ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME AS DISPLAYED IN NEWSPAPERS

by

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I. THE PROBLEM

The problem undertaken is the identification and classification of attitudes toward crime and criminal procedure expressed in the newspapers. Those which an attempt is made to identify are attitudes of the press, the public, officials, offender and offended toward the offender, his act, his treatment and the legal machinery. It is assumed that such a classification, although not to be defended as the best possible one which could be made, or as being all inclusive in its scope, definition and thoroughness, will have value. Such a classification represents the first step necessary in an attempt to measure either the frequency of expression or the influence of any specific attitude or group of attitudes. The study is of an exploratory nature and will serve to suggest types of technique necessary to a more thorough and comprehensive study and also to open up problems for further research in the field of crime.

In our present social order not only is crime apparently increasing because of factors in our highly complicated social structure which inhibit and irritate, but also because of prevalent attitudes concerning crime and its treatment. It is hardly possible to make the present civilization less intensive and complicated in nature; to
change to a simpler form. It is possible to reduce materially the other great factor in the prevalence of crime. This can be accomplished by searching out and measuring, more or less accurately, these attitudes.

Once these attitudes are identified and their prevalence ascertained, even though no further attempts at definite statistical measurements are made,* intelligent steps can be taken to modify them. The mechanism for such modification is education, both formal and informal.

It will be apparent that there are difficulties involved in making such a study. In the first place, attitudes are omnipresent in behavior; they are kaleidoscopic, blending and shading into complex combinations, and there is no possibility of setting up mutually exclusive and clear-cut separate categories. No complete understanding can be had of the functioning of attitudes unless they are studied in the totality of a situation. But for purposes of setting them out to look at, as it were, they may temporarily be drawn out from a total situation. Any technique of analysis must necessarily proceed in this manner.

Another difficulty is that of making use of, or depending upon objective factors to determine subjective data.

*L. L. Thurstone believes that attitudes can be measured statistically to a fair degree of definiteness. In an article in the American Journal of Sociology for January 1928, he sets forth his views, and attempts, with some convincing argument, to justify his contention.
or values. Attitudes can be recognized only through some form of action; it may be inhibitory action without prominent outward manifestations. If that action be words, they will not give us an exact index as to the subjective factor, because of the fact that at best words are imperfect tools for the conveying of meanings. Even though these words could convey accurately and completely the meaning of the total situation in the mind of the person speaking, those same tools or words would have a different content or meaning in the mind of the hearer or reader. If that action is a motor response, here too we can only infer the meaning of the total situation in the mind of the person acting.

Nevertheless, these tools by the use of which meanings are conveyed, crude and imperfect as they are, constitute the principal means for performing this social function and must be utilized. Scientific exactness in this field is at some distance in the future. Better tools and a better technique must be fashioned, tested out and modified to fit the particular job at hand. But this can come only through trial and error methods, and admitting the present limitations in this field of research imposed by the nature of the factors involved, with vigilance and caution attitudes can be identified with a fair degree of
accuracy.

No scientific treatment of the phenomena of crime can possibly be had until these attitudes of mind are modified. Before any effective modification can be brought about, these attitudes must be sought out, classified, their frequency measured in order intelligently to center attention on vital phases of the problem.

No attempt has been made at accurate or exact quantitative measurement of the frequency of specific attitudes. In a rough way the categories have been arranged in order of their frequency. Not all the attitudes identified in the clippings were classified. Only those which were fairly clear-cut and which appeared a number of times were included.

METHOD.

The material which was used as a basis for identification and classification of attitudes concerning crime was clippings from twenty-one daily newspapers of Kansas and Missouri. Sixteen of these newspapers were Kansas dailies, and five were Missouri dailies. These papers were clipped by students in a class in criminology over a period of approximately four months—September 20, 1927, until January 20, 1928. The newspapers selected for the purpose were the following:
Abilene Daily Reflector, Abilene, Kansas.
Dodge City Globe, Dodge City, Kansas.
Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kansas.
Fort Scott Tribune, Fort Scott, Kansas.
Hutchinson Daily News, Hutchinson, Kansas.
Iola Register, Iola, Kansas.
Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Jefferson City, Mo.
Junction City Union, Junction City, Kansas.
Kansas City Kansan, Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City Star & Times, Kansas City, Mo.
Lawrence Daily Journal World, Lawrence, Kansas.
McPherson Daily Republican, McPherson, Kansas.
Ottawa Herald, Ottawa, Kansas.
Springfield Daily Republican, Springfield, Mo.
Topeka Daily Capital, Topeka, Kansas.
Topeka State Journal, Topeka, Kansas.
Wichita Daily Eagle, Wichita, Kansas.
Wichita Beacon, Wichita, Kansas.

Each student of this class in criminology was responsible for clipping the crime news from one daily newspaper. Clippings were mounted on sheets of paper 8 1/2 by 11 inches
on which was indicated the name of the paper, the date, the number of column inches in the clipping, and the page of the paper on which the clipping was found. There were assembled in this manner approximately 2,500 clippings which were used as a basis for this study. This group of dailies were selected so as to represent a fair cross section of the press in this area.

In making the classifications, several tentative and more or less flexible categories were set up as a skeletal outline—an hypothesis or tentative form. This was modified from time to time as the nature of the data found in the clippings seemed to indicate as being advisable. The data determined the specific categories which would subsume themselves under the following outline of classification:

I. Attitudes of the press
   A. Toward the offender and his act.
   B. Toward the offender and his treatment.
   C. Toward the legal machinery.

II. Attitudes of the public
   A. Toward the offender and his act.
   B. Toward the offender and his treatment.
   C. Toward the legal machinery.

III. Attitudes of Officials
   A. Toward the offender and his act.
   B. Toward the offender and his treatment.
   C. Toward the legal machinery.

IV. Attitudes of offenders
   A. Toward their own acts.
   B. Toward their treatment.
C. Toward the legal machinery.
D. Toward the public.

V. Attitudes of offended.

A. Toward the offender and his act.
B. Toward the offender and his treatment.

This represents, of course, a tentative skeleton of categories—general heads. Various other types of categories could have been set up for the classification of these attitudes. Two others were tried out and abandoned because they did not prove adequate or practical when applied to the concrete data.

It will be obvious that many of the categories of specific attitudes will, because of their nature, impinge upon each other; that interrelations of their manifestations make it impossible to establish clear-cut lines of demarcation between them. For example, the attitude of vengeance preempts more or less, or forms one of the major "ingredients" of some attitudes catalogued under other heads. The sporting attitude manifests itself in several ways, and is in given cases tied up rather closely with that of vengeance. There is difficulty in drawing clear-cut distinctions with respect to such attitudes as ridicule, facetiousness, sarcasm, and scorn. However, in assigning expressions of attitude to these latter categories as much as possible of the arbitrary was eliminated.
Several criteria were used in the identification of expressions or other objective data from which attitudes may be inferred. In identification of attitudes expressed by the press, for example, statements of opinion in editorials, size, character and position of headlines, nature of the write-up of the body of the story such as the stressing of certain aspects involved, cartoons, etc., were taken into consideration as criteria.

It will be recognized that the newspapers, due to the rush and hurry of news writing and editing, and to the type of reporter usually handling this field, will abound in stock phrases and words utilized to describe a scene or situation. But the very fact that these have come to be stock phrases is indicative of the further fact that they are in general use as tools to convey meanings. All attitudinal expression is symbolic expression, and these words and phrases are symbols in common use.

There is also the consideration that headlines, being subject to more or less rigid mechanical limitations, cannot be relied upon too much as an adequate or accurate expression of an attitude. This is true, but the constant recurrence of words and phrases in headlines of many types and varying units, and the use of these same words in the body of the story and in editorials are an indication that such words do express attitudes.
Attitudes of the public, of the offender, of officials and of the offended were identified in "Public Mind" letters, acts as described in news stories with reference to a situation involving crime elements, and quotations in the story of opinions expressed by the public, officials, offender and offended.

Under the category "legal machinery" were included laws, judges, attorneys, police, detectives and juries. The categories "press," "public," "offender," and "offended" are so well understood as not to need explanation.

In a study of this nature the subjective factor, which operates in some degree in every type of research, constitutes an element which would, if not guarded against, seriously vitiate the results because of the nature of the objective data involved. Any student is cognizant of the tendency and danger of permitting these subjective factors to operate in the selection and evaluation or interpretation of data. While this is true in all fields of research, it is especially so here because of the nature of the problem. It is hoped that these factors can be so minimized as not to interfere seriously with the validity of the results. They have been consciously and critically minimized as much as possible.

It has been assumed that since the primary interest of the press is to enlarge and enhance its circulation, it
will reflect the prevalent and dominant attitudes of the reading public. Therefore, the majority of the prevalent attitudes expressed in the news columns will represent or reflect roughly the attitudes of the public, or readers. Such attitudes as the sporting, vengeance, warfare, etc., are common to both the public and the press and though they do not appear frequently as direct expressions on the part of the public in the press, they are vitally operative nevertheless.

It is assumed that crime treatment in twenty-one daily newspapers in this region—Kansas and Missouri—is a fair representation of such news printed over this section. Practically every one of the papers studied, if not all, utilize the services of the Associated Press, and some of them make use also of the United Press service. Every crime story that was not purely local and looked upon as relatively unimportant was reported in all of these twenty-one papers.

It is further assumed that while the students who did the clipping in all probability did not clip all the crime material appearing in these newspapers during the four-month period, what they did clip and assemble furnishes a fair or representative sample of press material.

This leads directly into the problem of definition. What is conceived to be an attitude for purposes of this
study? Such a definition, owing to the nature of the
phase of behavior under consideration, and to some diver-
gence of opinion among authorities, may well be preceded
by quoting some typical definitions.

Thomas defines an attitude as the state of mind of
the individual toward a value. By social value he means
"any datum having an empirical content accessible to the
members of some social group and a meaning with regard to
which it is or may be an object of activity." Value, in
plain terms, is anything capable of being appreciated,
such as food, money, a poem, a religious creed. He calls
fear, anger, and hate attitudes.

Shand in his ambitious work THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHAR-
ACTER includes attitudes under sentiment and defines sen-
timent as an organization of the emotions about some par-
ticular object or value, about "some idea, memory or ob-
ject which is, or once was, the focus and the end for
which the original tendencies thus organized exist."

Park and Burgess adopt Shand's conception and use
the term sentiment-attitude which they define as organiza-
tions of original tendencies, the instinct-emotions about
some memory, idea, or object which is or once was the fo-
cus and the end for which the original tendencies thus or-
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1. Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, Florian, The Polish Peas-
ant in Europe and America, Vol. 1, p. 21.
ganized exist. An attitude is the "tendency of the person
to react positively or negatively to a total situation.
The clearest way to think of attitudes is as behavior pat-
terns."¹

Dewey, after discussing at length the dynamic aspects
of habit, admits that the word habit as he has used it may
seem twisted somewhat from its customary use. But he adds,

"We need a word to express that kind of human
activity which is influenced by prior activity and in
that sense acquired; which contains within itself a
certain ordering or systematization of minor elements
of action; which is projective, dynamic in quality,
ready for overt manifestation; and which is operative
in some subdued, subordinate form even when not ob-
viously dominating activity. Habit in its ordinary
usage comes nearer to denoting these facts than any
other word. If these facts are recognized, we may al-
so use the words attitude and disposition."²

Reuter, in a discussion of the nature of attitudes,
their development, their function and their importance to
the sociologist, defines them as the appreciation of a so-
cial value...a tendency toward activity. This fund of
values, he explains, "comprises any and all data that have
a meaning for human activity."³

Warren says, "A mental attitude is a permanent set of
our mental and nervous system which modifies the effect of

¹ Park, R. E. & Burgess, Ernest. Introduction to the Sci-
ence of Sociology, pp. 438-441.
³ Reuter, E. B. The Social Attitude, Jn. Am. Soc. Nov-
Dec. 1923, p. 97.
stimuli and determines how we shall respond." And further, "it is the mental condition which governs the motor posture."¹

Kantor divides attitudes into "intellectual" and "feeling" attitudes. By feeling attitudes he means, "more or less prolonged responses with respect to particular stimuli...reactions that are organized with respect to some particular kind of situation, object of person."² Intellectual attitudes represent "tolerances and intolerances of all sorts, opinions, agreements and disagreements with various movements, etc."³

Bernard says that an attitude "is essentially an incomplete or potential adjustment behavior process. It is the set of the organism toward the object or situation to which an adjustment is called for. When the adjustment is made the attitude disappears, except in so far as it is retained in memory or the habitual set of the organism."⁴ As adjustment proceeds, the behavior is transformed from attitudinal or preparatory into true or successful adjustment behavior. Consequently "attitude and adjustment are not distinguishable except by a process of analysis. Attitudes are omnipresent in behavior."

3. Ibid, p. 84.
L. L. Thurstone remarks that an attitude is a complex affair, that it is elusive when one sets up mechanisms to measure it. In a study which he made recently, he defined attitude as follows: "The concept 'attitude' will be used here to denote the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudices or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic."¹ In this study Thurstone states that "opinions and actions are indices of attitudes." The above definition is rather complicated, but the expression "sum total" indicates his notion of the attitude as a unified organization of inclinations, feelings, notions, etc.

There are discussions of permanent and temporary attitudes, attitudes and moods, sentiments and attitudes, sentiment-attitudes. There are chapters on the relation of attitudes to the instinct-emotion complex. There are discourses on attitudes which have their corresponding emotional counterpart, and Warren furnishes us an elaborate classification of the attitudes arranged in relation to what he conceives to be their emotional bases. Other writers use as terms indicating attitudes the same words which Warren uses to designate emotions.

In the social psychologies attitudes receive various

degrees and amounts of attention ranging from mere mention to a chapter or two; their importance is indicated in different degrees, from casual reference to discourses covering pages. The psychologies, with the exception of a very few recent ones--Kantor, Dunlap and Warren, for example--give relatively little attention to attitudinal behavior. As in the matter of instincts, there are classifications of the attitudes which range all the way from a very few, to elaborate and numerous categories.

While it cannot be affirmed that the contrary notion does not exist, it seems that most of the writers who have attempted to define attitudes and enlighten us concerning their characteristics and nature have largely, if not wholly, ignored the dynamic, shifting, shading, but ever-operating aspect of them. Dewey stresses this, and Bernard points it out. It might be argued that in some of these discussions this aspect was taken for granted or implied, but if so there is little excuse for failing to give it a definite place in such discussions. True, there are phrases used in a few of the discussions which might be taken to imply faintly this characteristic, but reading into the context is sometimes treacherous--as well as presumptive.

But for purposes of this particular study it is neither possible nor desirable to go further into the controversy concerning attitudes, their nature, and their role in
the mental processes. Such an inquiry would constitute a study in itself, a study of much greater magnitude than the scope of the present problem.

In this study an attitude is conceived to be a tendency or readiness to react in a particular or characteristic way toward a situation. The term sentiment-attitude helps one to avoid the tendency to look upon attitudes as separate units of the mental processes, but if we keep in mind the dynamic aspect of them—their blending and combining—it is not necessary to use the combination term sentiment-attitude any more than we need to use the term emotion-sentiment-attitude, or instinct-emotion-sentiment-attitude. It is all one process.

The use of the word "object" in some of the definitions seems questionable, if not inaccurate. We do not have tendencies to react to objects as units; the objects are always a part of a situation. Identical objects in different total situations stimulate different attitudes.

Then the word value while appearing simple, is rather involved and vague in its meaning. Even in economics definitions of value are none too clear, and in the field of sociology they are more involved. At any rate, nothing has value except in its relation to a total situation.
II THE PRESS

It is to be admitted that probably a few of the examples which have been cited to illustrate the expression of a certain attitude might be capable of a slightly different interpretation, but that is true always where objective data are being used to interpret the subjective. An attempt has been made to include only those examples which show fairly definitely the expression of the attitude of the category under which it is subsumed.

These attitudinal categories have been arranged throughout the assembling in order of the prevalence of their expression or frequency in the clippings. In general, only those attitudes which have been found expressed a number of times have been listed. Exceptions have been made in a few cases because of the unique way of expressing an attitude, or the particular source of the expression. However, such attitudes are indicated as not typical.

An indication of the general attitude of the press toward crime news is the fact that an overwhelming proportion of the stories concerning crime were found on page one of the newspapers examined, and many of these stories were given one or the other of the "preferred" right- or left-hand columns. It is true that those who gathered the
clippings might have had a tendency to examine less carefully the inner pages of the newspapers, but, if so, that very tendency is due partly to habit. Their experience with the newspapers has given them this habit.

But, stories of crime which were found on other than the first page were follow-up or re-write stories when a given crime episode was waning a bit in interest, or pertained to criminal acts lacking the elements of the spectacular or "human interest." No definite figures can be given in support of this conclusion, but the practice indicated is an interesting one, and might repay further study.

All underscoring of words and phrases in the excerpts which are selected to illustrate a given attitude is for the purpose of setting out some word or passage which furnishes the motif of the treatment of a particular crime situation.

Before dealing with the more or less specific attitudes concerning the offender, his treatment and the legal machinery, a few examples will be given to illustrate the existence of a general sensational attitude toward the handling of news concerning crime and its treatment.
WHITE COLLAR THIEVES CAUSE GREATEST LOSS

Yeggs Get Bold Headlines, But Their Loot "Chicken Feed" Compared to Quiet Gentry.

Washington, Nov. 5.--It is the bold bandit holding up a paymaster who gets the sensational headlines, but the "big money" in crime goes to the white-collared gentry who prey upon business with few elements of the spectacular.--Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 5, 1927, p. 1.

This is the beginning of a story based on a report of the findings and conclusions of the National Crime Commis-
sion. In the body of the story it is pointed out that "or-
dinary forms of theft do not approach the annual losses caused by fraudulent bankruptcies...Embezzlements and other breaches of trust account for considerably greater losses than bank robberies, highway robberies, payroll grabs and other crimes of violence."

Most of the material illustrating the attitude of the press toward the criminal and his act will come under this head as well as under other categories, but a few typical cases will be cited here.

GANGSTERS IN DARING ATTACK. Six Bandits Undertake To Hold Up 200 At Chicago Dance. A BATTLE ON THE FLOOR. Policemen Guests at Ball Resisted--One Dead and Seven Wounded.

Chicago, Dec. 5.--An attempt to hold up 200 guests at the Parody Cafe today turned into a sensational gunfight with the dance floor as the battle-ground. When police, present as guests, showed fight, the bandits shot their way to the exits and escaped. Six robbers...carrying pistols...black mask...sub-machine guns...the man in the black mask...dropped with four bullets in his body...---Fort Scott Tribune, Dec. 5, 1927, p. 1.
POISON CASE NURSE FACES COURT TODAY. Miss Mary Atkinson Is Arraigned in Death of Enid Girl. Pastor Is Home Reading Bible—Children at School.

In box above main story: (Miss Mary Atkinson was seen to kiss the Rev. Charles Bailey soon after the death of the pastor's wife, it was testified today at the preliminary trial of the 26-year-old nurse on a charge of poisoning Mr. Bailey's daughter, Mary Jane.)—Wichita Beacon, Sept. 28, 1927, p. 1.

The robbery was one of the most sensational in the history of West Texas. Entering the bank with the gang leader disguised in a Santa Claus costume, the robbers held up the employes and patrons and called for money.—Junction City Union, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 1.


Made A Clean Getaway. Apparently the bandits who held up the Abilene National bank during the noon hour last Friday made a clean getaway.... So that he could start without backing and was ready for a quick dash.—Wichita Beacon, Nov. 19, 1927, p. 1.

Pittsburg Police Finally Capture Quartet of Boys After Success of Part of Plans for Careers Rivaling Any Movie Plot.—Four boys of grammar school age were in custody of police tonight after a sensational 12-hour career of crime.—Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

POLICE NAB DESPOILER IN ACT OF KILLING GIRL. Pardoned Murderer of Two Again in Jail. Attacker Caught in Lair of Scrubby Pine, Gnarled Fingers Throttling Throat of Girl.

Portland, Ore.—In a lair of brush and scrubby pine with his gnarled fingers throttling the throat of his intended victim.....

With one hand pressing the life from the young girl, the other raised, holding a hammer, police seized the man as the girl screamed and fell unconscious from his grip.—Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 29, 1927, p. 3.
III ATTITUDES OF THE PRESS TOWARD THE OFFENDER AND HIS ACT

1. Primary Interest in Mystery.

PIECE OF PAPER SOUGHT AS A CLUE TO CRIME RIDDLE

Mysterious Note Carried in Belt Worn by Nev Smith May Solve Mystery of George Klein Murder. MAY BARE STRANGE MOTIVES. Note Holds Key to Killing of Both Klein and Smith, Wichita Chief Believes—B. F. Brown Held.

Wichita, Kan., Nov. 2.—A piece of paper once carried in a secret pocket in a belt worn by Nev Smith holds the secret of the murder of George Klein, wealthy Rancher of Okeene, Okla., Wichita police say. I. B. Walston, chief of police, has ordered that no stone be left unturned to get the paper.---Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1.

MOTIVE FOR KILLING YET IS MYSTERY. Body of Cox Slayer Identified as Alleged Oklahoma Bandit...With the body of the gunman who fatally wounded Chief of Police J. E. Cox, of Dodge City, identified late Wednesday as that of John Waycoff, of Oklahoma, alleged automobile thief, the mystery of why he suddenly fired six bullets into Chief Cox’s body when the latter accosted him near here last Saturday remained today as far from solution as ever.—Dodge City Globe, Nov. 10, 1927, p. 1.


HIDING PLACE OF KILLER IS YET MYSTERY. Youthful Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde Pictured by Police. Leaves Stolen Car. Hunt Continues Unabated for Fiendish Slayer of Young Girl.

Los Angeles, Dec. 21.—While a cloud of clues and false leads today effectively screened the hiding place of William E. Hickman, accused slayer of little Marian Parker, bits of evidence were being fitted together by the police to solve the puzzle of his past.

This evidence, as presented by the police, pictured a youthful Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde—one a neat orderly boy who attended church and Sunday school and never stayed out late at night; the other "the fox" who for weeks planned the carrying out of a cool, cunning and diabolical murder plot for revenge.—Dodge City Globe, December 21, 1927, p. 1.

KEEPSAKE PHOTO HINTS OF FAMILY OF SLAIN BANDIT. Unidentified Man Killed in Dogged Gun Battle Near Garden City
May Have Wife and Two Children. BELIEVED WELL-KNOWN CRIMINAL. Officers Unable to Find Many Clues, However.--Name Miller scratched on Handle of Pistol.

Garden City, Kan., Nov. 7.--Mystery tonight still surrounded the identity of the bandit who yesterday morning chose death from army rifles and police pistols rather than arrest.---Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

Adjacent to the column in which this story appeared was a two-column photograph of the riddled car, with an inset of the mortally wounded bandit pictured propped up in pillows, his face torn by bullets, above which appeared the caption, "Mystery Bandit Died Fighting Gamely."


MYSTERY TRIO GIVEN PRISON TERMS BY HARRIS. Man and Woman Accused of Check Forgeries Refuse to Give Family History.---Efforts to learn of the couple's past history by local officials and attorneys failed and they are leaving this city as mysteriously as they came...Another son of mystery...etc.---Jefferson City Post Tribune, Dec. 21, 1927, p. 1.

NEARING A SOLUTION. New Jersey Murder Mystery May Be Cleared.

Hammonton, N. J. Sept. 26.--With developments moving swiftly in the investigation of the fatal shooting of Dr. A. William Lilliendahl, the authorities said today they were nearing a solution of the mystery. The prosecutor declined to reveal the identity of the suspect or to state whether the person to be charged with the slaying was a man or a woman.

"We are nearing the solution of the crime," said Mr. Repetto, "but are awaiting certain developments, which are being thoroughly investigated."---Junction City Union, Sept. 26, 1927, p. 1.

NO CLUES YET FOUND IN DEATH OF ULYSSES FARMER. Mystery seems as far from solution as ever.---Dodge City Globe Dec. 30, 1927, p. 1.
ANOTHER MYSTERY WITNESS APPEARS IN SINCLAIR CASE.
'Stranger' From Philadelphia Appears Before Government At
torneys to Tell Grand Jury Story.

Washington, Nov. 12.--Another man of mystery appeared
suddenly today in the picture of the oil conspiracy jury
scandal. He was introduced by William J. McMullin, infor-
mer against William J. Burns and his detectives who shadow-
ed the Fall-Sinclair trial jury, but his identity as well
as his connection with the case was carefully guarded by
the federal attorneys.--Springfield Daily News, November
12, 1927, p. 1.

INTO DEATH MYSTERY. Officers Endeavor to Solve Mur-

PROBE MYSTERY IN HANGING OF KILLER SUSPECT. Suicide
or Lynching Death of Los Angeles Youth is Unexplained.--

2. Attitude of Revulsion.

MAN IS SOUGHT FOR BUTCHERING OF TWO WOMEN.
Horrible Crime Believed to Have Been Prompted by Jealousy.

New Orleans, Oct. 28.--A search was under way today
for Henry Moity, former New Iberia, La., butcher shop pro-
pietor and erstwhile commercial artist, who drink-crazed
and jealous, is alleged to have killed his wife and his
brother's wife yesterday by clubbing them over the head
and then hacking their bodies to pieces with a huge knife.

The bodies were found in trunks, face down, with the
severed heads, arms and lower limbs placed around and on
top of the torso. With the body of his wife the slayer
left his weapon, a knife, two feet long and two inches
thick, used in hacking sugar cane stalks. The bodies were
found by insurance agents called to the scene by the Negro
scrubwoman, who found traces of blood.--Wichita Beacon,

All the papers studied played up the horrible side of
this crime. The following excerpt is typical of its treat-
ment:

WOMEN'S BODIES MUTILATED AND LEFT IN TRUNKS.
Evidence Indicates Women Were Hacked to Bits With Huge Cane
Knife While on Bed in Small Room.

New Orleans, Oct. 27.--The bodies of two women crudely dismembered, and packed into two unlocked trunks were found late today in a house in the old French quarter. The heads of the bodies had been severed and the legs crudely chopped so that the remainder of the bodies would fit tightly into the trunks. A bed in one of the rooms apparently had been used for the gruesome operation.---Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1.

Suit Case Found That Contained Blood Stained Towels And Gave Evidence of Brutal Crime.

Los Angeles, Calif. Dec. 19.--Search for the man who tossed the body...at her father's feet...A blood stained Denver-made suitcase...A suitcase was found near where the kidnaper hurled the dismembered body of the girl...When the suitcase was opened it was found to contain bloody towels and newspapers.

The following phrases sprinkled generously throughout the story indicate the dwelling upon the horrible aspects of this crime:

Heel prints...in what appeared to be blood stains, and a group of bloody towels led the police to advance the theory that the house may have been the one in which the little girl was killed, dismembered and disemboweled... Other towels, recently washed...razor blades...crime which has been called the most atrocious in the history of the Pacific Southwest. Torn body of the 12 year old girl was picked up from the street into which The Fox had tossed it...in an alley back of the suspected death house...on which the slayer dropped the dismembered body of little Marian...depositing his gruesome bundle...tossed the horribly mutilated body of little Marian at the feet of her father...was at this house that the body of the school girl was dismembered...---Junction City Union, Dec. 19, 1927, p. 1.

This paragraph was set in bold type and wide lines directly following five inches of large heads and subheads:

In a new confession, amazing for its unrivaled details of brutality, the 19-year-old youth said he strangled the girl with a towel. He knotted it about her throat
and pulled it tightly for two minutes before she was unconscious. Then he took a pocket knife and cut a hole in her throat. The body was cut into pieces in the bathtub of his Bellevue apartment in Los Angeles. Then he combed back her hair, powdered her face and with a needle fixed her eyelids. — Kansas City Times, December 27, 1927, p. 1.

**WAS KILLED IN HOME. Body of Missouri Woman Found In Shed.**

Hamilton, Mo. Oct. 10.—Mrs. Clara Austin, 74, a widow, was found dead in a shed near her home here today. She apparently had been slain and the body dragged from her home to the shed at the rear.

Drops of blood were tracked from her home to the shed, where the body was found in an upright position against the wall. Blood stains were found yesterday morning near a water tower a short distance from the Austin home. — Junction City Union, October 10, 1927, p. 1.

**TOOK RINGS FROM DEAD WOMAN'S HAND TO PAY FOR KILLING**

Milwaukee, Wis. Nov. 14.—Three dollars in cash and two diamond rings stripped from a lifeless hand was the price police said Alvin Greenwalt paid for the slaying of his wife.

Paetzold strangled Mrs. Greenwalt to death as she sat between him and her husband...Death came with a laugh on her lips...as Paetzold's fingers tightened around her neck. There was a moment during which the body flexed under the unrelenting pressure, then...the lifeless body of the 36-year-old woman slid gently to the floor of the car. — Fort Scott Tribune, Nov. 14, 1927, p. 1.

**GIRL, 17, IS SLAIN. Half-Nude Body Found Near Her Home Town Today.**

Washington, Penn. Dec. 31.—The half-nude body of Thelma Young, 17, of Washington, with a deep cut in the forehead over the right eye, was found in a field at the city limits Friday. Blood, splattered over a radius of fifty feet indicated that the girl struggled with her assailant. It was believed that she was killed with a brick, found nearby. The clothing had been ripped from her body, which bore many scratches and bruises. — Topeka State Journal, Dec. 21, 1927, p. 1.

Los Angeles, Dec. 17.—The mutilated body of Marian Parker was tossed out of a motor car tonight in sight of her father. First examination of the mutilated child revealed that both legs had been cut off apparently close to the body.
A wire had been twisted so tightly around the girl's throat that the flesh had been cut deeply. The head of the little girl was exposed, but otherwise was wrapped so that first examination disclosed no further mutilation.---Kansas City Star, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1.

3. Attitude of Admiration.

This attitude is wide-spread in the handling of crime news. Scores of clear-cut examples of it were identified in the clippings. The following excerpts are selected in an attempt to show the various types of laudation and the attributes for which the offender is lauded.

PRISON LIGHT PUT OUT THEN TWO GOT AWAY. Search for Smart Pair That Planned The Escape Well.

This head and sub-head occupied three inches of the six devoted to the story. The story simply recounted the main facts, and there was no mention in the body of the story of "smartness" or "cleverness". This furnishes a good example of an attitude shown in the headlines. The above heads are quoted from the Abilene Daily Reflector, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 1.


GUNMAN DIES IN THRILLING KANSAS DUEL. Dodge City and Garden City Officers Trap and Shoot It Out With Desperado Who Wounded Police Chief. MEETS DEATH WITH SEALED LIPS. Coolly Fights Eight Men in Early Morning Battle in Pasture and Passes Out Refusing to Give His Name.

Following this six inches of headlines is a long story describing the details of the fight in which are the following paragraphs:

He sat up and faced his assailants, shooting with his left hand after he had been shot thru the right hand and continued to return fire to his eight opponents until he was shot so severely he could no longer sit up and fight.

This morning the bandit's captors expressed the greatest admiration for his courage and coolness. He was not shooting wild, they said, but cracking down on them one at a time with good aim.--Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1.

A Well Laid Plot.

...Hickman, the soft-spoken Sunday school boy who suddenly became "The Fox" laid his plans with inhuman foresight and deliberation...He had his awful revenge plot planned out in detail at that time...sat up in bed and grinned and urged the police to "find the fiend that did this."---Kansas City Times, Dec. 20, 1927, p. 1.

A systematically executed holdup today of the Myers & Myers store. The bandits were young and well dressed and worked slowly and methodically, making few remarks.--Kansas City Kansan, Oct. 31, 1927, p. 1.

New York.--The forger has become a good business man, his earlier crudities replaced by modern business efficiency which enables him to work quickly and thoroughly.--Lawrence Journal World, January 11, 1928, p. 1.

Southern California officers settled back for a brief rest today while Seattle police took up the battle of wits with the wily youth who has eluded one of the greatest manhunting machines ever set in motion...mocked the best efforts of the city's trained detectives of criminals...fugitive who has outwitted officers of the entire Pacific coast.---Junction City Union, Dec. 22, 1927, p. 1.

While awaiting trial he proved as slippery as the proverbial eel in a tank of oil. He and another prisoner fashioned revolvers from wood and tinfoil, sawed the lock to their jail, held up guards and escaped...

Lieut. Hanwerk knew of his charge's slippery tendencies and fastened to his left ankle a 40-pound iron ball. One day he entered the cell and found "Hardboiled" with his feet cocked upon the wall, rolling a cigarette complacently.

"Where's the ball?" asked the officer, failing to see it. "It annoyed me," said Mosher coldly. "I threw it out." ---Junction City Union, Nov. 19, 1927, p. 1.


Evil genius of the Marian Parker kidnaping and murder case...after exactly a week of playing a gigantic game of hide and seek with the law.--Wichita Beacon, Dec. 23, 1927, p. 1.

....Who (Hickman) for weeks planned the carrying out of a cool, cunning and diabolical murder plot.---Dodge City Globe, Dec. 21, 1927, p.1.

4. Offender-a-reprobate Attitude.

The words "killer", "fiend," and "brute" are taken as an indication of this attitude on the part of the press. These words are used over and over again in the headlines. This was traced through the press stories carefully because of the obvious objection that space units in headline writing are often a mechanical determining factor which would
vitiate their use to signify attitudes. However, the words were used not only in headlines, which do have more or less rigid limitations, but many times in sub-heads which, because of their much less rigid mechanical limitations, are not subject to choice of words to be fitted into a mold. These words also appeared occasionally in the body of the story. All these factors taken together warrant the use of these words to indicate attitudes.

It may also be objected that "killer," "fiend" and "brute" are more or less common words grabbed up by headline writers—used more from habit—and therefore cannot be relied upon to express attitudes. But surely the very fact that they are current and handy is significant of their being "polished" tools for conveying social attitudes which the press is reflecting.

Another interesting observation in this connection is that the words "fiend," "brute" and "killer" appear in headlines and sub-heads, or in bodies of stories written by special correspondents, or local news writers, but never in an Associated Press story. Not even in the Hickman case did the Associated Press use these words. Nearly every one of the twenty-one daily papers used these words over and over in heads and sub-heads.


POLICE NAB DESPOILER IN ACT OF KILLING GIRL---Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 3.

The killer's shoeprints in soft dirt from the camp fire---From the body of a story by a regular correspondent of the Wichita Beacon, Nov. 12, 1927, p. 1.


WILY FOX ELUDES POLICE PACK LOST IN MAZE OF TRAILS.

The above head, the following sub-head in the story and the succeeding paragraph bring out this attitude that the offender is an animal, beast, hunted outcast:
Find His Lair

Altho the 8,000 police who had been set on the trail were unable to run to earth the man whom they accused of being "the Fox" in the atrocious murder case, they definitely located his lair which he had occupied during the days that....---Wichita Beacon, December 21, 1927, p. 1.


The following were found in the Jefferson City Post Tribune for Dec. 19, 20, 21 and 23, 1927 respectively. They illustrate the use of the word "fiend" in heads of varying unit lengths:

FIEND BELIEVED WELL EDUCATED.
BELIEVE FIEND SLAYER IS NEAR CAPTURE TODAY.
FIEND CONTINUES TO OUT FOX LOS ANGELES POLICE.
TRAIL OF FIEND LEADS SEARCHERS TO PORTLAND.

5. Attitude of Facetiousness.

BUMPED HUBBY OFF IN A NIGHT OF SCRAPPING. This head appeared in the Abilene Daily Reflector of Dec. 8, 1927, p. 1, above a story telling of a wife who killed her husband.

The ancient guild of banditry does not even have respect for the ancient game of golf, states an Associated Press news dispatch relative to a hold-up occurring on the golf links at Tulsa, Oklahoma.---Kansas City Times, Oct. 24, 1927, p. 1.

RAYMOND MOSLEY STIRS 'EM UP BUT FINDS HIMSELF IN JAIL. ---Things got sort of dull around Kunlkin and Lafayette Streets last night and Raymond Mosley determined to start something. Accordingly he took his trusty pistol, walked out on the front porch and fired four shots in the general direction of the stars. Lights flared up all over the
neighborhood and folks ran out to see what it was all about. Somebody thoughtfully notified the police and Raymond was jailed. This morning he was sent to jail for three months on a charge of discharging firearms in the city limits. It will be ninety days before Raymond can wake up the neighbors again.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct. 9, 1927, p. 1.

CIGARETTE CASE HIS DOWNFALL. A New York Woman Makes Good Throws and Captures Burglar.---Joseph Maydura entered Mrs. Alice Houseal's apartment through a window and he thought for a time he would never get out. She threw a heavy cigarette holder at Maydura and floored him for a long Chicago count. He got up. She threw another cigarette case at him and floored him again. He got up. Then Mrs. Houseal threw a third cigarette case which hit the mark but didn't floor Maydura. He was very groggy though. The neighbors called the police who quickly subdued the humbled Maydura.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 23, 1928, p. 1.

FOUND "DESERTED" LIQUOR. ---Somebody is thirsty. Their gallon of corn liquor, supposedly hidden away safely in a hedge fence to the east of town is reposing in the county bastile. Sheriff Griffing, who has developed a very acute sense of smell, took possession of the cached supply of fire-water on a recent scouting expedition.---McPherson Daily Republican, Oct. 5, 1927, p. 1.

KANSAS CITY TOO EXCITING HE SAYS. ---Slugged and robbed three times in one block here, Chester Gainer is going back to the quiet of his farm near Yale, Okla.
"There's too much excitement in Kansas City," he told Judge Carlin P. Smith in municipal court today after appearing against one of the men who robbed him. "I'm going back to Oklahoma at once."

Gainer came here to spend the Christmas holidays visiting friends and shopping. Last night he told police, he was walking north on Main street. Between the Sixth street trafficway and fifth street he was assaulted three different times by three different pairs of holdup men. The first pair knocked him down and took his knife and watch, overlooking $12. The second knocked him down, then took the $12. The third knocked him down, but there was nothing left to take.

Six men were rounded up by the police. One, who gave his name as Howard Fisher was identified by Gainer as one of the first set of robbers. In his pocket police found Gainer's watch and knife. Fisher was fined $200 on a charge of petty larceny. --Lawrence Journal World, Dec. 28, 1927, p. 1.
"Young man," said a gipsy soothsayer to Chester Klinger, "take the first train out of town. If you stay here until tomorrow you will get into trouble."

He didn't—and he did. Twenty-four hours later Klinger and three companions were playing star roles in a special police showup.—Wichita Beacon, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 1.

FRIDAY, THE 13TH BRINGS BAD LUCK.—What may have seemed to be a lucky break for Charles Allen, colored, looked different in the light of Friday the thirteenth, when Allen was taken in charge by officers and lodged in the county jail.

This change in Allen's fortunes when he was arrested in his room at the King hotel and the ring (stolen) found in his possession.—Lawrence Journal World, Jan. 13, 1928, p. 1.

Former City Bastile Inmate Comes Up Again.—Everett Murray played a return engagement in police court again this morning.—Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 28, 1927, p. 1.

Tom Dulle who shot Rosie Hull when she did not immediately assent to his proposal that she "become his gal" was sentenced to nine months in jail. Dulle escaped a prison sentence because the Hull woman refused to prosecute. They have become friendly since the shooting and her sympathy is all with him. He was given until Saturday to wind up his affairs to the extent that he can be gone for nine months.—Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct. 4, 1927, p. 1.

"A gipsy's love is a dangerous thing" may have been the song which rang through the head of exotically costumed Mary Uwanawich who languishes now in durance vile. (in jail for theft.)—Junction City Union, Sept. 21, 1927, p. 2.

The following phrases gleaned from stories are indicative of journalistic levity in crime reporting:

"Everett Murray played a return engagement in police court today."

"Charles R. Jones of Burton, Kan., was a visitor at Justice C. O. Aspengren's court last evening, and after a nice little social visit with the judge, he left for his home after depositing with the court a little offering of $37.50."

The clipping on next page needs no comment.—Springfield Daily News, Nov. 28, 1927, p. 2.
JERSEY TOWN YAWNS AT ‘H. M. T. L.’ INVASION

MAY’S LANDING, N. J., Nov. 27.—The H. M. T. L. (Husband-Murder Trial Legion), is convening again.

The reporters, with sub-sisters, brothers and “trained seals”; the experts, who seem to agree only on the refuting of each other; the high-priced counsel (always referred to as a “battery” or “array”) and the defendants trailing in last.

Naturally, this town is trying hard to arouse itself to the occasion, which will give it a place on the map and front pages for a few days, starting Monday. But, somehow, the place has been sleepy too long to come to quickly enough.

Every vacant room in town has been reserved. Miles of telegraph wire are being strung. Business along Main street is picking up. But boom times for murder trial towns seem over.

There is none of the bustle which marked Somerville, N. J., during the Hall-Mills trial just a year ago. There is none of the excitement which keyed high during the Snyder case in Long Island city.

The supers are the same, for the most part. The price at stake is as high—two lives. But the principals fall short as personalities.

MRS. MARGARET LILLIENDAHL
DEFENDANT

Mrs. Margaret Lilliendahl, famous lead in this joint trial for the murder of her husband, has buck teeth. They are her dominant characteristic.

She lacks the dignity of Mrs. Hall, who was freed by the jury in the Somerville trial; she has none of the steeled, pent-up attractiveness of Mrs. Ruth Snyder, who was convicted in Long Island.

As she faces the battle for her life, it is difficult to conjure her as a woman of passion. It is difficult to imagine that she had been able to attract Willis Beach, her co-defendant, who boasts of his prowess as “fancler of chickens and women.”

Yet that, in gist, is the state’s contention.

As one gazes upon the woman, there comes a sense of pity.

Mrs. Lilliendahl comes of good family. Her people pride themselves on their Revolutionary ancestors. She was reared in fine schools, and had social opportunities.

Yet she was not married until she was 34; and then she was wedded to Dr. A. William Lilliendahl, 48 years her senior.

After a time, the couple, with a son settled in South Vineland, nearby, few knew the woman.

But among the few was Willis Beach.

BEACH was a Don Juan of the countryside. He bragged of his conquests.

The state expects to prove that he and Mrs. Lilliendahl were lovers, and that the husband was murdered to make romance easier.

Both have admitted a clandestine correspondence. It takes a lot of imagination to picture Beach as a dashing Lochinvar.

It is expected that the defendants will stand on Mrs. Lilliendahl’s original story—that her husband was murdered by two men while she and he were out automobiling last September.

Robert H. McCarter, lawyer, who won the Hall-Mills case, will try to repeat with this.

But that doesn’t excite the town much, either. This is a great chicken-raising country; and the local folk seem more interested in the rising price of chickens and eggs, than in the battle of two humans for their lives.

The ministrations of a barber to...
HAD IDLE DREAM. Murder Stops Two Who Hoped for Grand Opera Careers. Youths Accused of Slaying Aged Grandmother of One. HAD ROBBED HER OF $23,000. Then Visited Beauty Parlors and Had Their Hair Marcelled. Penciled Eyebrows, Rouged Cheeks Cause Arrest. (These heads and sub-heads occupied one-fourth of the column devoted to the story.)

St. Louis, Mo.--Dreams of grand opera careers were shattered for Leonard Cota and Howard Kramer today as they faced charges of having slain Cota's aged grandmother, who was strangled to death.

Stains of rouge, which first attracted attention of detectives to them yesterday, were still on their lips and cheeks as they awoke this morning with their marcelled hair awry.

Went To Beauty Parlors.

Thinking that "makeup" was necessary for an operatic career, the two youths had visited beauty parlors and secured "marcels" had their eyebrows penciled and their lips and cheeks heavily coated with rouge.---Topeka State Journal, Nov. 9, 1927, p. 1.

 Practically all the papers carried this Associated Press story, the difference being only in wording and arrangement of headlines to fashion sarcastic thrusts. The picture which appears on the following page was run in many of the papers. This was clipped from the McPherson Daily Republican of November 17, 1927, p. 6. The fact that they killed an "old woman" is played up about as much as the fact of their ideas concerning operatic careers and the necessary "refinements" which must precede such careers.

In the preparation of these cuts as they appear, there is evidence of "doctoring" to accentuate the rouge-eyebrow aspect which arouses suspicion concerning whether or not it has been overdone.
For $27,000 in cash and securities, these two youths killed an aged woman, according to their confession to St. Louis police. They are Leonard Cota (left) of Bennettsville, Ia., and Harold Cramer of Great Falls, Mont. The victim, Leonard's grandmother, Mrs. McKittrick of Zwingle, Ia., kept large sums in the house. Heavily rouged, and with hair marcelled, the youths aroused the suspicions of St. Louis police.

"Burglars loafed Wednesday night, robbing only six places--two homes on College Hill, two in Riverside, and two downtown business places." remarks the Wichita Beacon of December 29, 1927.

A grand jury investigating a score of whippings in Alabama is trying to have brought before it a considerable number of local dignitaries who are reputed to be high up officials of the Ku Klux Klan. It would be interesting to learn how the grand jury and the prosecutor got the idea that the Klan had anything to do with the floggings. We had it straight from one of the lecturers who used to visit this community occasionally on behalf of that organization that the Klan didn't go in for that form of sport. And he was particularly emphatic in declaring that charges to the contrary couldn't be proved."--Editorial in Lawrence Journal World, Oct. 13, 1927, p. 4.
Johnson was charged with possession and transportation of liquor following the breaking up of a meeting along the road south of Chapman where he and a woman with several gallons of liquor were found surrounded by several citizens of Chapman, gathered there, no doubt through curiosity.---Abilene Daily Reflector, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 1.

A "Shiek" Bandit Robs Cafe.---A bandit dressed in the most approved collegiate fashion, hatless, and with a moustache in his brown hair held up the Stiles restaurant shortly after midnight today.---Kansas City Star, Oct. 3, 1927, p. 1.

7. Attitude of Scorn.

CRIME WAVE A MERE RIPPLE. Taking of Jarvis Followed by Petty Thefts. ---Wichita's crime wave simmered down to kid stuff Wednesday night following the arrest of Edwin Jarvis, Piggly Wiggly store bandit.

Five dollars was taken from a small bank at the W. A. Marquess home. The thief overlooked $45, or else could not get it out of the bank. The Boston Inn was pilfered and $3 in pennies was taken.---Wichita Beacon, November 17, 1927, p. 2.

KIDNAPPERS LOSE NERVE. An 8-Year-Old Girl Is Released Shortly After Abduction.---Clinton, Mo.---Dalzell Schuyler, 8, of this city was kidnapped from her home early today and released shortly afterwards at a hotel not far from her home. She was unharmed. After the parents heard a car drive away, they discovered the child was missing. In a few minutes the hotel clerk reported the girl there.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 23, 1928, p. 1.

A thief, whose technique was to hurl a rock through the store window and then take whatever he could reach, shattered the display windows of two jewelry stores and a fruit market early Sunday morning, but obtained little loot for the risk he took. A telephone operator saw him break the window of the fruit store and notified the police, but the thief escaped.---St. Joseph Gazette, Sept. 26, 1927, p. 1.

ARREST HALTS GAY DANCE OF WORKING GIRL. New York.---For four years Miss Anne Magovern danced down the prim--
rose path—danced to a $50,000 tune though her earnings during that period aggregated $12,000—and today she was called on to pay the piper.

At night, however, she emerged from the drab chrysalis of the business world, a brilliant moth fluttering to the brightness of the singing lights.——St. Joseph Gazette, Oct. 2, 1927, p. 1.

BOY MAKES DIFFICULT THEFT, THEN ABANDONS CAR HE STOLE.——. They were only a short distance away from the car when it was stolen, but were unable to reach it in time to prevent the robbery. Yesterday evening it was learned that the car had been abandoned on the small dirt road near town. Evidently the youth who had taken it had developed "cold feet."——Fort Scott Tribune, Oct. 24, 1927, p. 1.

54-YEAR-OLD DON JUAN IN WICHITA JAIL.——B. F. Germain, known to police as a twentieth century Don Juan, and said to have proposed marriage to wealthy women of six states for the purpose of persuading them to invest money in some of his alleged get rich quick schemes, was arrested by police.

Germain, a man of 54, dressed even better than Prince Dimitri of Wichita and national fame, has been shadowed by members of the department for nearly a month. He admits having served a year in the Ohio penitentiary, however. "But why bring that up?" Germain asked.——Wichita Beacon, Dec. 28, 1927, p. 1.

IV ATTITUDE OF PRESS TOWARD OFFENDER AND HIS TREATMENT.

1. Vengeance.

The attitude of "getting even", making the criminal "pay" is predominant in our treatment of the offender. It is hardly enough to say that it is predominant; it is all but universally held. It manifests itself in various ways. The press displays this attitude mainly through editorials and the use of headlines.
The following quotation from an editorial by H. L. Mencken will serve as a sort of introduction to this section devoted to attitudes of the press toward the offender and his treatment:

If the criminal's art is irrational, then society's reaction to it is equally irrational. This fact blew up the work of the old-time criminologists. They accepted the current scheme of punishments, but tried to purge it of revenge. They found very quickly that revenge was an essential part of it—that no criminal would ever be brought to justice if there were not somebody in the background, full of strong feeling against him. When the crime that is proceeded against is one that seems to offer a menace to the general security—that is, when every citizen feels that he is himself in danger unless something is done about it—then that feeling is generally dispensed; and we have a spectacle such as was witnessed during the Leopold-Loeb trial, with a District Attorney applying all the art of forensics to the undoing of the accused, the press full of inflammatory stuff about them, and even the ambassadors of Christ snorting and bawling from the pulpit against them. It is idle to say that such a process is rational. It is as full of pure emotion as a necking match. Its aim is to discharge emotions; not to establish and enforce a scientific fact.


MILLIKIN PAYS FOR MURDER.---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 5, 1927, p. 1.


Ossining, N. Y.---Mrs. Ruth Snyder and Henry Judd Gray illicit lovers, died in the electric chair of Sing Sing prison seven minutes apart last night.


NO SYMPATHY FOR HICKMAN.---Precaution Will Be Taken Against Maudlin Sympathy For Kidnaper. Los Angeles, Cal.---Once Edward Hickman is safely behind prison bars here to await a speedy trial for the kidnapping and murder of Marian Parker, no sentimentally inclined persons will be permitted to create maudlin sympathy for the glib-tongued "fox" by showering favors on him.

Extra precautions will also be taken to prevent any repeated attempt on the part of the indicted kidnaper-murderer to cheat justice by taking his own life.---Kansas City Star, Dec. 29, 1927, p. 1.


Excerpt from story in Kansas City Star, January 5, 1928:

In accordance with custom, neither Mrs. Snyder nor Gray was present. They awaited the outcome in their Sing Sing cells which they are scheduled to leave a week from today to pay the extreme penalty for murder.


LEWISES AT END OF TRAIL.---The Lewises, who looted the Liberty National of about $600,000 victimizing life-long friends, and then smugly claimed the protection of technicalities in the banking laws, now must pay the penalty.---Kansas City Star, Nov. 29, 1927, p. 1.


In an editorial relative to the handling of the case of Adolf Hotelling who murdered a five-year old girl in Michigan, the Kansas City Star says, "It is unfortunate, as the judge in this case was inclined to believe, that the death penalty could not be inflicted in the state for such a terrible crime." ---January 20, 1928, Editorial page.


Experience has shown that the only way in which society can protect itself against those who conspire against its laws and conventions is through the infliction of prompt and harsh punishment. The only control
society can possibly have over the criminal is the control of terror. He seems to be amenable to no other force.---Quoted from the Kansas City Star. (Editorial opinion of the Spokane, Wash., Spokesman-Review.) Date not recorded.

The above is not only a good example of the attitude of vengeance, but also evidence to support the conclusion that scientific attitudes have not made much headway against emotional reactions.

HARD JURIES WANTED

The youth of so many present day criminals shocks Fritz Kreisler and he concludes that the generation growing out of the war is hard-boiled. Yet even if he is right the situation is not without compensations. Criminals in all ages are as tough as the limit without needing any war heritage to make them tougher.

But a hard-boiled generation should produce judges and juries as hard as its criminals. So if Mr. Kreisler is right, we may yet get juries to stop weeping over vicious criminals and start soaking them.---Kansas City Times, Jan. 18, 1928, Editorial page.

He (the average man) would have criminal processes so swift and sure, and the punishments so severe that such persons would restrain themselves. If they proved unable to do so he would have them committed to prison for the protection of society, first through the restraining influence their punishment would exert on other potential criminals.---Editorial, Kansas City Star, Jan. 8, 1928.


SLAYING SUSPECT SLIPS THROUGH POLICE NET.

The above headline thrown across across the front page in inch letters is typical of the group of dailies studied in the handling of the Hickman Kidnaping and murder. It rather epitomizes expressions of the "pursuit"
attitude as displayed in the press. Beneath this streamer are a number of small heads, among which are: K. C. YOUTH IS OBJECT OF BIG COAST SEARCH; Man Believed Hickman Escapes Capture by a Minute.

Los Angeles, Dec. 20.--A man believed to be William Edward Hickman, named by the police as the slayer of Marian Parker, driving what the police think is his second stolen automobile, slipped through a tremendous police dragnet this morning and escaped capture by a minute.---Dodge City Globe, Dec. 20, 1927, p. 1.

GIRL'S SLAYER ELUDES POLICE. Hickman Slips Through Los Angeles Police. Suspected Accomplice, Held in Jail, Makes Desperate Attempt to Escape.

Los Angeles, Dec. 20.--William Edward Hickman, marked by police as the slayer of kidnapped Marian Parker, still was at large late today. Approximately 8,000 men are scouring the metropolitan area for the accused slayer who at dawn is believed to have slipped through their fingers in the downtown business district.---Before they could reach that intersection the fugitive, without slowing down spun east and escaped in the darkness.

A false report that the slayer had been captured threw central police station into frenzied confusion here just before 8 o'clock this morning. The fever heat of one of the greatest man hunts on record broke only for a minute or two, however, and the great drive went on again as the flash came that the word was wrong.

All the agencies of the law in metropolitan Los Angeles were unleashed today and set upon the trail of one mere boy.---Junction City Union, Dec. 20, 1927, p. 1.


BIG SEARCH FOR ALLEGED KILLER. Hunt Beach in Connection With Lilliendahl Murder Case. FIND NEW WITNESSES. Their Evidence May Prove Important, Is Belief.—Hammondton, N. J. Sept. 29.—Search for Willis Beach...spread to four states today...found new evidence...might prove important in the solution of the mystery.—Fort Scott Tribune, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 1.

WILY FOX ELUDES POLICE PACK LOST IN MAZE OF TRAILS.—Wichita Beacon, Dec. 21, 1927, p. 1

ON HOT TRAIL IN LEON DEATH. Officers Expect to Solve Murder Soon.—Wichita Beacon, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1.

MAN HUNT IN AIR. Airplane Is Used in Seeking Texas Bank Bandits. Two Machine Guns Brought to Scene by Rangers. Graham, Texas.—An airplane took the air today to aid in a posse of more than 150 men in a hunt for the two fugitive Cisco "Santa Claus" bank robbers. The decision to use the plane was reached after it was ascertained the robbers were at bay near the river and had a plentiful supply of ammunition.—Wichita Eagle, Dec. 29, 1927, p. 1.

The element of suspense is much emphasized by the press in its treatment of crime. The following headlines illustrate it, and they are typical of the papers studied:

TRAIL OF FIEND LEADS SEARCHERS TO PORTLAND. Man Believed To Be Hickman Presented One of Bills Given By Father of Slain Girl. ARREST NEAR POLICE BELIEVE. Trail is Warming Up and Despite His Cleverness They Expect a Quick Arrest. --Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Dec. 22, 1927, p. 1.

The papers studied, having relied for the most part on the Associated Press for news on the progress of the pursuit and capture of Hickman, carried almost identical stories. There were, of course, variations in heads and sub-heads, and some papers printed more stories than others. After several days of following the chase, getting thrills out of the suspense, we are let in on the "kill" in a very detailed way. Here is a typical handling of the final "round up":

Pendleton, Ore.---William Edward Hickman, sought as kidnaper and slayer of Marian Farkor, 12-year-old Los Angeles girl, was captured at Echo, Ore., today, after a spectacular automobile race along the Columbia river.

...Sharp turn in the highway...light their pipes...green car approaching...switched plates...hailed the driver and gave chase. Drawing up alongside he was covered...gun between his legs...a sawed-off shotgun dropped to the running board, etc.---Junction City Union, Dec. 22, 1927, p. 1.

Some of the papers printed pictures of the "exact spot" at which the quarry was run to earth. The Kansas City Times of December 23, p. 5, published a map of the Western Coast section presumably for illustrating the terrain of the chase, locating the place where the "kill" took place headed by the following caption: A NATIONAL MAN HUNT ENDS NEAR A LITTLE OREGON TOWN. This same paper on December 29 carries a picture of the exact spot of the "quarry's" capture.

The administration of the criminal law in the United States is a disgrace to civilization. The trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance with all the chances in favor of the criminal, and if he escapes, he seems to have the sympathy of a sporting public.

OIL TRIAL HONORS EVEN

Defense and Prosecution Clash Over Admitting Testimony.
Each Wins Three Tilts--Part of Kidwell's Story Goes Out
In Wrangle After the Government Rests.

Washington, D. C.--Honors in the legal battle to eliminate much of the government's evidence from the record of the criminal contempt proceedings against Harry F. Sinclair, William J. Burns and their four associates were even when court recessed today after hearing seven motions by defense counsel to strike out parts of the testimony.

Of the seven motions the government won three, the defense three and the court took the seventh under advisement over night. From point of importance, however, the government was leading the defense.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 31, 1928, p. 1.

LAWYERS IN CLASH. Famous Wichita Murder Case Is Legal Battle. Wichita, Kans.---The sixth day of the trial of Theodore Oswiler, Jr., charged with killing his sweetheart developed into a spectacular battle of attorneys.---Junction City Union, Nov. 22, 1927, p. 1.

SIDES LINE UP FOR BATTLE IN HICKMAN TRIAL

Los Angeles, Calif.--One father against another. Four alienists against seven...These were the opposing battle lines, assuming sharp contradistinction today as the opening of the case of the people of California Against William Edward Hickman drew near.---Wichita Eagle, Jan. 23, 1928, p. 1.


NEW MOVE FOR HICKMAN. A Change of Venue to Try Him Elsewhere is Sought.---Kansas City Star, January 12, 1928, p. 1


ARGUMENTS STOP A TRIAL FOR MURDER. Attorneys Clash in Opening of Morrison Hearing at Bartlesville...Hotly Contesting every issue, attorneys caused an adjournment of the court session.---Independence Daily Reporter, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1.

LAWYER'S WITS BEST WOMAN IN COURT BATTLE.--Wichita Beacon, October 16, 1927, p. 1.

FALL DEFENSE WINS A POINT.--Junction City Union, Oct.


TO INTERVIEW SCHOOLMATES OF HICKMAN. Attorney Walsh Starts Search For Evidence In Kansas City To Show Fiend Is Insane. PROSECUTION TO CHECKMATE HIM. Will Obtain Evidence That He Was Sane--Copy of Confession Is Refused Attorney.

Los Angeles, Jan. 7.--A search through the middle west for evidence to aid in determining the sanity of William Edward Hickman was started today as attorneys hurried eastward armed with court stipulations permitting them to gather testimony regarding the boyhood and school life of the confessed kidnaper and slayer.

Costello will attempt to gather evidence for the prosecution which will offset any found by Walsh for the defense.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Jan. 7, 1928, p. 1.


Washington, Nov. 22.--A new and surprising move in the Fall-Sinclair oil trial jury inquiry is under consideration by United States Attorney Peyton Gordon. Its precise nature is not divulged but it was known...Despite the air of

expectancy that a surprising action was being planned by the federal attorney, Gordon refuses to discuss the subject, although he said he had spent the day in working on the case.---McPherson Daily Republican, Nov. 22, 1927, p.1.

FOUR DEFENSE LINES. Walsh Outlines Possible Hickman Pleas In Parker Case.

...The legal roads open to a defense of Hickman on a plea of insanity are founded on new sections of the penal code.---Kansas City Times, Dec. 31, 1927, p. 1.


Criminal trials, if they are gory and obscene enough make capital shows--perhaps the best shows that the average human being can imagine. They offer hunting in the grand manner; their quarry is man... Thus, even when mobile vulgus is not enraged against the criminal, and hence eager to see him barbarously used, it is delighted by the drama of the battle that goes on over him. Such battles make heroes. 1

Eyes Of Nation Now Turned To Washington Where Climax Of Famous Teapot Dome Lease Case Will Soon Be Staged.---Both Fall And Sinclair Confident Of Acquittal Despite Supreme Court Ruling. A part of the sub-heads in five inches devoted to heads above a story in the McPherson Daily Republican of Oct. 18, 1927, p. 1.

Pitted against each other in what promises to be the most spectacular court drama in the history of California, will be the two fathers, whose offspring were the central figures in a stark crime that numbed a nation with horror. ---Wichita Eagle, January 23, 1928, p. 1.

That the state expects to completely demolish the defense of Hart (murder trial), was evidenced from the opening words of the county prosecutor.... But it was not until he reached the end of his preliminary speech that the county prosecutor uttered the charge which created a sensation in the courtroom crowded with onlookers.---Wichita

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The Independence Daily Reporter of Oct. 12, 1927, carried column cuts of six individuals connected with the Lilliendahl murder case of New Jersey, above which appeared the caption: LILLIENHDAHL CASE HEADLINERS. Below this group of cuts appeared the following:

Prominent figures in New Jersey's Lilliendahl murder case are pictured above. Top, Mrs. Lilliendahl and her lawyer, C. M. Phillips; center, Postmaster William Tamberlain of Vineland, N. J., and his wife; below, Prosecutor Hinkle and Detective Black.

Washington, Nov. 2. --Another startling chapter in the dramatic story of the naval oil lease was close today with the declaration of a mistrial in the hearing of criminal conspiracy charges against two of the foremost actors in the long drama, Albert B. Fall and Harry F. Sinclair. --Springfield Daily News, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1.

5. "Warfare" Attitude.

This attitude is indicated by traditional war terminology.

THE WAR ON CRIME.

It is gratifying picture which Police Commissioner Warren paints of the fight his department is making against crime. --Kansas City Times, Jan. 10, 1928, Editorial. Quoted from an editorial in the New York World.

THREE OFFICERS TWO BANDITS ARE HURT IN BATTLE. --Wichita Beacon, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1.
OFFICIALS SCORE IN GANG WAR. Police Win First Skirmish in Effort to Smother Underworld Flames. TRUCE IS DENIED. Chicago, Nov. 22.--The police scored first today in the grim war to the death... One gangster was dead from a bullet.--Wichita Eagle, Nov. 22, 1927, p. 1.

AIR ATTACK ON MOONSHINERS IS OPENED. Mississippi Valley Chosen For Experiments in Marking Still and Opening Machine Guns on Outfits. Washington, Nov. 12.--An air attack against moonshiners is being planned by the prohibition bureau.--Springfield Daily News, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1.

WAR TIME ATMOSPHERE IN COLORADO STRIKE FIELDS. Denver, Colo., Nov. 8.--A wartime atmosphere prevailed. night of suspense... guarded jails... signal flares... camps of strikers... muster scores of special officers.... took up positions on nearby hills... Dusk found these camps marked by fires... flares... occasional rocket... mobilizing to attack.--Fort Scott Tribune, Nov. 8, 1927. p. 1.

BESIEGED NEGRO SHOOTS 13 MEN. One Victim is Dead, and Another Expected to Die of Wounds. TEAR BOMBS ARE USED Finally Killed by Detective After Battle During Which Many Shots Were Fired. The story was full of phrases of which the following are typical: Barricaded in his home... weak from tear gas attacks and wounds... last stand... rushed to a window to check a flank attack... The scene of the battle... armored police car was driven to the side of the house... bombs rained through windows... poured a volley.--St. Joseph Gazette, Oct. 11, 1927, p. 3.

SURRENDER ENDS SIEGE AT PRISON. Eleven Men are Killed When Folsom, Cal., Convicts Make Break. TROOPS CALLED OUT. Folsom Prison, Calif.--One of the most spectacular prison rebellions in the history of California came to a peaceful end here today when several hundred convicts who had barricaded themselves in a cell house and fought national guardsmen and civil officers in a pitched battle that resulted in the loss of eleven lives, surrendered to Warden Court Smith.

The revolting convicts laid down the guns with which they had held an army of more than 500 men at bay and released the four guards they had held as hostages.--Lawrence Journal World, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1.

BOSTON POLICE IN FIERCE GUN FIGHT. Officers Storm
House Where Barricaded Quartet Withstands 5-Hour Siege.

Boston, Nov. 29.--With machine guns, rifles, and pistols thirty-five policemen rained a steady fire...effort to capture...barricaded...spatter of bullets...besieged house returned the police fire...met by volley of pistol shots...reserves were brought out...Under cover of fire...throwing tear bombs...rushed the stairway and captured...The battle had been on five hours before the final dash of the police squad ended hostilities. There was one casualty on the police side.---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 29, 1927, p. 9.

Odessa, Tex., Nov. 25.--First blood in Texas' war on bank bandits was drawn here early this morning...riddled with bullets...refused to surrender...dropped in their tracks. The immediately charged the two and ordered them to give up. They started to show fight, but before they could act, they were dropped by the hail of shot.---Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1.

Charges against Dainels result from a gun battle with police here two months ago, when he and his associates were surprised while robbing a jewelry store. His companions escaped while he engaged the officers in battle.---Lawrence Journal World, Nov. 30, 1927, p. 1.

FIGHT BATTLE WITH BANDITS. Philadelphia, Oct. 15.--A man was killed and two were wounded today when two bank guards, two bank officials and three policemen fought off five holdup men who attacked an armored car carrying bank funds. Lindsey was shot and is in a serious condition.---Junction City Union, Oct. 15, 1927, p. 1.

CHICAGO WILL FIGHT CRIME WITH SCIENCE.---Chicago, Sept. 28, 1927.---Chicago is preparing to fight crime with science.---Abilene Daily Reflector, Sept. 28, 1927, p. 1.

PRISONERS GIVE UP WHEN FACED BY MILITIAMEN. Unconditional Surrender Follows Warning of Impending Attack by Tanks. 9 IS REVOLT DEATH TOLL. List of Wounded Mounts to 22 As Enforced Calm Setslves Over Pen. Hundreds of militiamen armed with rifles and machine guns formed a cordon around the building.

Half-Hour Ultimatum.

He gave them a half hour to make up their minds to surrender...machine guns and tanks...unconditional surrender.
Like A Battlefield.

Soldiers with rifles, machine guns, trucks and cannon; ambulances and hospital outfits—all lent to the picture a military tinge. Prisoners...guards...militia...caring for wounded and burying the dead...check up of casualties.---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1.

6. Morbid Attitude.

The attitude of vengeance is also shown in the examples given.

MILLIKIN PAYS FOR MURDER.---State Prison, Huntsville, Tex.—Avery Vaughn Millikin, 39, at 4:41 a.m. today was taken dead from the electric chair following five shocks of 1,800 volts each.

Millikin sat in the chair at 4:30 a.m. After three shocks, at 4:38, L. H. Bush, prison physician announced he was still breathing. Warden Speer again pulled the switch and life was extinct.---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 5, 1927, p. 1.

TWO SLAYERS PAY EXTREME PENALTY.---At his execution, the former corset salesman (Judd Gray), looked directly into the faces of the awed witnesses numbering almost two score.....

She (Ruth Snyder) walked to the death-dealing chair and seated herself in it with little direction from two matrons accompanying her. They held her arms. She closed her eyes as she slipped into the electric chair.....Just before the black mask, the last detail of the final arrangements, was placed over her face.....Gray's last words were not audible but it was certain that his lips were moving in prayer as the current was applied....the bodies were given into the hands of the relatives.

Autopsies on the bodies of Mrs. Ruth Snyder and Henry Judd Gray disclosed that the brains of both were normal.---Lawrence Journal World, January 13, 1928, p. 1.

In a story of a fight with a man suspected of being a thief, is the following paragraph:

His right cheek shot away, his shoulder muscles ripped open by a bullet, the fingers of his right hand hanging by shreds as the result of a dum-dum bullet* and with

* Note: These bullets are outlawed in "respectable" wars.
numerous other wounds in various parts of his body, the gunman continued to return the officers' fire until weakness overcame him and he rolled over on his back.---Dodge City Globe, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

Accompanying this story was a picture of the mortally wounded bandit propped up in pillows, his chest and arms bare in order to show the gaping wounds, and the face begrimed and torn by bullets. This cut was approximately four by six inches in size.


To economize space, examples of this attitude on the part of the press will be confined to a few, primarily because they have to be treated more in detail and more fully than others. The following, clipped from the Wichita Beacon of December 8, 1927, p. 1, will serve to illustrate this attitude:

"WIFE BEGGED FOR DEATH" - HART. This headline, blazoned out in inch-and-a-quarter bold-face type entirely across the front page, was followed by WIFE STROKED HIS CHEEK AS HE KILLED HER. Then the sub-head, Eureka Killer Tells Dramatic Story.

Eureka, Kan. Dec. 8.—How his wife stroked his cheeks and told him she loved him as he killed her, was told to a court room crowded with breathless listeners here today by Ivan M. Hart, who took the stand in his own defense in his trial for the murder of his bride of three weeks. "She craved death," Hart said. "When we were engaged she made me promise that if she ever became an expectant mother, I would kill her. Shortly after our wedding, she
said she was in that condition and told me to kill her. I would not do it."

The above paragraphs of the story were set in bold type.

Begged for Death.

"We met at the station, and drove around the country for a few minutes. We came to Lover's Lane, and she suggested we stop there. At once she began again urging me to kill her. I told her I couldn't do it because I had no weapon. She looked around and pulled from behind the cushion of the seat an old knife I had used that morning to clean spark plugs. She opened it and handed it to me.

"'Use this', she whispered, pressing it into my hand. Then she leaned over against me as confidingly as a child against its mother and put her finger on her neck.

"'Cut right here," she said.

"I felt myself dazed as if my mind was leaving me. I raised the knife and put its blade against her white throat. Then, as she felt the sharp point against her skin she raised her face to mine, stoked my cheeks with her hand, and said, almost with ecstasy, it seemed, 'Oh, Ivan, I love you!'

Death Didn't Come.

"I slashed the knife across the throat..." and so on for thirty-nine column inches.

SCANDAL STORY TOLD ON STAND. Caretaker at Remus Home Tells of Seeing F. L. Dodge.

Excerpts from the story: Three times Dodge and Mrs. Remus were seen together at the Remus mansion here while the master of the house served a penitentiary sentence... and upon two occasions Dodge tried to hide his identity.

"What did you do?"

"I just took a good look."

..."Yes, I saw Dodge from the outside of the house and he drew the shade down before my face."

"Who else was there?"

"Mrs. Remus."---Fort Scott Tribune, Nov. 29, 1927, p.1

MARY ATKINSON LOVED TO KISS RECTOR'S BALD SPOT.

Enid, Okla.---Mary Atkinson, 26-year-old trained nurse kissed the Rev. Charles Bailey frequently in the presence of his family, hugged him, and was wont to sit on the arm of his chair and fondle the minister, pat his hair and kiss his bald spot.

Following the above bold-type paragraph are a couple of short paragraphs merely mentioning the pertinent facts in the murder case, then such phrases as the following are found:

"On the morning after your mother died, did you see your father and Miss Atkinson together?"

"Yes."

"Where were they?"

"In father's bedroom."

"How long were they there?"

"I woke at six and when I left at seven they were still there."

"What were they doing?"

"Father was still in bed."

This is practically all the direct testimony given in the whole story one column in length, indicating that selection had been made of the "most juicy" morsels by the press.---Wichita Beacon, September 28, 1927, p. 1.
8. Moralizing Attitude.

Relatively, there is not much evidence of the moralizing attitude in press stories concerning crime. The papers, apparently, are more interested in the spectacular phases of crime, and do not stop to moralize.

THE PENALTY JUST. Mrs. Snyder and Gray Realized the Enormity of Their Crime. A LESSON TO THE WORLD. Part of the heads and sub-heads of a story of last few hours of life for Mrs. Snyder and Judd Gray, which appeared in the Kansas City Star of January 13, 1928, p. 1.

Immediately below two one-column cuts of recently apprehended bandits, Harold DeWitt and Charles Witt, occurs this statement:

Lansing, Kan.--The way of the transgressor is hard, the two automobile bandits who killed Sheriff Govan Mills at Syracuse, Kan., have decided. They are facing the prospect of prison walls the remainder of their lives.---Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 23, 1927, p. 1.

YOUNG FINANCIAL WIZARD LANDS BEHIND JAIL BARS.

...He had a beautiful home, charming wife, talented and alert children; virtually everything men strive to attain. Today he looks through prison bars. His face is lined with worry and remorse. For company, he has a drug addict, a forger, and a petty thief.

Blames Gambling.

Gambling tables and poor investments claimed the rest. (A large cut of the man accompanies the article.)--Emporia Gazette, Oct. 24, 1927, p. 1.


This attitude is implied in much of the press material on crime—in other attitudes which are expressed, opinions in editorials, etc. The attitude of vengeance presupposes it for example. The example below is taken from an editorial in the Kansas City Star of January 19, 1928. It is quoted because it epitomizes this attitude of the press; also of the public and officials:

The difficulty lay inside the man. Little protection can be afforded such a character, save what the individual through practice of self-restraint can provide. A fool-proof world is out of the question. Good and bad are met at virtually every turn a person makes. Whether the influence shall come from one or the other depends upon the individual, wholly upon him.

Environment for younger people as well as older persons should be made as wholesome as is humanly possible. An even greater effort should be directed toward getting the individual right on the inside. But in some cases, fortunately only a few, little can be done either way. In the final analysis, the individual must be held accountable for his acts. If that principle is not accepted and emphasized, there can be no guarantee of the safety to society.

10. Scientific Attitude.

This attitude is conspicuous by its absence. The following examples represent the only indication of this attitude displayed in the 2,500 clippings:

TRACING CRIME BACK TO THE CRADLE.

While punishment for crime is essential, and must be insisted upon, the conviction is growing that prevention
is less expensive and far more effective. Prevention can come only when as a result of thorough study, the causes of crime have been determined. Considerable effort yet is required in the latter direction. As to the influence, in general, of certain factors, there seems to be little question.

Recently a division of the New York state crime commission has gone rather fully into this matter. Members of the subcommission, whose tentative report has been made public, spent nearly a year in individual studies of 145 criminal cases....

Several causes that were listed separately as a matter of convenience may be included under a single head. That is a failure to afford young people wholesome training and environment.---Kansas City Times, January 6, 1928, Editorial page.

FOR MORE LIGHT ON CRIME.

...Crime is one of the major problems of the nation today, yet there is scarcely any important question about which there is less information, of an extensive and dependable nature.

...What is believed by its sponsors to be the most thorough effort thus far undertaken is a national study now in progress by a group selected by the Social Science Research Council. The investigation, which will not be completed for several months, is being financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

...What the facts are and what use may be made of them in criminal procedure, in enforcement and administration of the law, in the handling of criminals in prison, in the social, economic and other influences that have to do with crime, are questions which it is aimed to establish. It is not assumed that any or all of these questions will be settled permanently. The main purpose is to point the way to more effective action, both in punishment and prevention of crime.

V. ATTITUDE OF PRESS TOWARD THE LEGAL MACHINERY.

1. Complimentary Attitude.

TWO ARE DEAD AS BANK GANG IS SHOT DOWN. Texas Officers Killed 'Em Right on the Job.---Abilene Daily Reflector, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1.

BAD CHECK ARTIST PICKED UP TODAY.--Fine work on the part of Fred Howard, member of the local police department resulted this morning in picking up of A. Julian.--Independence Daily Reporter, Sept. 27, 1927, p. 1.

SPEED BANDITS TO PRISON. Less Than 24 Hours After Bayard Holdup, Brothers are Sentenced.--Kansas City Times, January 31, 1928, p. 1.

MADE BIG LIQUOR RAID. Largest Ever Held in Saline County Saturday.--What is characterized as the largest raid ever held in Saline county was touched off Saturday Night when Sheriff E. R. Nelson and deputies threw out a net that brought in 11 Salina men within a few hours. A large quantity of liquor and two automobiles were included in the haul, it was announced.--Abilene Daily Reflector, Dec. 8, 1927, p.1.


LAWRENCE POLICE HAD BUSY YEAR.--Made Larger Number of Arrests for Prosecution Elsewhere.--The activity and efficiency of the Lawrence police department in the last year is indicated by the fact that a total of 156 persons were arrested by the department and released to other authorities for prosecution. These arrests were in addition to the regular duties of the police department.--Lawrence Journal World, Jan. 9, 1928, p. 1.

Ernest Hasty, 19, returned to Ottawa from California after a two months absence to find that county and police officials have a long memory.--Ottawa Herald, Nov. 11, 1927, p. 1.


SHERIFF MAKES LIQUOR CLEANUP IN PHILLIPS COUNTY is the caption appearing above a six by seven-inch picture showing many barrels, kegs and jugs of liquor and the sheriff who had made the haul.--Topeka Daily Capital, Dec. 4, 1927, p. 2.
SPEEDY JUSTICE GIVEN TWO WOMEN SLAYERS.—Wisconsins

Court machinery moved swiftly today, sending Alvin Greenwaldt and Arthur Petzold to prison for life less than 24 hours after they confessed to conspiring and slaying Greenwaldt's wife.—Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1.

STATE JUSTICE SPEEDIEH THAN WAS SUPPOSED. Kansas Judicial Council Reports Few Criminals Escape Conviction. Topeka, Dec. 31.—Justice is both speedier and more certain in the Kansas Courts than generally has been supposed...Criminals are brought to trial much more promptly than was believed.—Wichita Beacon, Dec. 31, 1927, p. 1.

The thrilling gun battle in which eight officers boldly walked when they approached what they thought was Chief Cox's deserted car is still the only topic of talk in this community.—Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 8, 1927, p. 1.

SWIFT AND SURE JUSTICE.

The dispatch with which the Adolph Hotelling case has been handled in Michigan should serve as a wholesome example of criminal procedure for the entire country. Within less than a week after the commission of a brutal crime the guilty man has been tried and sent to prison for life. Two-thirds of this limited period elapsed before the criminal was arrested, due to no fault of officers of the law, but to difficulty in obtaining clues which would permit tracing the guilty person.

The guarding of the prisoner against possible mob violence, his arraignment, trial, conviction and start to the state penitentiary all were marked by a promptness and efficiency calculated to inspire confidence in law enforcement, the courts and the whole procedure of dealing out justice.

Here was American justice of another, a genuine kind. The country must have a lot more of it if it is to bring an abrupt halt to crime.—Kansas City Times, Jan. 20, 1928, Editorial page.

2. Condemnatory Attitude.

A CHALLENGE TO THE JURY SYSTEM

Such failures as that of the third trial of Frank De Mayo and Robert Carnahan in the federal courts seriously
challenge the jury system, at least the provision of the system that requires a unanimous verdict in all criminal trials.

The prestige of the jury system, designed to make secure the very best standards of justice, has been seriously impaired by many results of jury trials in recent years, such as the verdict in the Remus case and the abominable conduct of the jury following the acquittal. If the system is to be maintained it must be made more dependable, must be made to command more respect.---Kansas City Times, January 30, 1928, p. editorial.

CRIMINAL TRIALS.

In discussing some of the favorable aspects of a report of the Kansas Judicial Council, the Wichita Beacon says:

"This is a creditable showing, but the council, if it has the time and the facilities, should go further. It should make an analysis of the cases which were delayed from six months to a year or more, and ascertain the causes of these delays. Were these defendants men with political influence and money? What type of lawyer were they able to employ? What were the reasons for the delays?

The council might--and we presume will--also examine into the time lost in appeals, and motions for new trials, and all the various kinds of abracadabra which the layman, rightly or wrongly, attaches to criminal procedure in the courts. We anticipate that by the time the 1929 legislature convenes, the council will have adopted a constructive program of corrective legislation which has long been needed.---Wichita Beacon, Dec. 31, 1927, Editorial page.

The Familiar Story of Too Easy Crime.

A report just issued by a special committee of the national crime commission reveals that in one of the larger American cities arrests for robbery are made in only 3 percent of the cases. It is added that the number of persons finally punished is so small "that the luckless individual who is occasionally caught and convicted must attribute his misfortune to an act of God, as he would in case of disastrous storm, shipwreck or earthquake." And it held it to be no wonder that so many persons turn to crime as "it would appear to be about the safest business in which one could engage."
The study concludes with the statement that "science has as yet gained little foothold in the work of protecting society from crime." And the criminal, it might be added, has been busy in perfecting a science in his operation against society in self defense....The main trouble seems to be an unreadiness to adopt and apply the methods which would bring a change.---Kansas City Star, November 3, 1927, Editorial page.

GET HOME BREW WHILE BANDITRY IS ON INCREASE. Tiny Captures of Malt Are Made But the Thugs Go Free.

The above heads and the story following is representative of some of the "hot shots" which are being taken at legal machinery and police departments in the cities:

While yeggs, thieves and hold-up men ran wild in Wichita last month--staging 13 holdups, burglarizing 47 places and causing 138 thefts to be reported, police raided two homes a day, seizing 644 gallons of home brew, 10 gallons of wine, 2 ounces of alcohol and 234 gallons of unclassified liquor.

Property valued at $39,128.03, nearly as large as the fire loss for the entire year, was reported stolen. All but 14 of the 68 liquor raids made by the four-man vice squad were "water hauls."

The captain of the vice squad and his men draw salaries totaling $625 monthly. As only about half the liquor showed in the report was actually seized by them, it cost the city nearly $48 per gallon for its small captures.---Wichita Eagle, Dec. 5, 1927, p. 6.

Much use is made of cartoons in criticizing present methods of dealing with the offender. Under the caption, "Henry's Model Isn't The Only One We're Waiting For," the Emporia Gazette of Oct. 18, 1927, published a cartoon in which "the Law", represented by a man, astride a jaded nag labelled "criminal procedure" is being outdistanced by "modern crime", an auto full of "swag" and criminals.
The cartoon below is characteristic of another type. It was clipped from the Kansas City Star of February 2, 1928, and needs no comment.

THE SACREDNESS OF HUMAN LIFE.

DID YOU FEEL A LITTLE BUMP?

NORODY SEEMS TO WORRY MUCH ABOUT KILLING 4,000 BY AUTOMOBILE EVERY YEAR.

NOR DO WE TRY TO SAVE THE LIVES OF OUR TRANS-OCEANIC FLIERS BY PUTTING THEM IN AN ASYLUM.

ANY ONE WHO IS CRAZY ENOUGH TO DO THAT, IT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE WHETHER THEY GET KILLED OR NOT.

WE DON'T EVEN TRY TO PREVENT LOSS OF LIFE JANIS HANGING AND DROWNED.

BUT WHAT A HULLABALOO WE DO MICK UP OVER THE LIFE OF A SELF CONFESSSED MURDERER TO SOCIETY.

(Copright, 1928.)

There is much indication of an attitude that the law
is something outside the life of the people; something ab-
stract, sinister. The following items are selected as il-
lustrations of this attitude.

LAW DOESN'T FORGET.--Topeka, Kansas.--The arm of the
law is long and its memory even longer. Clyde Herbold is
in the Shawnee county jail here after eight years of lib-
erty as a fugitive from justice.--Abilene Daily Reflector,

THE STERN ARM OF THE LAW.--Kansas City Star, Oct. 2,
1927, p. 1.

TIRES OF DODGING LAW: SURRENDERS.--Tired of dodging
the long arm of the law, John Vetoski, who admits he is a
mail robber and escaped convict, last night surrendered him-

Pittsburgh, Nov. 19.--The hand of the law started
closing in tonight on William L. King and Abe Weinberg and

The hand of justice moved deftly yesterday in the case
of John Ramirez, Mexican.--Kansas City Kansan, Oct. 30, 1927
p. 1.

TWO SENTENCED IN MURDER PLOT. Husband and Friend Get
Life as Justice Moves With Swift Hand.--Wichita Eagle,

RUSSELL SCOTT BEATS COURTS: HANGS HIMSELF. He Fin-
ally Wins.

By his suicide, Scott finally won his sensational
fight to defeat the courts of Illinois which time and a-
gain turned down his pleas of not guilty and decreed that
he must die on the gallows.--Wichita Beacon, Oct. 8,
1927, p. 1.

RUSSELL SCOTT HANGS SELF IN CHICAGO JAIL. Former
Millionaire Who Turned Bandit Cheats Illinois Gallows in

There are some fine examples of cutting and clever sarcasm aimed at the legal machinery by the press. This is to be found in cartoons and editorials for the most part. The cartoon on page 63 is an example. The examples given below are taken from the Kansas City Star & Times.

The superior court at Szegedin, Hungary, has reversed the conviction of four men previously found guilty of murdering an old woman. The court held they were justified because they believed she was a witch, who was causing the illness of one of their friends.

We insist that the court's action was a blot on modern criminal jurisprudence. Undoubtedly the men should not have been punished for the murder. That would have been hopelessly old fashioned. But the reason for letting them escape is what we protest against.

The plea that the murdered woman was a witch is extremely clumsy. There are people who don't believe in witchcraft. The court has laid itself open to criticism from the intelligentsia on this score. Some of them are likely to get up and scoff.

What the court should have done was to permit the learned counsel for the defense to hire a couple of high powered alienists. Perhaps the Hungarian tribunal believed these men were perfectly sane. If this was its impression, we regret that it is so little in touch with modern practices.

Clearly, the superior court at Szegedin isn't on to its job. It had better come to America for a few weeks and learn how such things are managed in really civilized communities.---Editorial, Jan. 24, 1928, Editorial page.

Why Not Get The Parole In Advance?

No sooner does a person commit a crime than he begins the legal battle to save himself from the consequences of his act. After his conviction, friends and lawyers are active to change the sentence.---Kansas City Times, January 12, 1928, Editorial page.
VI. Attitudes of the Public Toward the Offender and His Act.

Under this category have been included attitudes which were found to be fairly prevalent as expressed directly by individuals and groups which come under the general classification of "the public." The fact that many of the categories which appear in the list of attitudes expressed by the press are not here repeated is due to the fact that they were not found directly expressed by the public as such. As previously pointed out, however, there is little doubt but that the public has attitudes of mind toward crime roughly corresponding to those expressed by the press, and that these attitudes are widespread.

In the case of officials, the offender and the offended, there will be fewer types of attitudes displayed than the number expressed by the press, because the press displays these attitudes only incidentally, as a usual thing, and direct expressions of sufficient number to warrant classification under the categories will be fewer.

Sometimes a few examples were found showing similarity of attitudes, but this was not sufficiently marked to justify their inclusion under a common category.
1. Morbid Curiosity.

Crowds Gathered at all Stations As the Train Passed Through. He May Plead Guilty.

Aboard Hickman Prison Car. San Luis Obispo, Cal.--Although crowds gathered at all stopping points for the train bearing William Edward Hickman toward Los Angeles, no disorder had been encountered up to this morning....

Streets around the entrance to the tunnel into the county jail were lined with curious persons, but there was no demonstration....

At Glendale, a suburb, a crowd of about 1,000 persons gathered at the side of the train. Crowds gathered at various stopping places to see the youthful outlaw.

As Hickman's escort took him from the police car at the jail, a crowd of curious persons pressed the police lines.--Junction City Union, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 1.

The throng of curiosity seekers that had packed the court room and the corridors of the court house made a determined drive on the justice's room at the last minute.

The crowd poured into the court room so rapidly that the railing separating the attorney and justice from the crowd was torn from its moorings....the chatter was so loud outside that the justice ordered the officers to quiet the crowd.--Iola Register, Sept. 28, 1927, p. 1.

Greenup, Ky.--While approximately 1,000 excited and curious visitors from three states viewed the beaten and scorched body of Mary Magdalene Pitts, a 3-year-old baby here, somewhere in Kentucky the child's father and his housekeeper are secretly jailed to prevent mob violence.--Dodge City Daily Globe, January 9, 1928, p. 1.

PARADE BY TO SEE YOUTH. Indians, Cowboys and Pendleton Citizens Satisfy Curiosity. Pendleton, Ore., Dec. 23.--One of the strangest parades that ever filed through the picturesque streets of this western town shuffled down an alley way beside the city jail today to get a glimpse of William Edward Hickman.

Responding to insistent requests for a sight of the prisoner, Tom Gurdane, police chief, granted permission for the procession to file past a door in which Hickman stood, closely guarded by the sheriff.

Gaudily blanketed Indians stared impassively at the youth; pretty women stopped to peer into the grated gloom;
grim cowmen with their own ideas of justice stalked past with audible comment, and business men of the city made hurried trips to the scene and took their places in the line.--Kansas City Times, December 23, 1927, p. 2.

A great throng gathered at the jail, but the reason seemed to be plain curiosity—a desire to get a glimpse of the notorious fugitive.--Junction City Union, Dec. 12, 1927, p. 7.

2. Attitude of Frenzy.

RELIEF IN LOS ANGELES. Not Till After Capture Did City Realize Its Real Fears.

Los Angeles, Dec. 22.—The mothers of Southern California breathed a great sigh of relief tonight. The atrocity of the crime charged to Edward Hickman literally numbed all Southern California in its horror; Hickman's capture today at Echo, Ore., proof that justice can and does overtake the criminal, freed the pent up emotions of hundreds of thousands.

Nothing like it has been seen here since the announcement of the World War armistice. Even before the newspaper extras were rushed to the streets as fast as the giant, high speed presses could deliver them, the word had run throughout the city "Hickman is caught."

In the heart of the business district jammed to capacity with Christmas shoppers, pandemonium broke out. Crowds stampeded here and there, hanging on the lips of any and every person who had a word to say about the case or seemed to know anything concerning the capture.

Realization of the haunting fear, gripping horror and burning anger at the deed came with the reaction today when the Oregon officer put an end to Hickman's mad flight.—Kansas City Times, December 23, 1927, p. 15.

WILD SCENES IN SAN FRANCISCO.—Christmas Shopping Forgotten when News of Capture Comes.—San Francisco, Dec. 22.—The news that Hickman had been captured electrified San Francisco. When the extra editions of the afternoon papers came on the street, with the report of his capture, people rushed madly to buy copies from the newsboys.

Traffic was disrupted. People cried, shouted and forgot their Christmas shopping for several minutes. People who had read the news shouted it with rejoicing to passers-by.—Kansas City Times, Dec. 23, 1927, p. 15.
The foregoing examples illustrate a mixture of attitudes of the public toward the criminal—horror, hatred, retribution, fear.


As a rather striking example of this attitude, a church advertisement is being reproduced which appeared in the advertising section of the Kansas City Star of January 7, 1928, p. 5:

Hear Hargett Sunday Night

KANSAS CITY'S PART IN THE MURDER OF LITTLE MARIAN PARKER
(In half-inch caps and quarter-inch lc.)

JACKSON JUBILEE SINGERS

11 A. M. How To Grow In Grace

A church full last Sunday night, the coldest Sunday in years. "There's a reason." Better come a bit early for a good seat.

GRAND AVE. TEMPLE

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While practically all our treatment of the criminal is based on the assumption that the individual is a free agent, this attitude is not often given expression in direct statements. The courts exemplify it; in the press
it predominates.

Chose His Sin Deliberately.

He (Hickman) chose his sin deliberately, and his sorrows and sighing cannot be removed.---Excerpt from a sermon by Dr. D. J. Evans at the First Baptist Church, Kansas City.---Kansas City Times, December 26, 1927.

VII Attitudes of the Public Toward Offender and His Treatment.

1. Vengeance.

The attitude of vengeance on the part of the public is expressed in several ways but the most prevalent of these are found in letters expressing the "public mind" and in acts described in the news columns. After the Hickman and Hotelling trials, many of these communications from the public appeared in the newspapers. As there is not much variation shown in these communications, only two or three examples will be given.

"Clarence Darrow did a great injustice to society when he saved Leopold and Loeb from the scaffold, and that example has, no doubt, caused many young men besides hickman who were criminally inclined to wonder if they could not commit a similar crime and get by with it. And the example was more apt to affect the educated criminal than the uneducated.

I wonder if our sympathy in the Hickman case has been extended in the right direction for the best interest of our young people and for society.

Good citizens should determine that criminals shall be punished surely, quickly and as severely as the laws will allow and their offenses warrant. This is the only way to fight crime. "We claim to be a Christian people who love justice and right. Do we act like it?"---Kansas City Star, Jan. 20, 1928, Public mind column.
"The insanity plea should not be recognized as a defense for murderers. If insanity can afford an excuse for murder and the murderer be incarcerated under that plea, the first step for final liberation has been made. The so-called insane murderer should be executed for the protection of society without delay. These murderers should be rushed into speedy trials, without unnecessary continuances and made to suffer no less punishment than they have inflicted upon their innocent and helpless victims."---Kansas City Star, Jan. 22, 1928, Public mind column.

"The perpetrator of the terrible crime in California which has shocked the whole country, claimed in one of his letters that he was a master mind. Who in all the world would give credence to such a statement? It is the work of a sneaking coward, who should be punished as the crime demands. Only persons with devilish inclinations commit such crimes."---Kansas City Star, Dec. 22, 1927, Public mind column.

"GET HIM!" MOB CRIES AS SLAYER OF GIRL FACES FIRST SUNDAY TRIAL. National Guard Is Summoned to Protect Prisoner as Courtroom Seethes with Angry Men Anxious to Make Negro Pay for Killing Daughter of White Farmer. Father and Brother Held by Sheriff.

Goldsborn, N. C.--Halted temporarily by irate spectators who threatened a lynching and necessitated the firing of warning shots and the calling out of the national guardsmen, the first Sunday trial in North Carolina came to a dramatic end here today. Shouts of "get him", "take him."---Wichita Eagle, Dec. 11, 1927, p. 1.

MOB STORMS FLINT JAIL.---Hotelling's arrest was followed by such an outburst of public indignation that all the ingenuity of police was needed to save Hotelling from mob violence. The assault upon the jail was met by tear gas bombs hurled into the mob by guards. Brickbats and a few gunshots were the mob's answer. The increasing strength of the attackers led to the calling out of the national guard.---Lawrence Journal World, January 17, 1928, p. 1.

WOULD SHOOT TO KILL. Bankers Would Use Drastic Laws On Bandits.---Houston Tex.---W. F. Morehouse, Los Angeles Banker told the savings bank division of the American Bankers Association here today that "if I understand human nature, the capture of bank robbers on the basis of 'shoot to kill' coupled with additional rewards of $1000
in some sections of the country will have the effect of bringing in more dead bandits than live ones. --Junction City Union, October 24, 1927, p. 3.

The following paragraph is quoted from a story of a holdup in which one of the victims was killed:

George Gimple, butcher, who was within two feet of where his assistant fell, declared Monday he would not ask the law to take its course if the men are found... "Let them lock me in the room with the man who fired the shot. I would kill him with my bare hands. I would not even ask for my meat cleaver." --Wichita Beacon, Dec. 5, 1927, p. 2.

Vengeance is indicated by lynchings and attempts at lynchings.

KENTUCKY MOB SHOOTS AND BURNS NEGRO. Jenkins, Ky.--Flames soaring from the top of Cumberland mountain signalled the death of Leonard Woods, a Negro who was lynched by a mob of 200 armed men following Wood's arrest for slaying Harshell Deaton, mine foreman. The Negro was shot to death facing a half circle of rifles and then his body was placed on a platform erected for the dedication ceremony of the Kentucky-Virginia highway, gasoline poured over it and ignited. --Abilene Daily Reflector, Nov. 30, 1927, p. 1.

Columbia, Tenn.--A citadel of justice here became the lynching spot for Henry Choate, 18-year-old negro a few hours after his alleged criminal attack yesterday on a white girl here. Several hours after officers had taken the negro in custody a band of men, many armed, successfully stormed the jail, battered the door with sledge hammers and captured Choate... At the court house where large crowds had gathered, etc. --Topeka State Journal, Nov. 12, 1927, p. 1.

Bullet Riddled Body Of Accused Negro Found. Memphis, Tenn.--The bullet riddled body of Thomas Williams, negro, alleged to have attacked a 50-year-old white woman yesterday morning, was found in Pleasant Union churchyard two miles from the scene of the crime. --Iola Register, Sept. 28, 1927, p. 1.

LOVE OF THE GRUESOME

The Star published a dispatch from Los Angeles yesterday telling of the "murder fans" who are trying to crowd into the Hickman trial. It is a curious quirk in human nature that makes most of us interested in gruesome things. We often think that the crowds that attended public hangings in England early in the last century, the mobs that thronged to burnings at the stake, were products of a barbarous age.

But are people so different today? Multitudes gathered about the prison where Ruth Snyder and Judd Gray were put to death. A New York tabloid, in violation of the ethics of the profession and the decencies of life, smuggled a camera into the death chamber and obtained a photograph of the murderess just as the current was turned into her body. People fell over themselves to buy the publication that carried the horrible picture.---From an editorial in the Kansas City Times, Jan. 28, 1928.

HUNG TWO ATTACKERS. Madisonville, Ky.--Nathan Bard and Bunyan Fleming, negroes convicted of an attack on a white girl were hanged in the courtyard of the Hopkins county jail here this morning. Several thousand spectators crowded around the jail yard while the executions were being carried out.---Junction City Union, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1.

Execution of Mexicans. In their cells the two others could hear the volley of rifle fire and the shot of the sergeant's pistol, which told of the fate that they were to meet within a few minutes.

Outside a crowd of several thousand had gathered; they peered through the iron grating of the great gates. Some even attempted to scale the wall, but unsuccessfully. The people could not see the execution, but they massed around the entrances silently listening for the shots that told them of the grim happenings hidden from their vision.---Emporia Gazette, Nov. 24, 1927, p. 1.

Killing of a Negro.---Several shots were exchanged, and then Sandefer called down, "I got him, men." Police rushed into the house to find the negro dead, his body riddled with machine gun and pistol fire. Police had difficulty in removing the body from the house through a crowd of several thousand which swarmed the street and into the yard.---St. Joseph Gazette, Oct. 11, 1927, p. 3.
Marion, Ill.---Rado Millich paid with his life on the gallows here today for the murder of Ward "Casey" Jones. There was a large crowd, including many women, on the streets, but not more than 200 were admitted to the enclosure where the execution took place. Deputy sheriffs placed on the roofs of all adjoining buildings, kept the curious from viewing the execution.---Junction City Union, Oct. 21, 1927, p. 1.

Cincinnati, O.---Another huge crowd trudged through a wet snowstorm today in an effort to witness the fourth day of effort to obtain a jury to try George Remus for slaying his wife here last October.

After waiting in a long queue in a dark corridor for two hours or more the would-be spectators found an additional wait.---Junction City Union, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 8.

Eureka, Kan.---People from all parts of Greenwood county jammed the courtroom today as the trial of Ivan Hart, Eureka bank clerk who is charged with killing his bride of a few weeks.---Hutchinson News, Dec. 8, 1927, p. 1.

CROWDS THRONG COURT

The crowds which throng court room each session of the trial give ample evidence of the intense interest taken in the case by Eureka and the surrounding country. (Hart murder case.) Every available seat and every foot of standing room is taken. Spectators even sit on the platform under the judge's bench and not infrequently, crowd into the platform behind him. Many spectators bring their lunch when they come in the morning and never leave their seats until the final adjournment of the day. So prevalent has this custom become Judge Ayers warned the spectators, when court adjourned Thursday night, to pick up the papers and empty sacks which they had thrown under the seats after eating.---Wichita Beacon, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 1

Spectators Sit on Floor.

Occupying all of the seats, sitting on the floor and standing in the aisles, the crowd had listened breathlessly to the testimony of Dr. W. H. Bailey, Oklahoma City pathologist, who but a short time before stated that final tests on the viscera of the dead girl failed to reveal any kind of poison. (Atkinson murder trial.)---Topeka Daily Capital, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 1.
The bodies of Mrs. Snyder and Gray were borne away from the death house at Sing Sing prison before dawn today. A police escort cleared the path for the hearses through a curious crowd which had gathered at the prison gates.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 13, 1928, p.1.

Garden City, Kan.---Mystery tonight still surrounded the identity of the bandit who yesterday morning chose death rather than arrest. A continuous procession of the curious filed past the bullet-ridden body which lay in a Dodge City undertaking establishment.---Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 8, 1927, p. 1.

Hundreds of persons gathered to watch the fight police were having to dislodge A. A. Daniels, one of the bandits, from a cafe in which he had taken refuge.---Kansas City Kansan, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 2.

VIII ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC TOWARD THE LEGAL MACHINERY.

1. Condemnation.

There is indication of an attitude of condemnation of the present legal machinery on the part of the public. Sermons, and contributions to public mind columns furnish most of the evidence of this attitude.

"This insanity trick is becoming an outrage upon society. When all other possibilities have failed to permit attorneys to liberate desperate criminals and turn them loose on the public, they then, as a last resort, attempt to prove their clients are insane. When an individual clandestinely, with malice aforethought, deliberately plans to murder an innocent person and arranges to make a successful escape, one would consider such a person both intelligent and crafty. But if the offender is caught, a skillful lawyer immediately informs his client that the only chance is a plea of insanity.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 22, 1928, Public mind column.

Concerning the Remus verdict of acquittal, a correspondent writes:
There can be little doubt that this malefactor actually received "American justice;" for it seems to be American justice to convict the poor, and let the rich go free; to have merch on the picturesque scoundrel who has friends and means, and to press with a heavy hand on the commonplace offender who has small means and few friends. But who is the greater offender, the man of education, wealth and advantages who knows what is right and what is wrong, or the poor devil who is ignorant and besotted, who is sometimes as much the victim of his wretchedness and environment and circumstances as any natural bias of evil?"--Kansas City Star, Jan. 3, 1928, Public mind column.

"However, the amazing thing is the fact that only in cases where the state can impose the death penalty for the crime is this plea (insanity) brought forward. For those crimes in which the death penalty is not legal, it is well and good for the criminal to go to the penitentiary, for once there he soon becomes eligible to parole or pardon. But once dead, he is beyond the professional criminal lawyer and the alienist.

"But it seems to the writer that the legal procedure with reference to criminal cases is just now, as never before, becoming more and more befogged with a maze of unusual defenses."--Kansas City Star, December 1927, Public mind column.

"For years we have been sowing the wind of lax and indifferent law enforcement and now we are reaping the whirlwind of tragedy. Kansas City has been a wide open town. Lawlessness is and has been rampant in our city for years--murders, burglaries, hold-ups. Crime is one of the most successful businesses in Kansas City. In these four years there has not been one single honest-to-goodness city wide effort to clean up the town."--Excerpts from a sermon.--Kansas City Times, January 9, 1928.

IX ATTITUDE OF OFFICIALS TOWARD CRIMINAL AND HIS ACT.

1. "Let-'em-kill-each-other" Attitude.

UNDERWORLD'S OWN PROBLEM.
Police Believe Gunmen Will Take Care of Imported Kidnapers.

Kansas City's underworld still remains in terror of
the kidnappers who have captured two or three of its bootleggers and gamblers in recent weeks and held them until heavy ransoms have been paid. The police baffled by the holdup of the City Bank, are leaving the underworld to solve its own problem in meeting the kidnapping-ransom plots apparently worked out by imported gunmen.

Police officials frankly say the "war" will work itself out in a duel or by a series of killings, depend-on when the local underworld finds out who has been directing the kidnapping-ransom operations here.---Kansas City Star, February 27, p. 1.

Of course, it is fairly obvious that the attitude of "fear" on the part of the police enters into the attitude here expressed.

The many stories of killings in gang wars in Chicago are treated in a more or less casual way. From a study of many clippings, usually short, matter-of-fact stories, a great many of which are found on the inside pages of the papers, it is evident that the officials are little interested as long as gang warfare doesn't interfere too seriously with lives of others or vested interests.

Three stories are here reproduced, one each from Chicago, St. Louis and Springfield, Ill.

Two Dead In Renewal of Chicago Sniping.---Chicago--Two men were dead today in what police believe was a renewal of gang warfare, following a holiday truce.

A volley of revolver shots greeted Charles Miller, beer runner, as he started to leave Bob's Lone Tree Tavern on the northwest side shortly after midnight. Although Miller apparently recognized his assassins, he died without speaking. The men escaped.---Junction City Union, Dec. 28, 1927, p. 1.

Sixth Gangster Slain In St. Louis.---St. Louis.--the sixth slaying within a week and the eleventh since August 9, attributed by police to rivalry of extortion
and moonshine gangs operating in and near St. Louis, occurred today when Pasquale Santino was shot to death. Santino, who had a police record, was a friend of Palazzolo, gunman for moonshiners, killed in a fullisade of bullets September 9. Santino then escaped death by dodging bullets.

The Palazzolo slaying was considered by police an act of vengeance for other deaths.--Wichita Eagle, Nov. 17, 1927.

Two Are Slain In Bootleggers War. Masked Executioner Uses Shotgun in Springfield, Ill. Cafe.--A masked executioner of the underworld entered a cafe here last night slew two members of what police think was a rival bootlegging gang, left two others wounded, and escaped.

The death sentence of the gangsters was carried out without ceremony by shotgun. The slaying locale was within a block of the police station. Police got there in time to see the slayer disappear in an automobile carrying a Missouri licence.--Emporia Gazette, Nov. 11, 1927, p.2.

These stories were given from three to four inches of space. In neither of them is there any mention of the fact that the police made any attempts to run down the assassins.

2. Attitude of Connivance.

There were many indications in the clippings of an attitude of working with the criminal element by police and other officials. The following excerpts will illustrate it:

CHICAGO VICE PROBE INVOLVES OFFICIALS WITH GANG LEADERS. Police, Politicians and Operators of Gambling and Liquor Resorts All Tarred With Same Brush in Newspaper Expose.

Chicago, Dec. 2.--As a roundup of crime developments in the past few hours showed a bombing, a series of raids, 40 arrests, and the slaying of one man, the Chicago Herald and Examiner today said the federal government had found "amazing evidence" of collusion between Chicago police officials and politicians and operators of liquor and gambling resorts.
Government men have learned that saloons and gambling resorts have operated only upon the payment of "protection money" which in some precincts went to "high ranking police officers."---Wichita Beacon, Dec. 2, 1927, p. 1.

FORMER JUDGE AIDED OUTLAWS TO ESCAPE. Vinita, Okla.—Q. P. McGhee, former county judge, today stood convicted of aiding Herman Barker and E. A. Inman, notorious Southwest desperadoes, to escape arrest and prosecution.

He was found guilty by a jury Sunday. Punishment was left to the court. Jeff Sexton, Ketchum, Okla., justice of the peace, has been sentenced to the penitentiary for a year for the same offense. Charges still are pending against Frank R. Burns, a lawyer.---Wichita Beacon, Oct. 24, 1927, p. 1.

LAW GETS LAWYER.---Edison Hedges, attorney for Willis Beach, fugitive, alleged accessory to the murder of Dr. William Lilliendahl at Hammonton, N. J. has been indicted on two charges of spiriting Beach out of the New Jersey Jurisdiction.---Iola Register, Oct. 12, 1927, p.1.

3. Attitude of Horror.

Superintendent of Police Healy, who took over the investigation, pronounced the crime the "most horrible butchery" in his experience. "The murderers in committing this crime exhibited a fiendishness that only the authors of the most diabolical crimes in American criminal annals could approach," he declared.---St. Joseph Gazette, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 1.

4. Admiration and Respect.

This attitude of respect on the part of the officials for the ability, cunning and nerve of the offender is indirectly expressed. The variety of examples is indicative of its prevalence. The fact that odds are usually so arranged as to be all in favor of the officers is interpreted to be an indication of this attitude.
The officers (Dodge City and Garden City police) were impressed by the determined battle put up by the gunman and with the defiance he exhibited until the end. Upon arriving at the hospital, he asked for water, and declared, "I'm not going to die."——Dodge City Daily Globe, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 1.

He sat up and faced his assailants, shooting with his left hand after he had been shot thru the right hand and continued to return fire to his eight opponents until he was shot so severely he could no longer sit up and fight.

This morning the bandit's captors expressed the greatest admiration for his courage and coolness. He was not shooting wild, they said, but cracking down on them one at a time with good aim.——Topeka Daily Capital, Nov. 15, 1927.

Police are certain Beach is hiding in the thick woods which surround Hammonton. "Beach is quite capable of hiding for two months in the woods around here," said Captain Harrold, chief of county detectives. "He is familiar with the territory and an expert woodsman. It would be very difficult to catch him if he is hiding in them."——Emporia Gazette, Oct. 8, 1927, p. 1.

The prevalent attitude of taking no chances with the offender is taken to indicate respect for his courage and ability.

GANGMAN IS KILLED BY CHICAGO POLICE.——Answering a call that two suspicious characters were seen lurking in an alley way in a hoodlum neighborhood, Sergeant John Gibbons and his squad rushed to investigate. The men were ordered to halt. Herbert reached for his waist.


Chief Johns declared that because of the wide prevalence of thefts at this time, the officers are always prepared for trouble.——Lawrence Journal World, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Many of the examples given to illustrate the warfare
attitude show this respect for the courage and cunning of
the criminal.


The officers who have been extremely lenient with
offenders recently announced that they were going to get
busy and clean up the situation. Numerous complaints have
been registered and a number of alleged violators are un-
der observation. Trouble is in store for all who are

Sevier acted with promptness. He ordered the sheriff
not only to warn the gamblers that they must cease, but
declared he would call for a grand jury if necessary to
assure results.

The order went out from the prosecutor's office this
afternoon and warnings have been issued.
"You can say," said Sheriff Witham, "that gambling
must cease in Jefferson City. The gamblers can take this
as a warning. If they don't respect it they will find
themselves in jail."---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct.
2, 1927, p. 1.

Both Game Warden Henry and Prosecuting Attorney
Sevier indicated that the trapping or catching of fur
bearing animals before Dec. 1 would be vigorously prose-

X ATTITUDE OF OFFICIALS TOWARD OFFENDER AND HIS
TREATMENT.

1. Vengeance.

Since our treatment of the offender is predominantly
that of vengeance, retribution, the expression of this at-
titude, of course, pervades all our legal machinery. This
has been treated indirectly from the standpoint of the
press. A few examples of the expression of this attitude on the part of officials and judges will be given.


"I am going to make an example of you, to show the world that Montgomery County will not tolerate men giving young girls this modern poison called corn whiskey. There was evidence for a first degree manslaughter verdict. The jury was easy with you." (Judge in the Moody murder case.) ---Kansas City Star, Jan. 16, 1928, p. 1.

District Judge H. A. Kiker dismissed the jury without thanks after the verdict was returned late yesterday and told Maestas (on trial for murder) he believed he deliberately killed DeWeiss and should be hanged.---Junction City Union, Nov. 18, 1927, p. 1.

The jury rendered a verdict of second degree murder, and the Judge sentenced Maestas to from 90 to 99 years in the penitentiary.

The state of California today began the collection of evidence which it hopes will result in the hanging of the six convict leaders of the Folsom prison strike, during which eleven persons were killed.

Neil McAllister, prosecutor of Sacramento county, announced that responsibility for killing of two guards will furnish ample basis for first degree murder charges. "We have a clear hanging case against these men," he declared. "In addition to killing the guards, these men were responsible for the death of nine convicts, shot in the attack on their prison hospital stronghold." ---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 26, 1927, p. 8.

Governor Byrd declared in a statement issued last night that "it is full time for Virginia to make an example of those committing the crime of lynching and to punish the guilty as other murderers are punished." "This crime," the Governor said, "should arouse the people of Virginia to the necessity of drastic punishment so that an example will be made of those who commit murder in the
mobs as well as those who commit murder as individuals."


The jury reached an agreement 12 hours after it had been sent to bed under the echoes of District Attorney Blundell's pleas for a verdict "that will set a precedent in the southwest, and warn women and girls."---Lawrence Journal World, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Revenge is not to be forestalled by the convicted offenders taking their own lives. Evidently this is not looked upon by the officials as "punishment."

The start of the week during which both prisoners are to die unless executive clemency from Governor Smith or a last minute legal move intervenes, resulted in a doubling of their guard. Warden Lawes said they would be under constant surveillance until the executions.---Junction City Union, Jan. 9, 1928, p. 4.

Extra precautions also will be taken to prevent any repeated attempt on the part of the indicted kidnaper-murderer (Hickman) to cheat justice by taking his own life.---Kansas City Star, Dec. 26, 1927, p. 1.

No instances were reported where any extra precautions were taken by officials to prevent those who were sentenced to life imprisonment from attempts to end their own lives.

2. Leniency

The attitude of leniency has manifested itself in many forms. There was but one instance of an indication of a general attitude of leniency, and that was not clear-cut. Leniency is almost wholly conditioned by some specific factor in the crime situation. For example, there
are many cases of leniency for information which will aid the officials; because of the youth of the offender; social standing of the offender; for women; for good behavior, and where restitution is made in crimes against property.

Examples showing expression of the attitude of leniency for information:

FREEDOM A LIFER'S REWARD. The Prisoner Who Turned State's Evidence to Convict Seven Is Freed.—Joliet, Ill.—The heavy doors of the Stateville prison swung open today and Chester Larsen, a "lifer" walked out a free man. It was his reward for turning state's evidence in the case that convicted seven prisoners for the murder of a deputy warden in their daring break for freedom two years ago. Larsen, himself a murderer, had served fourteen years of life imprisonment for slaying a companion.—Kansas City Star, Nov. 19, 1927, p. 1.

Two Liquor Violators Are Paroled By Judge.—William Shaughnesy and Jack Spease, two of four young men convicted of violating the prohibitory law last week, were paroled today by District Judge Frank R. Forrest. The young men are said to have given county officers information leading up to the arrest of the man who sold them liquor.—Iola Register, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1.

Four Murderers Die In Electric Chair.—The four men, with Robert Boudreau, in the course of a holdup shot and killed George Condit and wounded his guard. Boudreau, who turned state's evidence, was allowed to plead guilty to murder in the second degree and was sentenced to 18 years in the penitentiary.—Emporia Gazette, Nov. 19, p. 1.

Leniency for pleading guilty:

FOUR SENTENCED.—Noah Collins who on October 4 pleaded guilty on two counts to persistent violation of the liquor laws, was sentenced to serve one year on each count. A number of counts were originally charged against Collins but on his agreeing to plead guilty to counts Nos. 2 and
Ralph Gabriel was indicted on a charge of possessing and selling narcotics in Sedalia, Mo. Judge Shain made an eloquent plea for the youth after he had entered a plea of guilty. He said that the law had been too hasty with him and that he wanted him to learn that the law was not against him.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct. 18, 1927, p. 1.

Prosecuting Attorney Sevier intimated today that the probe which has been in progress several weeks was by no means at an end. He indicated that Cronan might shed further light upon a series of alleged thefts in which at least two others might be involved. He stated that he would recommend leniency in Cronan's case because he had confessed the theft. This recommendation for leniency, the prosecutor intimated, was contingent upon his disposition to co-operate with the authorities in unraveling other alleged thefts.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 1.

Leniency for good behavior:

The federal parole board lately recommended Means for parole. Good behavior allowances would free Means early next spring even if the attorney general rejects the parole recommendation, officials say.----- Abilene Daily Reflector, Oct. 29, 1927, p. 3.

Good Conduct Shortens Term of A. E. Sartin, Atlanta. Washington, Feb. 2.---A parole has been granted A. E. Sartin, formerly warden of Atlanta penitentiary who is serving eighteen month's sentence for conspiring to accept bribes in the performance of his duties.

The full sentence of Sartin would have expired in May, but the paroled board recommended that in view of his good behavior the balance of the time would be remitted.---Kansas City Star, Feb. 2, 1928, p. 1.

Forbes was sentenced and fined by Judge George A. Carpenter of Chicago, February 4, 1925, and was received at the penitentiary here March 20, 1925. He obtained 144 days off his sentence by good behavior.---Junction City Union, Oct. 26, 1927, p. 4.
Leniency because offended was unimportant:

MURDERER'S TERM IS CUT. Gov. Paulen Reduces Sentence of Slayer of Chinese Laundryman; Companion Already Free.---Notice of a reduction in the sentence of Solomon Ellis, colored, from "life" to "fifteen years," by Gov. Ben S. Paulen, was received today by Walter F. Mathis, clerk of the district court.

Ellis and Sachwick Collins were sent to the penitentiary for murder, May 18, 1915, of Gas Son Fong, operator of a Chinese laundry near Fourth street and Minnesota avenue. Evidence showed the men had entered the laundry in the night to rob Fong. When he awakened they beat him to death with a washboard.

Collins was discharged from the penitentiary several years ago.---Kansas City Kansan, Nov. 29, 1927, p. 2.

Leniency because of wealth:

REMUS HAD SOFT TIME IN PRISON. Wealthy, He Enjoyed Many Privileges.

....It was alleged that Remus, who began serving a two-year sentence January 25, 1924, for conspiracy to violate the national prohibition act, was receiving privileges not usually accorded prisoners. Chief among the charges were that he received food from outside the prison, in violation of rules. Remus came to Atlanta in a private car, which was shunted onto a railway siding near the prison.---Wichita Beacon, Oct. 6, 1927, p. 1.

Leniency for women:

A MURDERESS MAY NOT HANG. Montreal, Quebec.---Some astonishment was expressed here when it was learned Chicago relatives were striving to save the life of Doris Palmer McDonald, sentenced to hang March 23 for the murder of a taxi driver.

It is regarded as almost certain her sentence will be commuted to life imprisonment by the department of justice. The jury which heard the case added a recommendation to the verdict which provided a death sentence for her husband, that she should be shown mercy. In the past such a recommendation has always brought life sentence, and no woman has been hanged in Quebec in thirty years.---Kansas City Star, Feb. 14, 1928, p. 1.

Fairbury, Neb.---Mrs. Emma Alice Harvey, confessed slayer of her husband, James Blain Harvey today was sen-
tenced to life imprisonment in the state penitentiary.
"If you were a man, you would suffer the supreme penalty for your cold-blooded murder," District Judge Moss told the woman.---Junction City Union, Oct. 24, 1927, p. 5.

Women Criminals Kindly Treated.---Madrid, Spain.---Women criminals are not numerous in Spain, and when they do commit crimes they are looked after by the authorities almost parentally.---Abilene Daily Reflector, Oct. 12, 1927, p. 2.

Mrs. Barker pleaded guilty today to a technical charge of aiding her husband to escape. The judge in sentencing her said he was being lenient because a wife naturally would be expected to stay with her husband even when he was fleeing a crime.---Wichita Beacon, September 28, 1927, p. 5.


When A. J. Lilley was arrested by the police last night he had a half pint of whiskey in his pocket...Lilley entered a plea of guilty in Justice Leslie's court and was sentenced to six months in jail. Then he was given three hours in which to make himself scarce.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Dick Ross, arrested late yesterday for being drunk was given his choice of 15 days in jail or 15 minutes to leave the city.---Jefferson City Post-Tribune, December 31, 1927, p. 1.

Pete Johnson, living eleven miles northwest of town was arrested Saturday by the county officers on a charge of child desertion. Later, however, Johnson showed the officers that he was planning on moving to Oklahoma. The charge was dropped.---McPherson Daily Republican, Oct. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Poplar Bluff, Mo.---Sherman Tippett of Stoddard County must leave Missouri or serve a term in the Missouri penitentiary. Tippett was sentenced to four years in prison, but paroled on the understanding he would leave Missouri within thirty days and "stay away."---Kansas City Star, Jan. 28, 1928, p. 1.
Horace Cutrer who stopped off here long enough to get drunk, was given ten minutes to leave the city. He was without funds and the city officials could see no good reason for boarding him.—Jefferson City Post-Tribune, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1.

Dapper Jimmie Douthitt (a police character again under arrest) was to have left the city at 4 o'clock this afternoon, never to return again. (By orders of the police department.)—Wichita Beacon, Dec. 1, 1927, p. 3.

4. "Exhortation-brings-reform" Attitude

There was evidence of this attitude, especially on the part of judges. The following examples will illustrate:

Judge Holdren lectured Moody severely before sentencing him. (Two years in penitentiary.) "You must learn to think. If you had thought that night when Vona Kenny said she would drink whiskey if she had it, and not obtained it for her, you would not be suffering today nor would have your parents.

"You have suffered and will suffer whenever you stop to think how foolish you were in giving the girl this whiskey which caused her death."—Kansas City Star, Jan. 16, 1928, p. 1.

"I hope," said Judge Adams, "that this will be a lesson to you not to carry deadly weapons."—Junction City Union, Dec. 22, 1927, p. 7.

The defendant was given a severe lecture from the court on his conduct and after sentence the court stated that at the present time he would not fix any bond to give the defendant another chance to make good.—Independence Daily Reporter, Oct. 8, 1927, p. 1.
XI ATTITUDE OF OFFICIALS TOWARD THE LEGAL MACHINERY.

1. "Gaming" Attitude.

The clippings gave many examples of expression of the attitude on the part of officials that the criminal trial is a game, the outcome of which decides whether the "prisoner at bar" goes free, gets off easy, or gets the limit. The law furnishes the rules under which the game is played, and the judge serves as the referee or umpire.

Attorney Walsh Starts Search For Evidence In Kansas City To Show Fiend Is Insane. Prosecution to Checkmate Him.—Attorney Jerome Walsh accompanied by Deputy District Attorney James Costello, left here last night for Kansas City. (Los Angeles) Costello will attempt to gather evidence for the prosecution which will offset any found by Walsh for the defense.—Jefferson City Post Tribune, January 7, 1928, p. 1.

Defense counsel waived preliminary hearing in order not to divulge their line of defense to the state.—Wichita Beacon, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 6.

Edgar F. Hazleton, counsel for Mrs. Snyder, refused to abandon hope for his client. "I have by no means abandoned hope of saving the life of Mrs. Snyder," he said. "There are still a couple of moves before I will acknowledge defeat.—Kansas City Star, Jan. 10, 1928, p. 1.

Legal Battle To The Last.—The court fight for the life of Mrs. Ruth Snyder continued to wage today as the time drew steadily nearer for her execution.—Lawrence Journal World, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 1.

The first open clash in the case came when Attorney McGill, who frequently injected the statement that he was objecting to every step of the procedure, staged a fight against the prosecution's proposal to examine six of the talesmen in a group, passing on to the next group after
the first had been accepted or rejected. The fight ended in a victory for the defense, Judge Pierpont finally sustaining the objection.—Wichita Beacon, Nov. 16, 1927, p. 1.


Honors in the legal battle to eliminate much of the government's evidence from the record of the criminal contempt case were even when court recessed. Of the seven motions the government won three, the defense three, and the court took the seventh under advisement. From point of importance, however, the government was leading the defense.—Kansas City Times, Jan. 31, 1928, p. 1.

Attorneys, concerned over the loss today, set about preliminaries preparatory to filing an appeal with the state court of appeals. Thus far the state has won every step in its fight.—Wichita Eagle, Dec. 24, 1927, p. 1.

The prosecution advanced into a volley of counter fire today in its efforts to convince a federal grand jury that the defense in the Fall-Sinclair oil case was guilty of jury tampering.

With vigorous protestations of rectitude from William J. Burns, and Henry Day temporarily taking the play away from them, government attorneys turned to new witnesses to prove its case.—Junction City Union, Nov. 8, 1927, p. 5.

Jerome Walsh, Kansas City lawyer...arriving here yesterday said that a night's study of the California penal code offered four possible avenues of plea: these are, "guilty," "insanity," "guilty and insane" or "not guilty and insane." The legal roads open to a defense of Hickman on a plea of insanity are founded on new sections of the penal code, legal authorities said.—Kansas City Times, December 31, 1927, p. 2.

After presenting five motions for delay when the case was called today, defense counsel filed an affidavit alleging prejudice on the part of Judge Reeves.—Junction City Union, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

The state rested its case and the defense plunged
into the attempt to establish in the minds of the jury that the defendant was temporarily unbalanced.--Springfield Daily News, Nov. 27, 1927, p. 3.

Part of the testimony of Harry F. Sinclair before the senate oil committee was excluded from the Teapot Dome criminal conspiracy trial today by Justice Siddons. Justice Siddons held that under the law testimony given before a congressional committee was purely voluntary and did not fall within the prohibition of the law.

The decision was a severe blow to government counsel, who had hoped to place before the trial jury much of the testimony. Defense counsel fought strenously against admission of statements, citing general statute which stipulates that testimony given before a congressional committee by a witness shall not be used against him in any subsequent court proceedings.--Kansas City Star, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1.

2. Critical Attitude.

The critical attitude is expressed in statements of judges, officials, and lawyers with reference to the efficiency and adequacy of the legal machinery. Various aspects of it are criticized. A few examples will be cited:

Judge Says Justice In America Has Failed.

Justice in America has failed "because of obsolete pleadings, an impractical jury system and archaic rules of evidence," asserted Judge James H. Clancey, retired Detroit attorney.

"There is no such thing as life imprisonment in this country, the average time served by a 'lifer' being about seven years. Crime in this country costs one billion dollars every month or enough to pay the French war debt in 90 days.

"These conditions exist because we are using a remnant, a discarded system that was brought into England by William the Conqueror in 1066 and outlawed by the English people in 1873, through the English act of judiciary."--Junction City Union, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 2.
REMUS TRIAL POINTS NEED. A Demand For Changes In The Ohio Jury System. The Cincinnati Bar Association Is Expected to Inaugurate a Move for Better Selection.

Action of the jury following its acquittal of George Remus may result in steps by the Cincinnati Bar Association to reform the Ohio jury system. A special meeting of the association has been called for Thursday night, Judge Walter A. Ryan, sr., announced. He said corrective steps probably would be recommended in regard to jury selection.-Kansas City Star, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 5.

CHIEF JUSTICE RAPS EXISTING LEGAL SYSTEM. Taft Particularly Urges Reform in Jury Selection.---Washington, D.C. The American legal system must be reformed immediately to "render new trials impossible except for real injustice," and to abolish the practice of selecting juries of weak intelligence, Chief Justice W. H. Taft declared today in address to the national crime commission.

Taft declared the present practices in criminal trials frequently led to a "defeat of justice." "The method of selection (jury) ought not to be such that the counsel for the defendants, by exclusion of worthy citizens from the panel, keep jurors of weak intelligence, of little experience, and subject to emotions easily aroused. Exemptions from jury service ought to be cut down, and society ought to be able to secure a jury that approaches the issues with a sense of its obligation to enforce the law without fear or favor, and with intelligence enough to weigh evidence."---Wichita Beacon, Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1.


WOULD ELIMINATE JURIES. Report Shows Many Lawyers Favor Decisions by Judges. Wichita, Kans.---Elimination of the juror and a three-fourths verdict in jury cases were listed in a report prepared for delivery today before the Kansas State Bar Association in annual session here.

It may be suggestive, the report stated, that a surprisingly large number of lawyers favor the elimi-
nation of the juror, some even in criminal cases. A three-fourths verdict is favored by many. The justice of the peace is quite generally condemned to the scrap pile and a county court is recommended. It has been found there are about 13 county courts in the state. These expressions are far from unanimous, but are rather surprisingly large in number. (This summary was made from reports from 295 individuals, 237 of whom were lawyers and judges.)—Junction City Union, Oct. 10, 1927, p. 1.

DEMAND 'ROUGH HOUSE' TACTICS BE BANNED SOON.—The Wichita association for the protection of civil rights, an organization of lawyers, today filed with the city clerk a wholesale indictment containing 18 counts against the city police department.
Among the charges made are that police use "third degree" methods and personal violence on the persons who fall into their power; they are continually arresting persons illegally and holding them on vague charges; they make arrests without warrants; they finger print and "mug" persons unlawfully held with the result that many good citizens have their photographs in rogues galleries all over the nation.—Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 4, 1927, p. 1.

XII ATTITUDE OF OFFENDER TOWARD HIS ACT.


Lecky once remarked that among criminals the gambling spirit is highly developed. Apparently since Lecky's time this spirit has not undergone retrogression. The "gaming" attitude is to be found strongly motivating the criminal in all his behavior. Here is an example of it among "respectable" criminals:

BUSCH HEIRS FINED $57,000. Widow and Two Daughters of St. Louis Brewer Try To Trick Uncle Sam Out of Customs Duties. ———The fine was for bringing undeclared clothing and jewelry into the country. Before the ship reached anchorage they received permission to have their
debarkation expedited. Mrs. Busch was carried from the ship as soon as it was docked in a wheelchair and permitted to go at once to a hotel. The daughters were about to follow here when an agent of the treasury department stopped them.

So many undeclared articles were discovered in bags and trunks that all their possessions were seized and sent to the appraisers' store for valuation. The daughters paid the fine.--St. Joseph Gazette, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Julas Bouna decided to make wine. He succeeded so well he quit mining coal and did a profitable business until one day Sheriff J. M. Hyndman caught him unawares.


Hollywood, Calif.--Laurine G. McCauliffe held in jail here today for burglary. McCauliffe remained unruffled as he spoke of his predicament through the bars of a jail cell.


Despite the government's efficiency in apprehending law violators, swindlers clean up large sums in using the mails to defraud the public. Schemes of all kinds are used on victims.

One crook a few years ago began operating on a large scale after he was put in jail. T. J. Carter, after being arrested began operating from the Wichita jail. He obtained a check book and rubber stamp and began forging cashier's checks. One to an Eastern brokerage firm brought him $25,000 in bonds. He turned them over to an attorney and the brokerage firm was obliged to bring a replevin suit to get them back.

When transferred to the Shawnee county jail he tried the same tactics again. Officers intercepted one registered letter containing $18,000 worth of bonds from another Eastern firm. Still another package contained several thousand dollars worth of diamonds from a jewelry firm which had received a forged check.--Topeka Daily Capital Nov. 13, 1927, p. 1.

Harold DeWitt, accused murderer who escaped from the county jail here early Thursday, was captured early this morning at Kinsley by Ford County and other officers, and
was brought back to Dodge City shortly before noon.—Dodge City Daily Globe, Sept. 23, 1927, p. 1.

Miss Mollye Seiger and Henry Zinn were held up by robbers. After they had been robbed one of the robbers turned to Zinn and said, "Old timer, I am sorry we had to do this, but it is our work. Have a drink."—Kansas City Star, Feb. 5, 1928, p. 1.

A. Bowman is in the county jail. Chief Nicholson began to investigate Bowman’s car in front of the station and found that the rear seat cushion was on hinges. It took 15 minutes for him to solve the combination that opened it, but when he did, his persistence was rewarded by finding five one-gallon bottles and three quart bottles filled with liquor.—Junction City Union, Nov. 26, 1927, p. 5.

Police Find Youngsters Expert in Robbery and Theft.—One eight year old boy had a ring of crudely made keys. Captain W. O. Lyle says they will unlock most any lock desk or jewelry box made. Some were made of other old keys, some were made of flattened wire with a file, others were made of a corset stave.

Gum, small coins, candy bars and other small articles were stolen. Purse snatching was practiced. Thursday and Friday the youthful gang returned with apologies some 30 padlocks.—Wichita Beacon, Oct. 9, 1927, p. 12.

Jail escapes a game to "beat the law."

El Dorado, Kans.—Six prisoners escaped from the Butler county jail here shortly before midnight last night.

On the pretext that he was ill, one of the prisoners summoned the jailer to the second floor of the jail shortly before midnight. While the jailer unlocked a door leading to a tier of cells, one of the prisoners who had sawed his way out of his cell stepped out and overpowered him.—Dodge City Daily Globe, Nov. 1, 1927, p. 1.

When Deputy Sheriff George Reed drove into the yard in the rear of the county jail this morning he happened to glance toward a window on the second floor of the jail and discovered that Leon Mikesell was sawing at one of the bars of the window.

The officers found that Mikesell and Thomas Howard had sawed the bar almost half way through, using razor blades with a can opener for a handle. Mikesell and How—
ard said they had expected to escape some time Saturday.

2. Attitude of Justification.

Camden, N. J.---"Yes, I killed my father, I had to," 13-year-old Joseph Cucinotta today told Prosecutor Ethan P. Westcott.
"There was nothing else I could do," the lad continued. "He had fired one shot at my mother and told me I was next. He was drunk, and I knew he would have carried out his threats."---Emporia Gazette, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 1.

Farmer Pleads "Unwritten Law" as Motive for Oklahoma Murder. Hobart, Okla.--Charged with murder because he shot and killed Raymond Jones, young store clerk, whom he suspected of seducing his daughter, L. J. Hunt, farmer pleaded not guilty in justice court today.---Wichita Eagle, Jan. 7, 1928, p. 1.

Chicago, Nov. 25.---The "necessary" crime has arrived to take its place along with the so-called thrill crime, the "perfect" crime, and the "love" crime.
William Schumacher shot to death his father and confessed it was necessary, after years of beating and brow-beating a wife and children, to put an end to their misery. "Ever since I was born I have witnessed the unmerciful beating of my mother," William told the court. "I have eight brothers and one sister, but we never had a peaceful, happy day in our lives."---Emporia Gazette, Nov. 26, 1927, p. 3.

Marion, Ill.--Millich, who was the first member of the Birger gang to pay the supreme penalty for a series of murders and other crimes laid to Birger's door in the last two years, went to his death stoutly maintaining that he killed Jones in self defense and that he was "framed" by other Birger gangsters.---Lawrence Journal World, Oct. 21, 1927, p. 1.


Calmly smoking cigarettes for solace, was twenty-one year old Valma West's preparation for facing the charge of husband slaying. Mrs. West in a signed confession ad-
mitted that she had slain her husband last Tuesday night at their home at Perry.---McPherson Daily Republican, Dec. 8, 1927, p. 1.

Frank Schlieben, 18, called the "tough kid" of his neighborhood, is being held for the slaying of 15-year-old Stephanie Celaee. Her body, a bullet through the heart, was found on a deserted street corner early yesterday.... There were words, Schlieben took the revolver from her and pointed it at her.

"I dare you," said Stephanie. There was a shot. Stephanie fell.... The found Schlieben at the home of relatives asleep and arrested him.---Kansas City Star, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 3.

Dr. Livingston Anderson told of examining Mrs. Rogers after her arrest (for bank robbery). He declared she showed a serene attitude toward her troubles even when asked about a package addressed to herself which contained the loot from the Buda bank and a pistol identified as the one used in the robbery.---Iola Register, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 1.

A 19-year-old boy went on the witness stand in Brooklyn supreme court today and calmly admitted he had pushed Benjamin Goldstein, 22, from a boat to his death in Gravesend Bay as a part of a plot to murder Goldstein to collect $70,000 insurance on his life.---St. Joseph Gazette, Dec. 1, 1927, p. 1.

Hewitt, who has displayed indifference since his incarceration, confessed to beating Mrs. Brown, a neighbor, to death.---Lawrence Journal World, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 7.

4. Vengeance.

AVENGED GIRL WARDS. Oklahoma Indian Shoots Young Man of His Tribe.---Exacting the vigilante penalty known to the whites and Indians of Pioneer Oklahoma days, Major Victor Locke, jr., soldier, chieftain and politician reared in the tepees of the Choctaws, today faced a charge of murder for slaying a tribesman whom he believed was a despoiler of girls of the tribe.---Junction City Union, Sept. 29, 1927, p. 6.

According to their statements to police, Mrs. McGough had just entered Dryer's office with food for a lunch when
Andrew McGough burst in upon them and shouted: "Now I've got you!" and fired six shots. Two of them struck Dyer and another hit Mrs. McGough.--- Springfield Daily News, Nov. 27, 1927, p. 4.

Nonnie Carmons, 45-year-old colored man of Strong City, was shot and killed instantly about 4 o'clock Wednesday afternoon in a billiard parlor here by William Romigh, a white farmer who lives one mile west of Cottonwood Falls.

After the shooting, Romigh admitted he killed Carmons because the colored man "would not settle" with Romigh.--- Emporia Gazette, Oct. 13, 1927, p. 1.

Mrs. Mattie Teigen, 32, early today shot and killed her husband as he lay in bed at their home in Netawaka. A note said she had killed her husband because he was associating with other women.--- Ottawa Herald, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1.

A 7-year-old girl was shot to death as she slept today by a 65-year-old man in revenge for the elopement of his daughter, the police allege. Relatives told the police that Arsenio was enraged over the recent elopement of his daughter with a young man introduced by the slain child's parents.--- Junction City Union, Sept. 21, 1927, p. 4.

United States District Judge Tiltman D. Johnson was shot and seriously wounded by Mrs. Eliza Simmons as he mounted the rostrum of his courtroom this morning. Mrs. Simmons fired five shots at the judge, four of which took effect. The judge had ruled against Mrs. Simmons in a law suit.--- Fort Scott Tribune, Sept. 30, 1927, p. 1.

Mrs. Hattie Brown set the farm house on fire. "My sole reason for setting fire to this house was because I was angry with Jim Tolbert, tenant, who had mistreated me.--- Junction City Union, Nov. 22, 1927, p. 7.

Gordon J. Watters was shot to death by Mrs. Hazel Hull after he had visited her 18-year-old daughter Marie here last night. Mrs. Hull had accused Watters with having attacked her daughter during an evening automobile ride last week.--- Junction City Union, Nov. 28, 1927, p. 5.
Walking into a store here today, L. J. Hunt, prosperous farmer asked to see Raymond Jones, young window trimer, ans shot the youth five times killing him instantly. Hunt accused Jones of molesting his daughter.-- Junction City Union, Jan. 5, 1928, p. 1.

The man entered the Piggly Wiggly store as it opened for business, shoved his pistol against Milo Buxton, the butcher.
"Is this your meat counter or does it belong to the store?" the bandit asked.
"Well, fork it over then. I would not take it if it was yours. All I want is Piggly Wiggly's. They done me dirty and I am just getting even," the bandit declared.-- Wichita Beacon, Nov. 16, 1927, p. 1.

5. Moralizing Attitude.

Riddled with bullets and scarcely able to talk, the bandit refused to give his name. On the way to town he looked pitifully at one of the officers and whispered, "It don't pay. You are bound to get it."--McPherson Daily Republican, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

Mrs. Snyder was sitting in a chair when Joseph Lonardo of her counsel visited her.
"I have one hour and forty-five minutes to live," she told him. "I am very, very sorry. I have sinned and I am paying dearly for it. I only hope that my life--that I am giving up now--will serve as a lesson to the world." --Kansas City Star, Jan. 13, 1928, p. 2.

XIII ATTITUDE OF OFFENDER TOWARD HIS TREATMENT.

1. Stoical Attitude.

Wichita, Kan.---Theodore Ossweiler, Jr., is resting in the Sedgwick county jail, awaiting sentence which probably will confine him to the penitentiary for the remainder of his life. The first conviction was one of murder in the second degree.
Ossweiler received the verdict with little change of expression and with nearly the same show of stoicism he has exhibited through both trials. "I am reconciled to the verdict," he said in tones of one who had expected it.---Abilene Daily Reflector, Nov. 28, 1927, p. 1.

Juan, in an eloquent address, declared he and his fellow prisoners were innocent of the crime. He claimed to know the real murderer and asserted that he had proof to back his claim. The prisoners seemed stoically indifferent to their fate in contrast to the tension and excitement of the spectators.---Emporia Gazette, Oct. 25, 1927, p. 1.

Antlers, Okla.---Major Victor M. Locke was found guilty of first degree manslaughter, and sentenced to ten years in prison today. Locke made no demonstration when he heard the jury's verdict. He sat passively in his chair without change of expression.---Topeka State Journal, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 1.

Winnipeg, Man.---Earle Nelson who is to be hanged tomorrow for the murder of a Winnipeg woman told his guards he is prepared to die.---Lawrence Journal World, January 12, 1928, p. 2.

Fairbury, Neb.---A jury today returned a verdict of life imprisonment for Emma A. Harvey, confessed slayer of her husband. Mrs. Harvey complained that she could not hear the verdict so the document was handed to her and she read it without apparent emotion.---Junction City Union, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 4.

Mays Landing, N. J.---Mrs. Margaret Lilliendahl is "resigned to her fate" and will forego a Christmas party and dinner with her 8-year-old son at the county jail here in order to start her ten-year sentence.
A similar desire to have "it over with" was expressed by Willis Beach, who was sentenced to ten years at hard labor.---Lawrence Journal World, Dec. 13, 1927, p. 2.

2. Defiant Attitude.

The assailant of Chief Cox received his death wounds in a gun battle with eight Dodge City and Garden City
officers. The gunman continued to return the officers' fire until weakness overcame him and he rolled over on his back. The officers were impressed by the determined battle put up by the gunman and with the defiance exhibited until the end.---Dodge City Daily Globe, Nov. 7, 1927, p. 1.

Cairo, Ill.---Three men alleged to have held up the First National Bank at Grand Tower yesterday and escaped with $1,600 were captured at 1:45 o'clock this afternoon after a running gun fight.---Lawrence Journal World, Oct. 15, 1927, p. 2.

Coming up with Blake, the officers met resistance when they attempted to place the handcuffs on his wrists. Blake resisted so strenuously that it was necessary to knock him down with a club.---Dodge City Daily Globe, Oct. 18, 1927, p. 1.

Plattsburg, N. Y.---Fifty-eight convicts, who tried to capture the train on which they were being transferred from Sing Sing prison to Clinton prison at Dannemora today arrived here. Only a few blackened eyes and bruised heads gave evidence of the exciting moments when the convicts revolted. The outbreak came when most of the guards were searching for a prisoner who had leaped from the train.

With a clanking of chains some of the men rose from their seats. The guards shouted they would shoot. More rose urging their companions on. The guards picked out three of the convicts who seemed to be the leaders and felled them with clubs.---Wichita Beacon, Dec. 31, 1927, p. 1.

Chicago, Ill.---An attempt to kill William O'Connor, chief of detectives of Chicago, and other heads of the detective bureau was made here today, when one of three men arrested as gangster suspects, drew a revolver and pulled the trigger in the face of O'Connor. The hammer clicked on an imperfect shell, saving O'Connor's life.---Kansas City Star, Nov. 21, 1927, p. 15.

Colorado Springs, Colo.---Dan Daniels of Oklahoma, alleged member of the Ray Terrill gang, today was sentenced to 24 years in the state penitentiary following conviction on two charges of assault with intent to kill.

Tuesday Daniels attacked Frank Bott, El Paso county jailor, and slashed him with a razor but was overpowered
by the officer and his attempt to escape blocked. Charges
against Daniels result from a gun battle with police here
two months ago when he and his associates were surprised
while robbing a jewelry store. His companions escaped
while he engaged the officers in battle.---Junction City

Charles Scudder was arrested and taken to jail.
Scudder, whose home originally was at Clinton, Mo. had
a "hardboiled" attitude toward officers and indicated he
would escape if given a chance. He was handcuffed when
taken from the jail to the courthouse.---Emporia Gazette,

Wichita, Kans.---Lewis Timms was held by police here
in connection with an attempted robbery of the First
National Bank of Aurora, Colo. Timms, arrested here
Thursday afternoon, said he would fight extradition.---

When an attempt was made by the marshal to arrest
Koehn, who resisted him, Blanch tackled the officer from
behind, both men getting away. Threats were also made
against the officer, the men threatening to bring back
"their gang" and clean up the town.---McPherson Daily

"We intend to continue this strike peacefully," Paul
Seifler, I. W. W. organizer, said, "but if a striker is
killed our men will be carrying cannons around with them.
Mark my word on that point."---(Colorado Coal strike)---

Chicago, Ill.---The men who were killed when they at-
ttempted to shoot their way out of the cross fire of a
machine gun and shotguns, were known to police as John
Bunk, and "Punk". They, as well as a third who escaped,
were recent convicts at Pontiac, Ill.---Kansas City Times,

San Quentin, Calif.---Charles Sieber was hanged at
San Quentin penitentiary Friday for the murder of his wife.
Sieber mounted the gallows steps smiling and he was smil-
ing when the guards pulled the black hood over his face.---

Included because of its uniqueness.

A BITTER MESSAGE FOR GRAY. "You'll Be With Us Thursday," a Slayer Says on Way to Death. Ossining, N. Y.---"Buck up, Judd, you'll be with us next Thursday night!"

This grim jest, uttered by Charles J. Doran of Albany shortly before his death in the electric chair at Sing Sing prison late last night, today was ringing in the ears of Henry Judd Gray, who is doomed to die in the same chair next week. Doran, who was only 21, was electrocuted for killing Raymond Jackson, an Albany World War veteran.---Kansas City Star, Jan. 6, 1928, p. 1.

XIV. ATTITUDE OF OFFENDER TOWARD THE LEGAL MACHINERY.

1. Attitude of Amusement.

ACCUSED GIRL AMUSED BY TRIAL COURSE. LaGrange, Tex. Mrs. Rebecca Rogers, 22, former University of Texas student, is finding rare diversion from her duties as waitress in a west Texas restaurant. Daily she evinces increasing amusement at the sallies of attorneys and rejoinders of veniremen.

She laughed heartily yesterday when a prospective juror said he did not know what insanity was and when another, claiming he was impervious to allurements of women, was told by District Attorney Fred Bundell to "go home and help papa with the work."---Hutchinson Daily News, Dec. 7, 1927, p. 1.

Mays Landing, N. J.--For two hours and twenty minutes today Willis Beach defended himself against a charge of murder.

Beach was a placid witness, even seeming to enjoy the prominence of his position in the box. Once he permitted himself a pun and at another made a "wise crack" about the efficiency of the police who sought him for ten days when he was hiding after the crime.

"Did you ever in your life," Hedges asked, "see Samuel Bark?"

Kimes, known as a youth with a desire for the spectacular, often sought to embarrass officers. On one occasion the car in which he attempted to escape contained a baby. He returned the child, kidnapped the town constable who sought to stop him, and released him at an isolated place.—Wichita Beacon, November 26, 1927, p. 1.

CHICAGO GAMBLING WIPED OUT, CLAIM BUT GANG LAUGHS.
"We have closed the big places and are weeding out the little ones" said chief Hughes. "We mean business. Chicago has right now less gambling than any large city in the country. My men have their orders and they are not temporary ones, either."

At this explanation the gamblers laughed. They said they would be back at their old stands in a few days.—Springfield Daily News, Nov. 11, 1927, p. 1.

2. Attitude of Contempt.

Marion, Ill.—Rado Millich paid with his life on the gallows here today for the murder of Ward "Casey" Jones. Millich, when taken on the scaffold, read a prepared statement accusing states attorney Arlie Boswell, who prosecuted him, of having been the real leader of the gang.

After reading this prepared statement, Millich made a few caustic remarks concerning the clergymen who were on the jury that voted to hang him and who later tried to give him religious counsel.—Junction City Union, Oct. 21, 1927, p. 1.

When Mosher reached the front gate of the prison he told the guards, "I'll just be here long enough to fatten up a bit."—(Mosher was sent to prison for life) —Junction City Union, Nov. 19, 1927, p. 8.

Chicago, Ill.—How he once jumped through a gallows trap to "see how it would feel," was related today by Howard West, when he pleaded guilty to the murder of his wife.

West said he was ready to accept the death sentence, because he once had jumped through the gallows trap while confined in the Cook county jail, just to see what it was like.—Topeka Daily Capital, Oct. 7, 1927, p. 1.
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XV ATTITUDE OF OFFENDER TOWARD OTHER OFFENDERS.

1. Attitude that he is "beyond their code."

Los Angeles, Calif.--A wave of feeling against William Hickman among his fellow prisoners prompted jailers to keep the confessed slayer of Marion Parker constantly behind barred cell doors.

The mutterings reached a climax this morning when a photograph of Hickman was suspended from the youth's cell door by a string. The head of the photograph had been cut around and a stout cord tied about the neck with a hangman's knot.

Some of the prisoners recently fashioned clubs from broom handles and were holding them in readiness when the improvised weapons were discovered.

The accused youth has been in great fear the last few days of his fellow prisoners who glare at him.\---Wichita Eagle, Jan. 7, 1928, p. 1.

Los Angeles, Calif.--Hickman was allowed this afternoon to have a cell mate for the first time since he was brought back to Los Angeles. Hickman asked for someone with whom he could play cards. Another prisoner was taken into the cell and the pair played casino. The prisoner asked that his name not be given out as he did not wish it coupled with Hickman's.\---Kansas City Times, Jan. 24, 1928, p. 1.

XVI ATTITUDE OF OFFENDED TOWARD OFFENDER

The most prevalent attitude of the offended toward the offender which was expressed in the clippings was that of vengeance. In many of the stories which made only indirect reference to the offended, this was apparent, but examples will be given which show a direct expression of this attitude.
Goldsboro, N. C.--Halted temporarily by irate spec-
tators who threatened a lynching the trial came to a dram-
atic end here today with the sentencing of Larry Newsome
for the murder of Buela Tedder.

The trouble began about five minutes after court
convened when Eric Tedder, father of the dead girl, and
William Tedder, his brother, advanced through the packed
court room toward the negro, each taking an arm of the
prisoner. They lifted the negro half way out of his chair
as shouts of "get him" broke from a dozen throats.--

Flint, Mich.--Judge Fred W. Brennan today sentenced
Adolph Hotelling to life imprisonment at hard labor in
solitary confinement in the state prison.

The murderer bears with him on his trip a mark that
brands on him the hate and desperate grief of the father
of his victim. As the Owosso carpenter (Hotelling) was
brought into court today, Leslie Schneider, father of the
girl, sprang from an anteroom, lashed out with all his
strength and struck Hotelling full in the face.--Kansas

Chicago, Ill.--John M. Isbell, LaSalle street broker
was shot when he went to his wife's home and found
Charles Davis there with her. Mrs. Isbell pulled a
pistol and fired twice, one shot striking her husband in
the back.

The husband, seriously wounded, said he hoped if he
died the wife would be executed for the deed.--Emporia

KIRBY NOT TO GET OFF EASY. Wife says She'll Not
Drop Charges Nor Be Reconciled.--Mrs. Kirby, who re-
cently signed a complaint charging her husband with wife
and child desertion said that she was determined not to

Leo Brown: "It's hard for me to feel like being
lenient. I have felt many times like giving the amount
of the bad check Kirby passed on me to aid in his prose-
cution. It is the parole system that is making criminals."

John Synott favors sending Kirby to the penitenti-
ary for giving him a bad check.--Fort Scott Tribune,
1. Expression of the attitudes of "Primary-interest-in-mystery," "Sporting-interest-in-pursuit," "Gaming-interest" in court battles, in the gruesome aspects of the offender's act and of his punishment, revulsion at the offender's act, admiration of his cleverness or nerve, the detailed description of successful criminal acts and other "human interest" and dramatic aspects, warrants the conclusion that the press shows a definite general attitude of exploiting crime for all it is worth; to make it pay.

It is contended that this is but another way of saying that the attitudes expressed by the press and those of the public are the same; that the press simply reflects the attitudes of the public. Therefore, it is argued that the press is not to be held accountable for attitudes which operate to discourage rational efforts to arrive at a solution of the problem of crime; that the press is a more or less passive, disinterested instrument mirroring to the public faithful pictures of the important events.

This is only partly true. The press not only reflects; it selects. It caters to, stimulates, accentuates, feeds the readers on this mental diet. It is part of a process of action and reaction. Feeding the millions on the morbid and gruesome, for example, in turn stimulates interest
in the gruesome and there results the demand, shown in sales, for "more and better" stories stressing these sensational aspects.

Bearing out the conclusion that newspapers treat crime news in such a way as to make it pay is the following, clipped from Editor & Publisher of January 7, 1928, page 42:

Washington, Oregon and California newspapers reported record breaking street sales on the day of the capture of William Hickman. Many of the papers in this section reported that the story of the kidnapper's capture had surpassed even the Paris flight of Col. Lindbergh.

The Los Angeles Express reported sales of 290,000 copies, exceeding by more than 90,000 their previous high record set on the day that Aimee McPherson returned to Douglas, Ariz., after her disappearance. The Salt Lake (Utah) Telegram issued three extras and sold 12,000 extra copies, passing its sales on the Lindberg flight by several thousand. Many newspapers in California reported new high marks. The San Francisco newspapers sold more than 100,000 copies above their average sales.

In Washington, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer broke its previous sales record by 6,000. The Times reported sales of 30,000 above the average day. The Spokane Chronicle and Spokesman-Review doubled their average sales.

In Oregon where Hickman was captured, the Portland Telegram sold 15,900 copies above the average; the Pendleton East Oregonian, 2,000; the Eugene Guard and the Register 3,000; the Salem Capital-Journal and the Oregon Statesman, 2,600.

Clipped from the San Francisco Call of December 24, 1927:

'FOX' A. P. SCOOP SETS RECORD FOR PAPERS. Newspapers which published the Associated Press story of the capture in Pendleton, Ore., of William Edward Hickman reported today that the story aroused greater interest than any other story since the World War.

Stories complimenting the Associated Press on the way
in which the "hot news" was handled in connection with this man hunt appeared in several of the papers studied.

The phenomenal growth of the sensational tabloids in the metropolitan areas is another accurate gauge of this playing up of the spectacular in crime for the money that is in it for the press. People stampeded to buy copies of a tabloid in New York which published a picture of Mrs. Ruth Snyder just as the current was turned through her body when she was electrocuted.

2. Evidences of the sporting interest in pursuit, the game of legal jurisprudence, warfare and drama attitudes expressed in the press, their prevalence and the space given to them leave no doubt that the criminal furnishes the nucleus of one of the great American sports. Its fans are legion. The pursuit, traps laid, narrow escapes, the wits of the offender against those of the "law", the game of hide-and-seek furnish the interest of drama and suspense. The press furnishes the fans the latest as the game takes a new turn, or as the chase gets hot, and even lets them "in on" the kill by describing a capture in detail and furnishing photographs or maps of "the exact spot" where the quarry was rounded up.

As a concrete example of this sporting interest on the part of the public as the details of the chase were being relayed constantly by the press, the following clipping taken from the San Francisco Call of December 27, 1927
is quoted:

Betting Odds 4 to 1 That 'Fox' Lynched

Hagerstown, Md.--The fate of William Edward Hickman confessed kidnaper of Marian Parker in Los Angeles, today was the basis of a number of bets made by members of the local gambling clique.

Odds of 4 to 1 were offered that "The Fox" would be lynched; 20 to 5 that he would be adjudged sane should he come to trial, and even money that he would end his own life.

When the offender is apprehended, provided he is not killed in the process, the public looks forward to another titillating form of this gaming interest. The stress which the press places on the clash of lawyers, and the dramatic scenes in court, stimulate this interest. The public evidently gets another thrill watching the game which goes on to determine what disposal shall be made of the offender. This sporting attitude in the clash of lawyers, points made by witnesses, surprises introduced, dramatic incidents, dominates the situation so completely that there is little likelihood or possibility of the general public's developing a scientific attitude toward the criminal.

These aspects just mentioned are but the striking elements of a phenomenon which is subtle, involved and deep-rooted in the social structure. Being amused and stimulated by these phases of a tremendously complex social problem, the public does not have the incentive to go
deeper. It is attracted by and absorbed in the brilliant pyrotechnics of crime and doesn't sense the fact that there are volcanic forces beneath.

3. The expression of attitudes of admiration for the acts of the offender which are regarded as clever or bold found in the material shows an almost astounding prevalence of this attitude. The examples selected to illustrate this were but a few of those found in the clippings. This and the prevalence of detailed descriptions of criminal acts which were successfully carried out, especially robberies, jail breaks, escapes, murders and gun fights, causes one to speculate as to the effects of this laudation on those incipiently criminal in tendencies, as well as on the professional criminal. Bits of technique considered clever, especially in the successful committing of burglary, theft, robbery and oftentimes murder are described in the press in minute detail.

While special schools of crime exist as such, and jails, reformatories and penitentiaries are "official schools" into which offenders matriculate, graduate, and often take post-graduate courses in crime, the newspapers contribute their bit to the oncoming potential offenders by displaying in a conspicuous fashion the latest in effective and "approved" crime technique.

4. The material in classifications of revenge under
the general headings of press, public, offender and offended; together with exultation and interest in the gruesome aspects of punishment, demonstrates that vengeance is the dominant, almost the universal attitude or motif in the treatment of crime. The press shows it through the use of headlines, by playing up of drastic methods of punishment and the repeated use of the term vengeance in stories and editorials. The public shows this attitude in the expression of opinions, and by overt acts described in the press. Of course, all of our criminal jurisprudence is based on punishment; our institutions fashioned to meet this problem have back of them a philosophy of vengeance. This primitive vengeance also motivates the committing of many crimes, and vengeance is oftentimes the attitude which his treatment engenders in the mind of the offender.

5. Under the heads "Critical attitude," "Sarcasm" and "Condemnation" are listed examples which show considerable evidence of the critical attitude on the part of the public and press, but this criticism is directed toward changes in the legal machinery only as a remedy for delay and "miscarriage" of "justice," not a study of the social factors in crime causation. The clippings furnished practically no evidence of the scientific attitude; no evidence of the fact that the "man on the street" has the least notion of the 'causal' factors in crime; and no evidence of
any recognition that increasing complexity of all types of interaction, stresses, tensions and resulting explosions inevitably culminate in criminal acts with their appalling consequences. Only one example was found in letters of the public which gave any indication of the scientific attitude and that communication was from a teacher of sociology. The press had a record that is little better. Two examples of the scientific attitude on the part of the press were found in the Kansas City Star. At the same time there were many editorials concerning crime in the same paper which indicated almost the opposite of the scientific attitude.

The public is aware of the increase in number of criminal acts, and they react to this menace in a primitive fashion in conformity with their little modified primitive attitudes. Vigilance committees, bounty on criminals' scalps, and the like characterize their reactions. But the institutions set up and sanctioned as the special instruments to handle this business of retribution are naturally looked upon as holding the key to the solution of the problem; to the cause of crime they give little attention. Modify the legal machinery in such a way as to facilitate the apprehension of the offender and to increase the severity of the retribution inflicted on those unfortunate enough to be caught is almost universally the attitude.
6. There were many indications in this material that two classes of those representing the legal machinery—those who are intelligent and progressive, and those who are probably not so intelligent but baffled—have a questioning attitude toward the efficiency of the present efforts to deal with crime, but their attitudinal expressions indicate that the courts are interested in the fact of crime including criminal intent, rather than in more fundamental considerations. The concept of social causation seems not have entered the minds of those directly responsible for the treatment of criminals. Resolutions of bar associations, reports of special crime commissions, and the opinions of lawyers and judges indicate it as their attitude that the legal machinery can cope with crime if this machinery is only made more drastic in operation and the process speeded up. There was not any indication that these lawyers and jurists considered constructive prevention through changes in the social order.

7. Grouped under the headings "facetiousness", "sarcasm," "scorn," and "let-'em-kill-each-other" will be found examples which indicate that crime among those outside the pale and which affects only these outside-the-palers is regarded humorously or as of little consequence. Crimes among negroes, Mexicans, Gypsies are generally treated in a flippant, facetious or indifferent way.
of the papers studied showed tendencies to "make light" of and at the same time give rather a prominent place to crimes and brawls of the negroes in their communities, except when those brawls affected vested interests or white people. Frequently "liquor" crimes were treated lightly. This is probably due primarily to the fact that the mores of the communities are not entirely in harmony with the prohibitory law. Both the press and the officials show indifferent attitudes toward the private wars of the gangs in cities and their beer running and vice feuds which result in many killings, as long as these feuds do not seriously endanger vested interests.

8. The "free agent" attitude which is implied in attitudes of vengeance, warfare, moralizing, threat, exhortation, and in some of the expressions on the part of the public is prominent. The offender is looked upon as having a free will, and is thereby to be held strictly accountable for his acts without much consideration of environmental factors.

9. Examples listed under the heading "personification," which were selected from many found in the clippings, indicate the prevalency of the attitude that the law is something outside the life of the people; something abstract, sinister, to be worshiped or escaped. The press treats the "law" as something akin to God which you propitiate by
conforming to a certain ritual laid down by statute, by walking in the straight and narrow way to ward off its "long arm." The expression "let the law take its course" which often comes from the public, suggests the attitude that here is a power in whose clutches the offender sometimes finds himself if he is unlucky, and that it grinds out its grist in an impersonal, detached way. Besides these direct expressions, the attitude is indirectly involved in other categories, such as vengeance.

Considering the wide-spread indication of this attitude, it is no wonder some of our judges and jurists make the slight error of thinking themselves omnipotent and infallible. In many respects it is unfortunate that there is this tendency to abstract social functions and set them up as ends in themselves. It is more or less a natural tendency which comes with the developing of social life to the point where special institutions are needed to take care of specialized group functions.

10. While there were many examples of expression of the attitude of leniency in connection with the treatment of the offender as shown in courts' and juries' actions and opinions, this leniency is conditioned by one or more specific factors in the particular crime situation. For example, there are many cases of leniency for information which will aid the officials; because of the youth of the
offender; social standing of the offender; for women, for good behavior and where restitution is made in crimes against property. With the exception of leniency for youth, practically no leniency was shown because of mitigating social factors. Only one example was found which expressed a general attitude of leniency for the offender.

11. The clippings show that revenge prompts many crimes of violence—the diabolical, cunning and brutal types. Revenge is looked upon by many offenders as a justification for criminal acts. There is much evidence of the attitude among criminals, especially among professional criminals and recidivists, that crime is a gamble. Beat the game if you can is their attitude. Getting caught is a "bum rap" or "bad luck" only. Better luck next time. Society's attitude and the attitude of officials have a tendency to cause the offender to resort to this game as a means of livelihood, once an offense has been committed and the offender apprehended. The professional criminal is usually defiant. When he is caught, he is stoical—a good loser. The clippings indicate that he does little moralizing or lamenting. The single offender is the one who is usually submissive, remorseful and the one who moralizes.
"The importance of the attitude lies in the fact that it determines the behavior of the person and provides the mechanism of social control. Any effective control depends upon so changing the attitudes that they will lead to activity in conformity with the social code; by so modifying them the incipient criminal will desire the approval of the social group rather than that of the criminal group."¹

And, we would add, by modifying the attitudes of society in such a way that there will be fewer incipient criminals to be so controlled. Many of the attitudes concerning crime and the criminal which have been shown to be prevalent could be modified to the point where fewer persons would commit criminal acts, fewer would become recidivists by virtue of society's attitudes toward them as expressed through the present system of criminal jurisprudence and penal institutions and other forms of punishment.

"The recognition of the significance of mental attitudes is the key to modern psychology of education and society...In every field of education the important thing is the development of certain attitudes; in hygiene, for example, (or crime) the attitude of prevention; the attitude of emphasizing the positive habits of health."²

On a basis of data assembled in this study, there is little reason to hope that the press, an instrument of education of tremendous potentiality, will put forth much exertion toward the changing of the outstanding obstructive attitudes concerning crime. The economic factor, which has come to be the dominant one with the press, will tend to accentuate these attitudes which prevent people from seeing the problem of crime in its entirety. The work of changing these attitudes must come from some other source.

Since changes in attitudes are accompanied always by the appearance of new "values"—new objects of desire, new ends in which values are recognized—these new values will have to be created by conscious, purposive social planning based on scientific research. The searching out of these obstructive attitudes and their measurement falls within the province of the sociologist. But in the business of changing them the sociologist and the educator must work jointly. The sociologist is making progress in his sphere of this task; the educator is showing hopeful signs. Thus Burnham says:

"One of the greatest advances in modern education is the recognition of the great role of the attitudes." It is necessary to "make them both the beginning and the basis of instruction, and also the aim of education....The most generic attitudes...are developed by the doing of a multitude of concrete tasks."

XXVIII. PROBLEMS OPENED UP BY THE STUDY.

1. The problem of further research and study to determine more accurately the nature of social attitudes.

2. The problem of determining how these attitudes are fashioned and what environmental influences, positive and suggestive, might be brought to bear upon individuals and groups to build up the desired response patterns, or habits. This means consideration of the social background of these attitudes and studying them in relation to the total situations where they function.

3. The problem of devising a mechanism for measuring, with a fair degree of accuracy, the relative frequency and intensity of expression of these attitudes.

4. The problem of determining their relationship to and effects upon the social problem at hand--crime.