fact that established houses have a reputation to maintain which will be injured by unfavorable rumors.

Opponents, on the other hand, claim that established houses are important conveyors of venereal disease and that a real policy of suppression so greatly diminishes prostitution as to reduce the spread of disease to the minimum. As far as we are able to ascertain, the only figures with any suggestive significance in this matter have been gathered in Syracuse, New York. In that city the segregated district was abolished early in 1912. In January, 1911, inquiries had been sent to the 240 physicians in the city asking them the number of cases of venereal disease under treatment at the time and the number treated during the previous year; also data regarding sources of infection of patients treated. Ninety physicians, of whom 13 were specialists, reported 524 cases of gonorrhea and 452 cases of syphilis under treatment. Considering the number of cases treated by each physician not a specialist and the number of physicians not reporting, it was estimated that there were, aside from those persons treating themselves, 929 cases of gonorrhea and 696 cases of syphilis under treatment in the city.

In 1914 an identical investigation was undertaken. This time 265 physicians received inquiries,—25 more than before. One hundred two, or 12 more than in 1911, reported cases under treatment. Using the same methods as before, it was estimated that there were 923 cases of gonorrhea and 470 cases of syphilis under

* Letter to Chicago Protective League for Women, November 4, 1912.

treatment. Estimating the number of cases to the population the conclusion was reached:

"The investigation shows a reduction since 1911 of 7 per cent in gonorrhea and 36.7 per cent in syphilis. One cause is believed to be the greater knowledge which the public has of these diseases. The reduction of syphilis is due in great measure to closing the segregated district. 'Syphilis comes mainly from the segregated district, gonorrhea mainly from the street.'"

The closing statement was based on physicians' testimony regarding sources of infection. While these conclusions are based on estimates which permit a considerable degree of error, they are the most suggestive figures available as to the effects of segregation and suppression upon the spread of venereal disease.

That venereal disease is more common in Springfield than generally supposed is shown by data presented in the public health section of the survey.* Forty-nine physicians reported 160 cases of gonorrhea under treatment, 147 cases of syphilis, and 39 cases of chancroid. The same physicians reported 654 cases of gonorrhea, 398 cases of syphilis, and 212 cases of chancroid under treatment during 1913.

Advocates of segregation, in the fifth place, claim that such a policy reduces the evil to a minimum, for attempted suppression only spreads it over a city without reducing the volume.

Its opponents answer, however, that wherever a policy of vigorous suppression has been enforced by police departments in sympathy with it, cities have been largely freed from professional prostitutes. They claim, moreover, that a segregated district does not necessarily or in fact mean that prostitution is confined there, but very generally means a segregated district plus scattered and clandestine prostitution.

Furthermore, and quite apart from arguments of those who favor segregation, opponents of that policy claim that the worst feature of the whole matter is its commercial aspect, which makes it to the financial advantage of powerful interests and their direct and indirect employes to draw girls into lives of prostitution against their will in order to profit from them. Because of the

* Schneider, Franz, Jr.: Public Health in Springfield, Illinois, p. 65. (The Springfield Survey.)

money to be made, it is claimed, thousands of girls are annually drawn into situations robbing them of their self-respect and social standing, so that they later enter lives of vice, to be bought and sold at their keepers' wills, often to be held in bondage not only by loss of social position but by cunningly devised plans for keeping them in debt. Human weaknesses make prostitutes, it is said, but segregated districts make "white slaves." By abolishing the segregated districts you destroy to a great extent the commercial features of vice so that no one but the girl herself can sell a girl, and the profit to be made from drawing girls into lives of vice is so greatly diminished as to reduce to a minimum the number becoming prostitutes.

Finally, the advocates of segregation claim that men's "personal liberty" should not be restricted because of the "moral" views of others, and that "individual freedom" of people to engage in such business as they see fit should not be restricted. To which opponents reply that all laws restrict the "personal liberty" of the few for the benefit of the many, and that it is for the public, through its laws, to decide what is against public interest. And what, they ask, of the "individual liberty" and "personal rights" of the girls who are every year dragged into lives of prostitution by the commercial system which the segregated district makes possible.

As to our own view, we believe that most of the arguments in favor of a segregated district cannot stand the light of searching investigation, and that the commercial aspects of vice—its worst feature—can never be destroyed or minimized until the policy of segregation is abandoned. Significant is the fact that of the vice investigations which have been made in recent years—some 15 reports of which have been issued—every one has condemned segregation in severe terms.* Significant, too, is the fact that in Chicago and Minneapolis the majority of the persons who formed the investigating commissions were at the start inclined to favor segregation, but after searching inquiry were unanimous for suppression.

* Of these 15 investigations, seven were made by municipalities, one by a state, and seven by private organizations. Besides these there are five municipal, four state, and two private commissions which have not yet reported.

It should be said, however, that suppression will never suppress when enforced by a police department which is friendly with vice and does not favor suppression. Moreover, constant vigilance on the part of citizens who favor suppression is necessary to make such a policy successful, for in opposition, as has been mentioned, are persons with thousands of dollars at stake who are willing to spend money freely when and where needed to keep their business going. Moreover, the number who profit financially directly or indirectly by the toleration of vice are numerous and include wealthy and influential citizens. Any effort, therefore, to change the policy of the police department must necessarily be well organized, and those who make it must not expect through one decree to find their battle won.

Recommendations on the Police Department

The recommendations which concern the work of the police may be summed up as follows:

1. That control of the police department be returned to the mayor where formerly it was vested.

2. That after more pressing needs have been met the city consider the advisability of a general increase in the police force.

3. That the city civil service commission adopt rules for the arrest of children along the lines of those presented in Appendix B of this report.

4. That when possible salaries in the department be raised and that a graduated schedule be adopted.

5. That more care be exercised in fitting policemen for their work.

6. That means be adopted for helping policemen maintain a neat appearance.

7. That complaints or rumors regarding the alliance of the department with vice be carefully and thoroughly investigated by the civil service commission when men in the classified service are involved, otherwise by the city commission.

8. That an honor system be developed.

9. That a more adequate system of records be adopted.

10. That a new compilation of city ordinances be undertaken.

11. That efforts be made to have the police pension law altered by the state legislature along the lines suggested.

12. That the police pension board endeavor to secure payment of a higher rate of interest on the pension fund.

13. That official recognition be given to the use by patrolmen of discretion in making arrests and that safeguards be adopted to prevent its misuse.

14. That laws governing the sale of liquor be more vigorously enforced.

15. That a policy be adopted restricting the number of saloon licenses issued.

16. That in dealing with vice the policy of segregation be discontinued and be replaced by a policy of suppression through vigorous enforcement of the state law.

APPENDICES

APPEN

SENTENCES IMPOSED BY CIRCUIT COURT AND COUN

Offense charged	Persons sentenced to pay fine of				Persons sentenced to pay fine and serve term as specified									
	$5 or $10	$20 or $25	$50 or $100	$750	1 hour and $3	1 day and $5 to $25	10 days and $1 to $25	20 days and $5 to $15	20 days and $100	30 days and $5 to $25	30 days and $50 to $200	60 to 75 days and $20 to $30	3 months and $1 to $30	6 months and $50 to $150
Adultery and fornication	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Arson	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to kill	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Assault to rape	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to rob	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault with deadly weapon	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Bastardy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary and larceny	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Child abandonment	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confidence game	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conspiracy	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conspiracy to commit arson	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Crime against child	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Crime against nature	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Embezzlement	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forgery	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand larceny	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Keeping house of ill-fame	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny	1	1	..	..	1	8	4	5	13	3	1	4	3	1
Malicious destruction of property	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malicious mischief	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manslaughter	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murder	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Obtaining money under false pretenses [b]	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rape	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Receiving stolen goods	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Robbery	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Selling liquor without a license	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Trespassing	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Violation anti-saloon act	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Violation wash-room act	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wife abandonment	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Appealed cases [c]	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	5	8	6	1	1	8	5	5	15	5	1	5	3	2

[a] Sixty days in jail and restitution.
[b] Offender fined $5 was required to make restitution of $9.
[c] Charges not given on docket.

DIX A
TY COURTS BY CHARGES, SANGAMON COUNTY, 1913

Persons sentenced to serve term in								Persons placed on probation	Persons probationed to pay toward support of wife or child	All persons sentenced
Co. jail, 1 or 10 days	Co. jail, 30 or 60 days	Co. jail, 3 or 4 months	Penitentiary, 1 or 2 years	Penitentiary, 20 years	Penitentiary for life	Penitentiary for indeterminate period	State reformatory for indeterminate period			
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	7
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
..	1[a]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
..	1	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
4	3	1	..	..	..	..	2	11	..	66
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
7	10	2	2	1	1	19	8	22	10	152

APPENDIX B

NEW RULES GOVERNING ARRESTS OF CHILDREN SUGGESTED FOR ADDITION TO THE BOOK OF RULES OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

I. When a complaint of law-breaking by any boy under the age of 17 or girl under the age of 18 years comes to the attention of the police department, arrest shall not be made unless there is danger that the delinquent child may otherwise run away, but the name and address of the child, the name and address of the complainant, the nature of the complaint and such other information as the police may have regarding the case shall be at once transmitted to the chief probation officer of the juvenile court.

II. In case arrest seems necessary to prevent any boy under 17 or a girl under 18 years of age from escaping from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court such arrest shall be made and said boy or girl shall be turned over to the superintendent of the juvenile detention home.

III. In no case shall any boy under 17 years of age or girl under 18 years of age be conveyed in a patrol wagon.

IV. Arrested boys under 17 years of age or girls under 18 years of age shall in no case be brought to police headquarters and in no case shall their names be entered upon the police docket.

V. In no case shall any member of the police force deliver boys under 17 years of age or girls under 18 years of age for confinement in either city or county jails, or annexes or other additions thereto.

VI. No member of the force shall furnish information regarding the arrest of boys under 17 years of age, or girls under 18 years of age to representatives of the press.

VII. After making arrest of a boy under 17 years of age or girl under 18 years of age, members of the force shall as soon as possible report in writing all of the circumstances together with names and addresses of parties concerned, to the chief of police, who shall at once forward such report to the chief probation officer of the juvenile court. For this purpose the chief of police shall cause a printed form to be prepared.

VIII. If in the course of their work police officers observe boys under 17 or girls under 18 years of age who are not known to have committed any

act of delinquency, but who are almost certain to do so if they continue their present habits, they shall report the facts to the chief of police, who shall transmit the information to the chief probation officer of the juvenile court.

IX. All members of the police department shall upon request of the juvenile court appear before that court to furnish information in cases in which they are involved and shall co-operate to the fullest extent in helping that court and the juvenile probation officer in their efforts to surround delinquent children with wholesome and uplifting influences.

X. Copies of these rules shall be furnished to each member of the force by the chief of police and shall be kept posted in police headquarters.

XI. Any member of the force violating any of these rules will be subject to such penalties as the Civil Service Commission is empowered to inflict.

APPENDIX C

RULES FOR CONDUCT OF JUVENILE PROBATION WORK

I. The probation officer shall work from 8 A. M. to 12 M. and from 1 P. M. to 5 P. M. every week day except Saturday, and from 8 A. M. to 1 P. M. Saturdays.

II. The officer shall be in the probation office for the conduct of business from 4 to 5 P. M., Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays and from 8 to 9 A. M. Saturdays. (Some alteration in the exact hours set may be necessary to make office hours fit in with the hours set for regular court hearings.)

III. The officer shall be charged with four main duties: (a) investigation of informal complaints; (b) investigation of all cases before hearings in court; (c) supervision of all persons placed on probation by the court; (d) keeping of probation records.

IV. When informal complaints are made to the probation officer regarding the neglect, dependency or delinquency of any child coming within the court's jurisdiction, the officer shall refer said complaint to such official, person or agency as may be charged with the duty of investigating it, or if there be no such official, person or agency and the complaint is deemed worthy of investigation, the probation officer shall investigate such complaint. If

the case is found to be one which requires court action, the probation officer shall file or cause to be filed a petition in accordance with the law.

V. The probation officer shall, unless otherwise directed by the court in specific cases, investigate all cases in which petitions are filed declaring children neglected, dependent or delinquent and make in such cases written reports to the court before the time set for hearing. Said reports shall show: (1) the facts regarding the specific complaint as ascertained by the probation officer, (2) the home and family conditions, (3) the school record of the child (if obtainable) and (4) other information such as the child's mental and physical condition, his work, play, companions or church relation, which in the opinion of the officer throws light upon the cause of the child's delinquency, or upon the desirability of making some particular disposition of the case.

VI. The probation officer shall always be present at court hearings unless otherwise directed by the court in specific cases, to furnish such additional information as the court may require, and to record on the probation records any facts brought out at the hearing not already there recorded.

VII. The probation officer shall assume probationary supervision over such persons as the court may direct, the purpose of such supervision being to remove as far as possible the causes of a child's delinquency, dependency or neglect. In pursuance of this purpose, the probation officer shall visit homes, schools, places of employment, etc., when the necessities of cases so require, and as frequently as may seem desirable, and shall also endeavor to see that any conditions attached to probation by the court are faithfully observed. The probation officer may also require boys ten years of age or more to report at the probation office from time to time bringing with them such reports from school or parents as said officer may require. Girls of any age and boys under ten years of age shall not be required to make such reports without special order from the court.

VIII. Whenever in the opinion of the probation officer, probation has been a failure, the officer shall report the fact to the court.

IX. Whenever, in the opinion of the probation officer, a child's condition of life is so changed that his future conduct is likely to be satisfactory, the officer shall report the fact to the court.

X. The probation officer shall upon order of the court investigate the character and suitability of persons offering to become volunteer probation officers, whether parents, relatives or others, and shall upon the appointment of such officers have supervision over their work.

XI. All persons becoming volunteer probation officers shall in the performance of their duties be subject to the supervision of the paid probation officer and shall report monthly or oftener if required upon the condition

of the children placed under their charge. If said reports are not made as required, supervision of said child shall revert to the paid probation officer unless the court shall otherwise direct.

XII. In order that the fullest co-operation may be obtained in bringing about the needed changes in the environment of dependent or delinquent children, the probation officer shall report all cases coming before the court to the confidential exchange of the Associated Charities.*

XIII. The probation officer shall keep the following records:

(a) A record of all complaints with the dispositions of the same,—these shall be filed in two sections, "active" and "completed" complaints;

(b) a case record which shall contain (1) the social investigation report, (2) school and parent's reports for such children as are required to present them, (3) a record in each case of all reports to the probation officer or visits by the probation officer, (4) a record of the final disposition of the case when made, (5) such miscellaneous papers or documents as may be concerned in the case. These case records shall be filed in two main sections, "active" and "completed" cases. The "active" records shall in turn be filed in two sections "children in institutions or placed out" and "children on probation."

XIV. The probation officer shall make a report monthly to the court showing (a) number of informal complaints investigated with dispositions of same; (b) number of investigations made before hearings; (c) number of children on probation at time of last report; (d) number received on probation during month; (e) number discharged from probation during month; (f) number on probation at end of month; (g) total number of cases coming before court with cause and disposition of the same; (h) number of visits (by places) made by probation officer during the month.† At the end of each calendar year these reports shall be summarized into an annual report.

* The need for closer co-operation between the juvenile court and other social agencies of the community is discussed in the charities report of the Springfield Survey.

† It is recommended that these reports be furnished to the press monthly to replace less desirable forms of publicity and to arouse public interest in the court's work. Human interest stories without names may be included.

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