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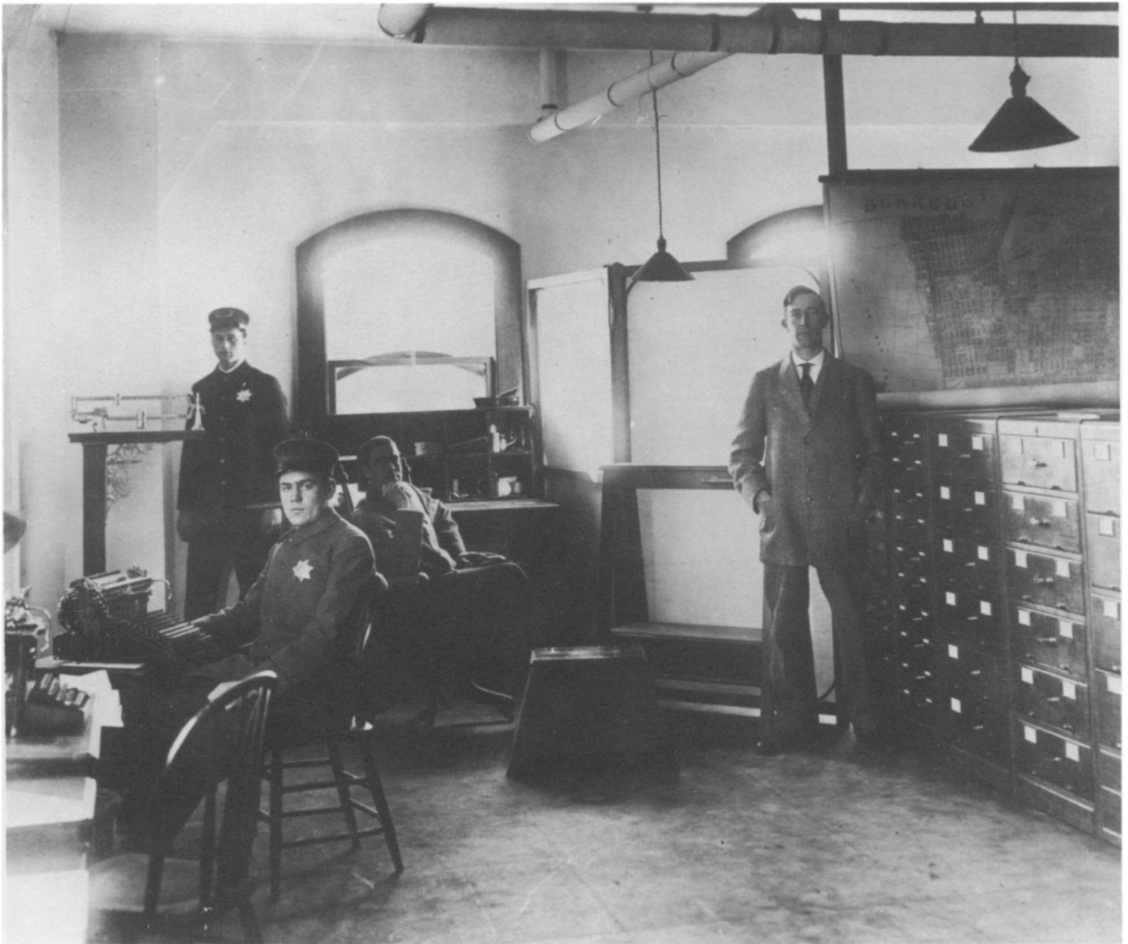

*Soon after the police department gained official quarters in the basement of the new city hall, Vollmer established a system for keeping records on criminals. Vollmer (standing at right) urged that systematic records were essential to scientific criminal investigation and identification.*

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# August Vollmer, Berkeley's First Chief of Police, and the Emergence of Police Professionalism

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ALTHOUGH THE HISTORY OF POLICING in the United States has only begun to be written, it is certain that when historians set out to explore the development of police professionalism, one of the most important figures will be the man who served as the head of the police department in Berkeley, California, for over a quarter of a century—August Vollmer. Between 1905 and 1932, Vollmer played a major role in making Berkeley and the state of California leaders in police innovation. He turned the Berkeley police department into a unique model of professionalism known and respected by police officials throughout the country. His career throws light on the aspirations and dilemmas of police professionalism in its formative years.

Vollmer's career also offers an historical perspective from which to consider the dilemmas of policing in our own day. The question of whether "changing the police" is an "impossible dream," a subject recently raised by a well-known police educator, needs historical perspective.[1] Some critics of the police have suggested that the principles and values of police professionalism are at the root of the contemporary problems of policing.[2] Whether or not this is true, it is worth considering whether police professionalism today is a fulfillment of the aspirations of the early crusaders for police professionalism or a departure from their goals.

August Vollmer's family moved to San Francisco from New Orleans in 1888, then crossed over the bay to take up residence in Berkeley three years later.[3] In 1895, at the age of nineteen, Vollmer and a friend opened a coal and feed store. The following year he helped to organize a volunteer fire department for North Berkeley. When war with Spain broke out two years later, Vollmer enlisted in the Army, and he later saw action against the guerrilla forces of Aguinaldo in the Philippines as the United States tried to consolidate its control over the native population after having defeated the Spanish forces.

Vollmer returned from the Philippines with a distinguished combat record which made him something of a hero in the small town of Berkeley.[4] For four years after his return, he worked as a mail carrier, but his war record, athletic



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ability, and leadership qualities had not been forgotten.[5] In January, 1905, the editor of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* called Vollmer to his office and suggested that he run for election as town marshal. Vollmer argued, but he soon received support from the incumbent mayor, fire chief, and local Republican party. They apparently viewed Vollmer as a man who could clean up vice in Berkeley.

A *Gazette* editorial supporting Vollmer's candidacy proclaimed that "Guss Vollmer is a man of mental acumen and sagacity, and his service in the Army has particularly fitted him for the job of hunting down and apprehending criminals. He is a man of great physical powers. He has the physical strength to cope with any criminal and besides he has the necessary grit and courage."[6] It is an ironical recommendation for a man whose later reputation as a police official resulted from his application of intelligence rather than brawn to police work. Despite his youth and lack of law enforcement experience, Vollmer upset the incumbent and became town marshal on April 15, 1905.

When Vollmer first became a police official, law enforcement had suddenly become a major focus of Progressive reform interest. Large city police departments had become notorious for their corruption. One former police commissioner of New York City, William McAdoo, wrote of his entry into the position in 1904 that "it was with a heavy heart that I turned my face towards that antique and shabby palace, that sepulchre of reputations, that tomb of character, that morgue of political ambition, that cavern of intrigue and dissimulation—the Police Headquarters at Mulberry Street."[7] Although the New York City police department may have manifested the problems of policing at the turn of the century in their most acute form, police departments in other cities also appeared to reform-minded observers to present a major challenge. Indeed, an editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly* had observed on the eve of the new century that "there is no doubt that the police problem is one of the most important with which we have to deal. There is not a satisfactory police force in the country."[8]

One measure of this concern was the interest shown by some of America's most prominent journalists, public administrators, and politicians, including Jacob Riis, Lincoln Steffens, Newton Baker, Jane Addams, Brand Whitlock, and Theodore Roosevelt.[9] For many people in the Progressive Era the police symbolized the worst features of corrupt government, and hence the police attracted the attention of various reform groups. Some groups sought to put municipal government on a professional administrative basis; some worked to get the police to enforce laws against vice (gambling, prostitution, and illegal liquor sales); some were primarily interested in protecting citizens against illegal police practices (e.g., the "third-degree"); still others tried to eliminate the repressive approach of police to crime prevention. The concerns of police reformers were mixed and usually embraced several of these objectives.[10]

By the time Vollmer took office as town marshal, police officials themselves had responded to some of these reform concerns. In 1893, they had joined for the first time in a professional organization which by 1902 had acquired its present name, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).[11] The primary aim of the IACP in its early years was the creation of a national system for the exchange of information on criminals.[12] However, at their annual conventions the members of the IACP discussed a wide variety of work-related topics. These

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discussions reflected the aspirations of reform-minded police chiefs to make police better trained and educated, better equipped, and better administered in order to improve the effectiveness of police departments in the detection and control of crime.[13] But in 1905 the IACP represented a very weak influence for professionalism in policing. Politics rather than professional principles still dominated most police departments throughout the country.[14]

Thus Vollmer embarked upon his career in law enforcement at a time of growing public interest in the improvement of policing, but it would have been difficult to predict Vollmer's later influence from the circumstances of his new position. His entire command consisted of three deputies. Berkeley's population at the turn of the century was 13,214, and the town exuded a semi-rural atmosphere. By 1905, however, Berkeley's population had risen to about 20,000, and by 1910 it jumped to 40,434. The city's rapid growth had begun to outstrip its law enforcement services. Shortly after taking office Vollmer commented to the *Berkeley Reporter*: "We should have the best police department in the United States, especially when we consider . . . the class of people who make their homes here . . . the nearness of two large cities which harbor many criminals . . . that two trans-continental main-lines run through this town . . . the ease with which it is possible to hide here, and the many different routes that may be taken to leave after having committed a crime."[15]

Berkeley proved to be a good place for an innovative police leader to begin his work. In 1909 when Berkeley adopted a new charter providing a commission form of government, it received praise as the most progressive in the country.[16] The city's reputation for good government continued in the decades that followed. In 1923, it adopted a city manager form of government; and in the late 1920's and early 1930's experts judged it to be either one of the best or the best governed of American cities.[17]

The twenty-nine-year-old Vollmer's first action as town marshal was to request an increase in his police force from three to twelve deputies so that he could have both a night and day patrol. In keeping with the reform concern that motivated his election, he moved aggressively against local gambling and opium establishments. His first raid failed—the gamblers had received advance notice—and Vollmer and his officers could not positively identify the individuals they arrested (they were Chinese) nor substantiate that the defendants had actually been gambling or using opium. In subsequent raids he gathered sufficient evidence to obtain convictions.[18]

Vollmer soon won national publicity for being the first chief to order his men to ride bicycles on their beats. He himself had first used a bicycle to get around the city faster, in the face of jokes by some local newspapers. Time checks he had run showed that bicycles would allow his men on bicycles to respond three times faster to calls than men on foot.[19]

While ruminating about the time lost communicating emergency calls to his men, Vollmer by chance read about a private detective in Los Angeles who had developed a signal system for a residential area. He visited Los Angeles and investigated the system. Returning to Berkeley, he tried to persuade the city council to finance a system of red lights hung at each street intersection. The city council balked at the $25,000 cost, but at Vollmer's urging they went to the people with

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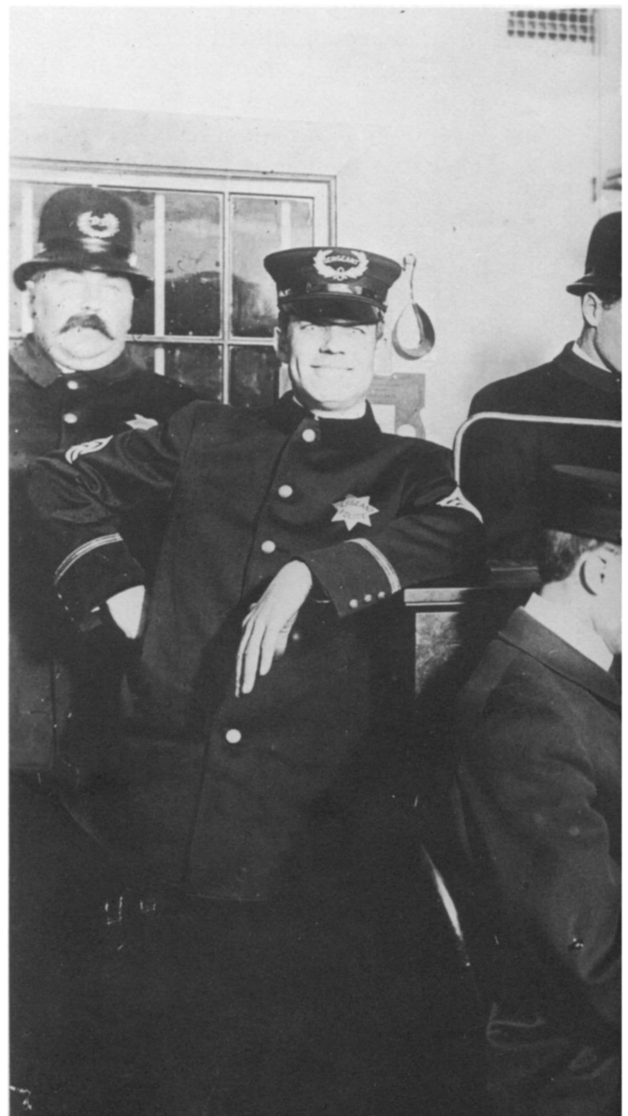
*In 1909 Vollmer sat for this portrait (left) in his new chief of police uniform after laying aside the town marshal badge and black western hat that comprised the uniform of his first four years in law enforcement. Vollmer was elected president of the California Chiefs of Police in 1907, an indication of his immediate reputation as a progressive leader in law enforcement.*

*One of Vollmer's first innovations was to install a red-light recall system. Officers had approximately three minutes to report in from the nearest box after the lights began to flash at an intersection. The 1910's photo (right) shows the switchboard with its alarm buttons at police department headquarters in the basement of city hall. Automobiles were installed with radios in the 1920's, but the call box (below) remained in use.*



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a bond election to finance the new signal system. The voters approved it, and Berkeley acquired the first such signal system in the country.[20]

As early as 1906 Vollmer became curious about the methods criminals used in committing their crimes. He began to question the criminals he arrested, and from his notes he compiled information on how different types of crimes were committed. He found that nearly every criminal had his own peculiar method of operation. With this knowledge, Vollmer sent out letters to other police chiefs requesting information on criminals who specialized in the kind of crimes that Vollmer and his deputies had been unable to solve. In one instance, several ministers' homes had been burglarized. A name and photograph from another police department matched an individual who was arrested by one of Vollmer's deputies a short while later.[21] In this way Vollmer developed his own modus operandi file, modifying the older Atcherly system of classification.[22]

In 1907, pursuant to an apparent suicide case that Vollmer suspected of being murder, Vollmer sought the advice of his friend Dr. Jacques Loeb, a professor of biology at the University of California. The "suicide" victim had been presumed

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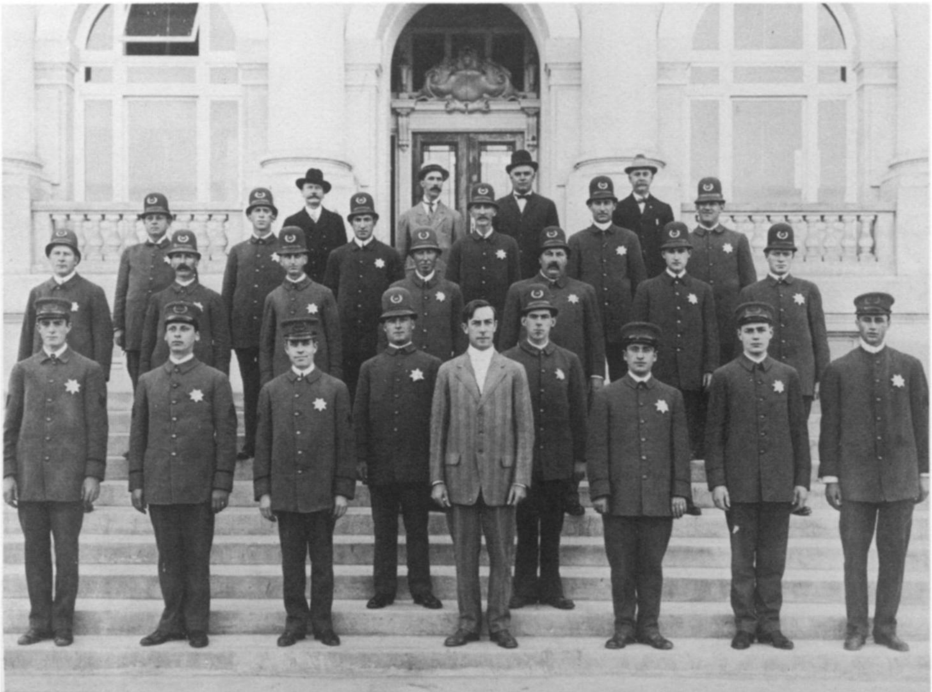
to have died from potassium cyanide, because he had been found clutching an empty bottle which contained traces of the poison. Loeb, however, observed that potassium cyanide relaxes the muscles of the body so that the victim would not have been able to hold onto the bottle. A Grand Jury nevertheless decided not to reopen the case because there were no photographs to substantiate that the bottle had actually been found in the victim's hand.[23]

Although the Grand Jury's decision disappointed Vollmer, the incident convinced him of the value of scientific knowledge in criminal investigation and inspired him to embark on a program of self-education in various criminological subjects. Loeb recommended he read Hans Gross's book *Criminal Psychology*. This began Vollmer's education in then-current scientific theories of criminal behavior, and he proceeded to build for his first-hand knowledge a theoretical basis.[24]

Although Vollmer showed an exceptional willingness to experiment with new ideas in his first three years of police work, his most daring innovation came in 1908. While it is an accepted idea today that a policeman ought to have training before he begins his work, in 1908 the idea of a "police school" was almost unknown in American policing. As late as 1917, when Vollmer and Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology in the college of pharmacy of the University of California, wrote about the Berkeley police school, they remarked: "A few years ago, the only requirement necessary for appointment as policeman was political pull and brute strength. . . . No preliminary training was necessary, and the officers were considered sufficiently equipped to perform their duties if they were armed with a revolver, club and handcuffs, and wore a regulation uniform."[25]

The police school that Vollmer began in 1908 covered a wide variety of subjects relevant to police work. It was theoretical as well as practical. Vollmer drew upon the expertise of university professors as well as police officers like his friend

*By 1915, Vollmer's command had grown from three deputies to the twenty-five stalwarts photographed here on the steps of Berkeley's city hall.*



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Walter Peterson, captain of inspectors in the Oakland police department. The school offered courses in police methods and procedures, fingerprinting, first aid, criminal law, anthropometry, photography, public health, and sanitation, as well as occasional lectures on related subjects in criminology, psychiatry, and anthropology.[26] In 1917, a revised curriculum outlined a tentative three-year course of study for men in the department: in the first year officers could take courses in physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, anatomy, criminology, anthropology and heredity, and toxicology. During the second year they could study criminological psychology, psychiatry, criminology (theoretical and applied), police organization and administration, and police methods and procedure. The third year of study encompassed microbiology and parasitology, police micro-analysis, public health, first aid to the injured, and elementary and criminal law.[27] Clearly, Vollmer intended to educate his officers to be criminologists as well as police officers. A comparison of this heavily theoretical approach to police education with the more practical offerings of most two-year programs in police science today evidences the daring of Vollmer's ideas on police education.

It was not always easy for Vollmer to persuade the city council to adopt his ideas. In later years, when one of Vollmer's former police officers ran into trouble trying to reorganize a small police department along professional lines, Vollmer wrote to him: "What you are suffering right now was endured by me when I first entered the police service. It was a constant battle and there never was an occasion in the first few years when I had any more than a bare majority of the Council. It was fight every day and fight every night."[28]

Other innovations followed those of the early years. By 1914 Vollmer had his entire patrol force operating out of automobiles, the first totally mobile patrol force in the country. In 1916 Vollmer persuaded Dr. Albert Schneider, a professor of pharmacology and bacteriology, to become a full-time criminologist in charge of the department's crime investigation laboratory.[29] In 1918 he moved in two directions to improve the quality of personnel under his command. He began to hire college students as part-time police officers in order to obtain more intelligent and better educated officers. At the same time he had Dr. Jau Don Ball of the University of California, a physician and psychiatrist who had participated in testing men for entry into the Army during World War I, prepare a set of intelligence, psychiatric, and neurological tests by which to select applicants. On the basis of these tests Vollmer initially selected some fifteen out of the more than one hundred college students who applied for a position on the force.[30] Vollmer later commented that what "distinguishes the Berkeley police department from others is the fact that rigid entrance requirements were set up many years ago and have been strictly adhered to since that time."[31] Vollmer was the first police chief to actively recruit police officers from among college students. Although the newspapers enjoyed caricaturing Vollmer's "college cops," the experiment succeeded beyond even Vollmer's expectations. Out of this group of "college cops" came some outstanding police leaders, including O. W. Wilson, who after many years as a police chief went on to become the first dean of the school of criminology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Vollmer later wrote of the period from 1916 to 1921 as the time when scientific investigation of crime began in the United States:

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Captain C.[larence] D. Lee of the Department was then working with the handwriting classification scheme which later was published by Appletons [publishing company]. Dr. [Albert] Schneider [of the University of California] ... established a laboratory at the police department in Berkeley to which all problems referrable to the chemical and micro-analyst were assigned, and later, as a result of the work of the school and other activities, the so-called Lie Detector, also referred to as the Polygraph, was developed. Dr. [John A.] Larson, the inventor of this method, also produced at the department in that period the single fingerprint classification scheme which was published by Appletons. . . . Subsequently, while serving as Police Chief in Los Angeles [1923-1924], a scientific laboratory was established. . . . A Scientific Laboratory was also established in Detroit while I served that city as Police Consultant [1926]. . . . Briefly . . . as a result of the establishment of these three laboratories the idea of scientific laboratories has grown, and they are now [1930] to be found in other police departments of this country, including Rochester, St. Louis, and New Orleans.[32]

In 1921, in addition to experimenting with the lie detector, Vollmer also worked on improving communications with his police officers on patrol. When it occurred to him that it should be possible to install radio sets in patrol cars, two of his officers installed a crystal set and earphones in a Model-T Ford touring car. This vehicle became the first radio car.[33]

By 1921, then, Vollmer had developed a high reputation among police officials. From the beginning of his career he had been active in police organizations on the local, state, and national levels, and he served as president of the California Association of Chiefs of Police as early as 1908. In 1921 he was elected president of the national police organization, the International Association of Chiefs of Police.[34]

As early as 1913, police officials from other parts of the country began to visit Berkeley.[35] In 1917 Vollmer was asked for the first time to conduct a survey of another police department, the force in San Diego. Raymond B. Fosdick, a respected authority on the police at the time, called attention to the exceptional record of crime control achieved by the Berkeley police department in his book *American Police Systems* (1920). Between 1908 and 1915, Berkeley's population increased by 73 per cent, but its criminal complaints rose by only 14 per cent and the value of stolen property actually decreased by 28 per cent in the same period. During these years only five men had been added to the police force. Fosdick credited the motorization of the Berkeley patrol force as the most important factor in the achievement of this record.[36]

In 1923 Vollmer was approached by a delegation of citizens representing the Citizens' Anti-Crime Commission of Los Angeles. They came seeking Vollmer's help in the reorganization of a police department ridden by corruption and ineffectual in crime control. They offered Vollmer the position of Los Angeles police chief. Vollmer was reluctant to take the job, but after the mayor of Los Angeles sent another group to see him, and on the condition that he would leave his favored Berkeley for only a year, he accepted. Vollmer arrived in Los Angeles on August 4, 1923.[37]

His assignment in Los Angeles was similar in nature but vastly different in scale to the one for which he was first elected as Berkeley's town marshal. Los Angeles reformers wanted the city and its police force cleaned up. Gambling and the illegal sale of liquor—Prohibition had been established—constituted the major problems. Granted a $100,000 private fund, Vollmer hired ex-criminals to gather

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intelligence information on the criminal network in Los Angeles. He also appointed an honest and aggressive captain to head the vice division. On the basis of the information provided by his undercover agents, the vice division began its raids, and Vollmer started a modus operandi file.

Then he required all three thousand officers on the Los Angeles force to undergo the Army alpha-rating test for intelligence. Using the test scores, Vollmer reassigned and promoted officers. This action made Vollmer as unpopular with most of the police force as he was with the gamblers and corrupt politicians. But he gained new respect within the department when his carefully thought-out plan for stopping a rash of bank robberies succeeded. He had assigned small details of officers to each of the banks in the city which had not yet been robbed, and with this deterrent bank robberies in Los Angeles soon declined.[38] When Vollmer returned to Berkeley in the summer of 1924 after a year in Los Angeles, he left behind many enemies both within and outside the force, and his reforms met with too much opposition to have a lasting effect. In fact it was not until the 1950's that the Los Angeles police department developed into a professionalized police system under Chief William H. Parker.[39]

After his much-publicized stint in Los Angeles, Vollmer received many requests to help reorganize police departments in other cities. In the late 1920's he served as consultant to and wrote reports on the police departments of Detroit, Chicago, and Havana, Cuba. Then, in 1929, he was asked to serve as police consultant to the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. This provided him with an opportunity to bring many of his ideas and experiences to bear on policing in the nation as a whole. In the fall of that same year he was appointed the first professor of police administration in the country at the University of Chicago. When he returned to Berkeley in 1931 he received a similar appointment at the University of California, a position which he held concurrently with the office of chief of police until his retirement in 1932. He continued to serve as a university professor until his retirement from that position in 1937.[40]

Vollmer's efforts in the 1920's and 1930's to make policing scientific and professional were part of a broader movement within policing during this period. Despite sustained police corruption and illegality in some cities, police ineffectiveness against professional and organized crime arising out of the conditions created by Prohibition, and police administrative inefficiency (revealed by numerous studies and reports of crime commissions), the 1920's and 1930's were viewed by criminologists, public administration experts, and police professionals alike as an era of unparalleled progress toward professionalism in policing.

By 1933, a report on crime and punishment for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends by Edwin H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke could point to a long list of progressive developments in such areas as expansion of police services, criminal investigation and identification, police training, communications, transportation, administration, and the growth of professional police organizations.[41] For a police professional like Vollmer, this first stock-taking of police progress since the turn of the century was tremendously encouraging. "In no other branch of government have such remarkable changes been made as those made in the field of police organization and administration during the last quarter of a century," Vollmer observed. He continued:

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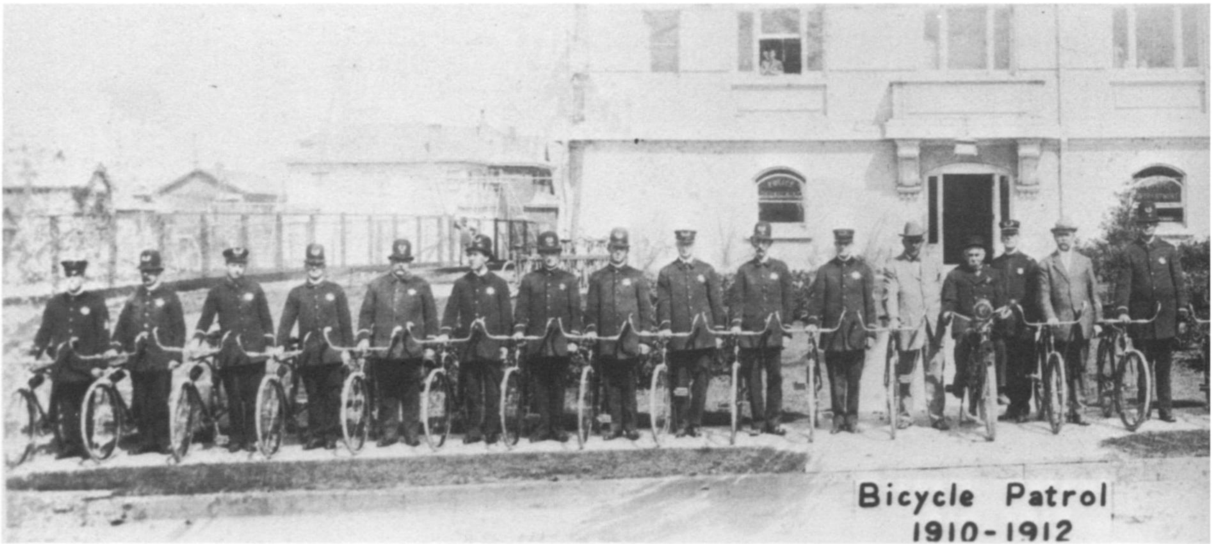
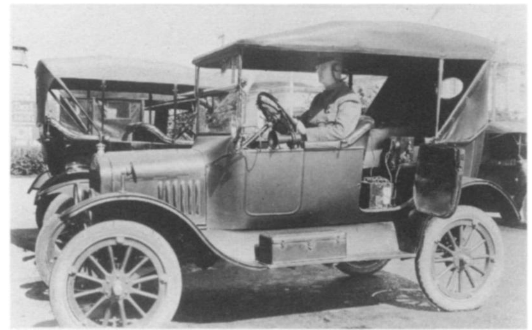
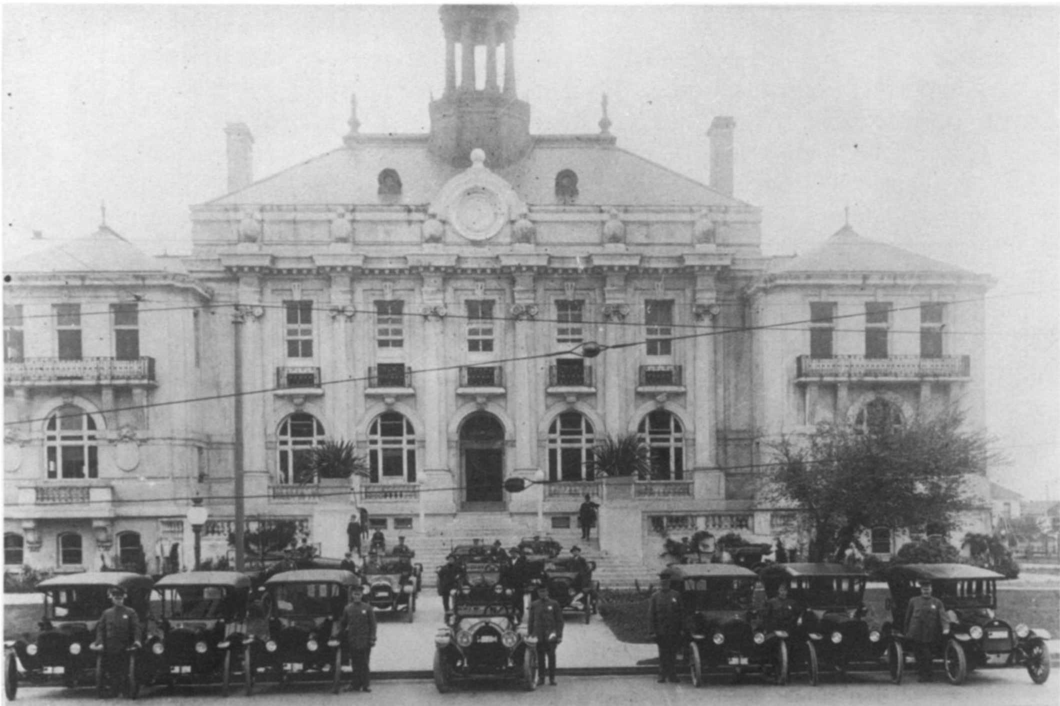


*By the late 1920's Vollmer was hiring mounted policemen who purchased their own vehicles and were reimbursed for expenses. The mounted patrol posed (below) with their machines on the steps of city hall on Grove Street. As well, battery-powered radios were experimentally placed in the back seats of vehicles so that earphoned drivers such as Officer Jack Fisher (right) could respond immediately to radio instruction.*



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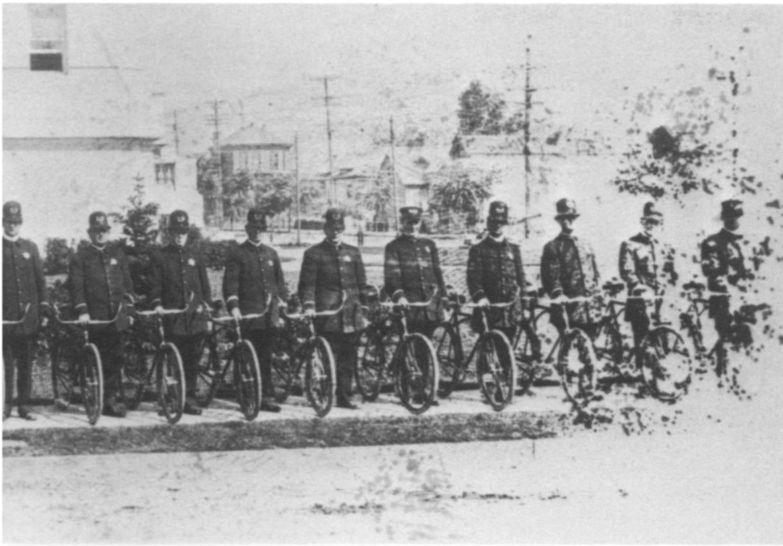

*Recognizing the importance of speedy response to calls for assistance and to apprehension of criminals, Vollmer won national publicity for the force when he put them on bicycles (left). Motorcycles soon replaced the bicycles.*

One can scarcely believe that such great advances could be made in so short a time. It is a far cry from the old politically-controlled police department to the modern, scientifically-operated organization. Under the old system, police officials were appointed through political affiliations and because of them. They were frequently unintelligent and untrained; they were distributed through the area to be policed according to a hit-or-miss system and without adequate means of communication; they had little or no record system; their investigation methods were obsolete; and they had no conception of the preventive possibilities of the service.[42]

The enthusiasm over progress toward police professionalism in this period is perhaps best measured by the remarks of Edwin H. Sutherland in 1939. In the third edition of *Principles of Criminology*, Sutherland, who was by then an esteemed criminologist with no personal reason to inflate police accomplishments, wrote: "In no other part of the entire field of criminal justice or of municipal administration is as much enthusiasm shown in regard to the possibility of developing scientific and professional methods as in the police field."[43]

Certainly, progress in policing in the 1920's and 1930's was measured primarily in terms of the objectives of crime control, and Vollmer's career in policing rested on his abilities as a police administrator capable of managing an efficient crime-fighting organization. But his reputation then, and his significance for police work today, also rests on his concern with the social dimensions of police work.

In 1919 Vollmer addressed the International Association of Chiefs of Police on the subject, "The Policeman As A Social Worker."[44] Anyone familiar with policing issues today can imagine how controversial this idea must have been in Vollmer's time.[45] In his paper, Vollmer urged police to develop crime prevention programs that would attack crime at its sources; specifically, he called for organized cooperation between police and other social agencies to reduce juvenile delinquency.

The attempt to develop a new role for police in the Progressive Era can be

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traced to the ideas of a widely-known clergyman-author, Charles M. Sheldon, who proposed in 1913 that policemen should be Christian missionaries and social workers.[46] In the next few years the concept gained attention in and out of the policing professions. In 1914 the city chamberlain of New York City, Henry Bruère, published an article entitled "Police As Welfare Workers."[47] In general, such reformers envisioned the police department as the central coordinating agency for an attack on social problems because police were thought to have more immediate and first-hand contact with social problems than any governmental agency. A few police officials also lent their support to this concept. In 1913, the chief of police of Rochester, New York, remarked to police officials attending the annual IACP convention that "the time is at hand when the efficiency of the police will be judged, not by the number of criminals apprehended, but by the amount of crime committed in a community, and the popular policeman will no longer be the catcher of criminals, but the one who foresees crime and prevents it."[48]

By 1919 a handful of police experiments had tried crime prevention programs. Detroit, which set up a juvenile delinquency division in 1877, assigned a captain and ten officers to this work by 1920. New York City's Police Commissioner Arthur Woods (1914–1918), a Harvard graduate and former headmaster of Groton School when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a student, shaped a varied program in which released penitentiary inmates were helped to find jobs, a Junior Police involving some 6,000 youths had been created, and, in 1917, a "welfare-officer" had been assigned to each of forty-seven precincts to work with problem children. In Berkeley, ten years of growing interest in police work with juvenile delinquents had led to the introduction of courses on crime prevention into the training program for police officers.[49]

Vollmer, then, in his address, "The Policeman As A Social Worker," was responding to a number of ideas current in reform public administration and police circles. Berkeley's police department, however, could take credit for first developing a program coordinating police efforts at crime prevention with those of other government agencies. In 1925 the first coordinating council in the country was organized by Vollmer in Berkeley for the purpose of mobilizing community resources to deal with juvenile delinquency. In the next decade, Berkeley's Coordinating Council Plan spread to nine other states and involved some seventy-three coordinating councils or similar organizations supported by public or private agencies.[50]

Vollmer's interest in juveniles was long standing. In the first few years after he became town marshal, he served notice to his men that juveniles were not to be put behind bars. His scientific interest in juvenile delinquency, however, can be dated from 1915 when the department first began to keep separate statistics on juvenile and adult offenses.[51] When in the following years juvenile crimes increased sharply, Vollmer tried to discover the underlying causes. His familiarity with the studies of William Healy, the famous Chicago psychiatrist whose investigations of criminal behavior exerted a major influence on criminological thought in this period, convinced him of the need to study juvenile delinquency from several points of view—psychiatric, neurological, psychological, sociological, and medical.[52] Vollmer believed it unfair for the courts to reach decisions

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on the disposition of delinquents without a scientific examination. He was convinced that many delinquents suffered from mental and physical defects, such as feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and insanity. Therefore, criminals needed to be classified by types and treated in an appropriate humane way. While in recent years the search for criminal types has been displaced from the mainstream of criminological theory and what has interested criminologists is how criminals are like everyone else, Vollmer was responding to the latest developments in criminological thought of his day.[53]

Accordingly, in 1919 Vollmer helped initiate a study of children in the first six grades of a Berkeley public school, the Hawthorne School Study, aimed at discovering relationships between personal abnormalities of children and social conditions. The study concluded that some children possessed the same pattern of personal and social abnormalities found in the life histories of adult criminals. These children were labeled "predelinquents." Unless they received attention from appropriate social agencies, Vollmer believed, many would be likely to become involved in crime.

Vollmer suggested that the police department should gather information on the delinquent tendencies of children. With information drawn from the personal observations of police officers and school authorities, the department could plot the residential location of these children on a city map. Then the police would be in a position to "command assistance from parents, teachers, preachers, and recreation supervisors" to eliminate those individual and social factors which would inevitably produce more crime.[54]

Today, this program, of course, is recognized as a greatly oversimplified scheme for dealing with juvenile delinquency, the result of excessive optimism about the public good that might be derived from the intervention of trained professionals in the private lives of citizens. It represented a professional version of the concern with private moral behavior shown by the moral reformers of the Progressive Era and a potentially dangerous intrusion on the private rights of citizens.

Vollmer unhesitatingly proposed such sweeping intervention in the private lives of citizens. On one occasion he declared: "When parents are unable, by reason of economic or other conditions, to furnish the proper home training and their offspring acquires delinquent tendencies, or where temptations tear the moral fabric, or where bad habits of defective or neglected children are transmitted to others, the community and the child would profit were it possible to place these potential offenders in parental schools until they are taught how to adjust themselves in a normal environment."[55] Vollmer's program of crime prevention, a radically new departure in law enforcement, sanctioned police action against predicted as well as actual criminal behavior. Like professionals in other fields, Vollmer became caught up in the movement to "save the child" which we now realize neglected the rights of children and greatly overestimated the reform capabilities of the "child savers."[56]

The program of crime prevention initiated by Vollmer in Berkeley fell short of its objectives. It did result in a larger degree of cooperation and coordination between the police department and other social agencies. The "psychiatric attack upon an entire area," as Elisabeth Lossing of the department's Crime Prevention Division head phrased it, never materialized.[57]

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ABOVE: *One of Vollmer's major contributions to law enforcement was his sustained emphasis on police training and scientific method and investigation. The group of police officers and their instructor, Dr. Albert Schneider (standing), are studying microscopy in 1915 at police school. Vollmer is seated (left) at the table.*

LEFT: *During the late 1910's, handwriting and fingerprint classification, chemical analysis, and the polygraph or lie detector were developed by his colleagues. In 1923 Inspector Frank L. Waterbury administered the polygraph test (left) to a man accused of murder who was adjudged innocent by the machine.*

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The Crime Prevention Division, established in 1925, had the backing of numerous city agencies and organizations, but it received crucial support from individuals who sought to establish a modern child guidance clinic and saw the Crime Prevention Division as a substitute. According to Lossing, who became the division's head in 1925, this fact accounted for the appointment of a person to run the division who was both a woman and a professional social worker with psychiatric and psychological training. Thus, the work of the division came to focus on personal counseling, investigation, and referral and to involve, for the most part, female adult and juvenile offenders. Between July, 1925, and July, 1935, the division handled 1,563 juvenile and 1,905 adult cases, of which 1,689 of the juveniles and 1,451 of the adults were females. The cases of male juveniles over twelve years of age continued under the jurisdiction of a police inspector.[58]

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's Vollmer worked to persuade police of their responsibility for assuming a new, socially oriented role in crime prevention. In his wide-ranging study of the police and modern society published in 1936, he reiterated that "police organizations constitute . . . the logical agencies for the coordination of the resources of the community in a concentrated effort toward crime prevention."[59] Vollmer made clear that he considered this a complementary role for the "scientific policeman," a term first appearing in his writing in 1930.[60] In 1936, when asked how to create a modern police force, he pointed to the need for "scientific police officials" but added that a police force should be "a socialized organization capable of understanding the factors underlying delinquency" and able to contribute "towards the removal of the causes."[61]

Vollmer's concern with the prevention of delinquency was a logical extension of his interest in crime control, but it also developed from his strong humanitarian concern which demonstrated itself in other areas as well. Within his own department Vollmer took measures to eliminate and prevent police brutality.[62] In 1929 when Vollmer was on leave from Berkeley and teaching in Chicago, a policeman allegedly struck a prisoner. The officer involved received a reprimand and an entry in his record from the acting chief. Vollmer wrote to a correspondent at the time that if he had been in Berkeley when this affair occurred "his services would have been terminated immediately because under no circumstances can we countenance brutality of any kind in the police department."[63] In 1923 when Vollmer was chief of the Los Angeles police department and responsible for the operation of the large city jail system, he tried to improve the conditions for prisoners.[64] Finding the jail squalid and overcrowded, he made an appeal to the mayor and city council for the construction of a new city jail which would consist of one-story barracks buildings with modern plumbing and kitchen facilities and with space for growing flowers and vegetables. He also proposed that volunteer prisoners be allowed to build the new jail. Although he later was heavily criticized for being too soft in his attitude toward the city's prison inmates and the city council ignored his proposal, a Grand Jury investigating the condition of the city's jails a short while later finally ordered that new jails be constructed according to Vollmer's plans. The new jail complex represented one of the early experiments with the concept of prison farms.[65] Vollmer's humanitarianism was also reflected in his support for the abolition of capital punishment in California.[66]

In his efforts to improve the education and training of police officers, Vollmer

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also demonstrated his concern with the social dimensions of police work. While his goal was to make policemen professionals, equal in education and status to professionals in other fields, he realized that this goal, this "fancy," could only be achieved sometime in the future: "My fancy pictures to me a new profession in which the very best manhood in our nation will be happy to serve in future," Vollmer wrote in 1930. "Why should not the cream of the nation be perfectly willing to devote their lives to the cause of service providing that service is dignified, socialized, and professionalized? Surely the Army offers no such opportunities for contributing to the welfare of the nation and yet men unhesitatingly spend their lives preparing for Army service."[67] In a reply to a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter who requested a statement on the crime problem, he observed: "The policeman's task is much more difficult than that of the doctor, the lawyer, or the engineer, because to do the job thoroughly the trained officer should have a knowledge of all three of these professions, but we consider the job well done when we select for our police force the laborer, chauffeur, farmer, or any other untrained or unskilled person regardless of his intelligence or his educational fitness for the job." Underscoring the paramount importance of police training, he urged: "We might set this down as one of the prime factors in our search for crime causes since intelligent and trained policemen would strike at the root of the evil by destroying the germs that produce social disease."[68] Well-educated policemen were needed not only to advance policing administratively, scientifically, and technologically, but to develop police departments into socially oriented agencies of crime prevention.

Beginning in 1908, Vollmer had pioneered in the creation of police schools within police departments. By the end of the 1920's he became the acknowledged leader of a movement to establish police schools in colleges and universities. Vollmer's appointment as the nation's first professor of police administration in 1929 represented a new recognition of the need for professionally trained police forces and research in the field of police administration.[69] In 1931, when Vollmer became the first professor of police administration at the University of California, he helped organize the first college-level training program in the country at San Jose State College in San Jose, California.[70]

The original program of study at San Jose State College reflected Vollmer's belief in a broad education for police officers. The first-year requirements consisted of courses in police administration, physical education, psychology, English, chemistry, physical science, and political science with electives in commerce (typing and stenography) and physics. In the second year students took advanced courses in police administration, sociology, physical education (boxing and wrestling), introduction to psychiatry, bacteriology (micro-analysis), student health (first-aid), political science, and American institutions with electives in commerce, public health, and foreign languages.[71]

In 1931 Vollmer wrote: "After spending nearly a quarter of a century instructing policemen I have come to the conclusion that the mechanics of the profession are of less importance than a knowledge of human beings."[72] Hence, he placed heavy emphasis in the police curriculum on the study of human behavior, especially abnormal behavior. He informed one correspondent that he would urge police instructors "to visit regularly . . . at state hospitals, psychopathic hospitals,

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hospitals for the feeble-minded, hospitals for the criminally insane." He believed that "the key to human behavior lies through a study of its abnormal manifestations, starting with the frankly insane, those who are recognized to be distinctly abnormal, and next the 'middle of the road' group sometimes labeled semi-insane or semi-responsible."[73]

A few years later, however, Vollmer commented on the pressure for courses of a strictly technical nature: "Obviously, the man on the beat need not be specially skilled in either the mental, biological or social sciences, nor should it be necessary for him to be intimately acquainted with every phase of the humanities. But none of these can be overlooked in the training of policemen if he is to have a broad, cultural, scientific, and technical background requisite for the performance of the modern policeman's duties."[74]

Ultimately, despite his concern with the social dimensions of police work and humanitarian attitude toward criminals, Vollmer's interest in crime control led him to advocate particularly stringent action toward recidivists (persons with records of repeated crimes). He argued that these persons ought to be kept in prison until it could be definitely proven that they would commit no further crimes, although he offered no suggestions as to how such a determination might be made. In actuality he appeared to advocate indefinite administrative retention in prison of repeat offenders,[75] and he further advocated that persons released from prison be compelled to register and to keep the police informed of their movement between states. Aware of citizen resistance to such measures, he maintained that they were essential to the protection of communities against crime of a "migratory" nature.[76]

In the interest of crime control and crime prevention, there was no principle about which Vollmer was more insistent than the need to eliminate politics from policing. In recent years it has become increasingly questionable whether this is possible. Professionalized police departments seem as political in their own way as old-style police departments whose policies were dictated to a large extent by ward politics.[77] Police officers have been viewed as representative of white,

*Open to unconventional methods of apprehending criminals, Vollmer experimented for a time with a pack of trained bloodhounds.*

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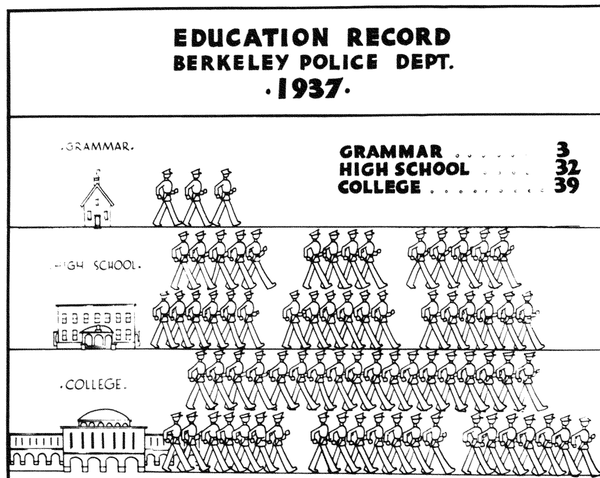


*Concerned with the social and psychiatric dimensions of crime, Vollmer saw Elizabeth Lossing, a professional social worker (shown above with Vollmer's successor, J. A. Greening) appointed in 1925 to head the crime prevention bureau.*

*Convinced that well-educated men were essential to advancing policing administratively, scientifically, and psychologically, Vollmer drew national attention in 1918 by recruiting college students as officers. By 1937, a majority of the force had college-level training.*

middle-class values and as prejudiced against racial and political minorities.[78] It is important, however, to understand why police leaders like Vollmer believed in the possibility of keeping politics out of policing, regardless of whether they succeeded.

In *The Police and Modern Society* (1936) Vollmer remarked that "the police services of the United States have traveled just as far toward the control and prevention of crime as the public will permit. So long as legal procedure and political influence are allowed to bring comfort and aid to a criminal population of more than five million persons . . . so long will the police labor in vain. . . ."[79] The key battle, he believed, was the selection of police chiefs. He wrote to one correspondent that "with reference to the question concerning the selection of a chief of police the only standards employed thus far seems to be to pick the man who

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is judged politically qualified for the position. In other words, there is no approved method of selection of chiefs of police by scientific means. . . ."[80] Vollmer's observation is largely true today. The practice of selecting a police chief varies from city to city. The trend has been toward appointment by the chief administrator of the municipality, and the position may or may not be under civil service. In some instances, a competitive examination is administered; in other instances the chief administrator uses his own criteria for selection.[81]

On numerous occasions Vollmer urged the selection of chiefs of police from lists of eligible candidates prepared by civil service commissions. He also insisted that a chief appointed in this manner be granted all the protections of tenure afforded by civil service rules.[82] Vollmer observed that European nations recognized the police executive's importance and that many men became heads of police departments after distinguished service in other government posts.[83]

For the same reasons that he opposed the interference of politicians in the selection of police chiefs and officers, Vollmer came to oppose attempts to deal with social problems by means of criminal laws. Despite his involvement as a police chief in campaigns against vice, he wrote in 1936 that the only way to eliminate vice, by which he meant gambling, prostitution, and the illegal sale or use of liquor or narcotics, was by "educative processes."[84] Attempts to repress vice by means of the criminal law, he believed, only resulted in the corruption of municipal government as a whole and the police in particular. As for solutions, "The only safe and sane method of handling the problem of gambling—and of all the parasitic vices—is by licensing, regulation, and control, through a state agency established solely for that purpose and empowered to enforce the regulatory provisions."[85] Vollmer suggested this same solution for the problem of narcotics. "Stringent laws, spectacular police drives, vigorous prosecution, and imprisonment of addicts and peddlers have proved not only useless and enormously expensive . . . but they are also unjustifiably and unbelievably cruel in their application to the unfortunate drug victims," he declared. He proposed "the establishment of federal control and dispensation—at cost—of habit-forming drugs. . . . With the profit motive gone, no effort would be made to encourage its use by private dispensers of narcotics, and the drug peddler would disappear." Vollmer viewed drug addiction, like other vices, as a "medical problem" rather than a "police problem."[86]

Vollmer's dislike of politics as well as his concern with crime control led him to advocate consolidation and closer coordination of police forces on the state and national levels of government. In October, 1934, Vollmer wrote to the president of the Los Angeles Bar Association to express his views on statewide consolidation of police forces: "It is my opinion that a single state police force which would eliminate all other police forces in the state would be much more efficient and economical than the multitudinous police units that are to be found in California," Vollmer declared. "We could wipe out of existence all constables, sheriffs, village marshals, municipal police forces, the state motor vehicle police force, and a number of the other state forces that have police power, and substitute a carefully selected and well-trained body of men to do their work."[87]

Vollmer's model for the centralization of police forces within a state was the system of various European nations. In *Crime and the State Police* (1935), Vollmer

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and Alfred E. Parker praised the efficiency of such European state police forces as the *Guardia Civil* of Spain, "a national police corps organized on a military basis."[88] In the interest of crime control Vollmer was willing to eliminate one of the fundamental features of a democratic police system, namely, local control.

Vollmer's career encouraged progress toward police professionalism because it produced measurable results. Statistics on crime in Berkeley under Vollmer's leadership and in Wichita, Kansas, where Vollmer's former student and officer Orlando W. Wilson headed the police, proved the value of scientific police work. The low crime rate Berkeley had achieved by 1915 continued to be characteristic. By 1936 Vollmer could point to the fact that Berkeley had the lowest crime rate of any city of its class in California and, at the same time, the lowest per capita cost for policing of any city of its size in the country.[89] Wilson's record was similarly impressive. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley, training under Vollmer during his college years (and briefly thereafter), and heading the Fullerton, California, police department for three years, Wilson took over the Wichita police department. At first town politicians referred to him as "the boy scout cop," but he successfully reorganized the department and by 1938 could point to crime clearance rates far in excess of the national average.[90]

Although Vollmer retired as chief of police in 1932 and as professor at the University of California in 1937, he continued in active research and writing until 1951. Following his death in 1955, the editors of the first issue of a new police journal noted that "the Vollmer system of police administration attracted national and international attention, illuminating the way for an emerging profession and launching the American police services into a period of transition, the full implications of which are not yet generally understood."[91] Although the obituary ignored the contributions of others to the development of police professionalism, it was a fitting tribute to the importance and pioneering nature of Vollmer's police career.

Because of its impacts, Vollmer's career deserves to be viewed critically. In his zeal to control crime, Vollmer advocated proposals for the consolidation of police forces which contained dangerous implications for democratic control of the police. Vollmer's confidence in the capability of the social sciences to predict which juveniles would become delinquent led him to advocate serious invasions of the rights of potential delinquents and their parents. In his concern with police crime prevention or social work, Vollmer stressed the importance of knowledge of abnormal behavior, when in fact the non-criminal aspects of police work require general human-relations knowledge or, in the case of crisis intervention work, knowledge of how to handle family quarrels, alcoholics, drug addicts, gatherings of youths and the like.

Nevertheless, Vollmer deserves respect for his attempt to achieve a balanced relationship between the goals of crime control, crime prevention, and community relations. That his reputation rests more on his accomplishments in the area of crime control is a reflection of the fact that it is easier to measure performance in this area. Vollmer recognized that police work is much more than the enforcement of laws and apprehension of criminals. Although his views of crime rested on criminological theories which have been revised or superseded, he did approach the study of the nature of crime with an open mind and tried to

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incorporate the new knowledge into his work. Above all, Vollmer recognized that police have one of the most difficult tasks in society and that this duty requires men and women of intelligence, good education, and high dedication.

Although many of the reforms which Vollmer helped to initiate in police work have become commonplace today, especially those concerned with criminal investigation, police administration, and police communications and transportation, many of his ideas continue to be controversial. There is still disagreement about how much education police officers need to accomplish their work. Most police recruits have acquired only a high-school education, and most receive only a short technical training before beginning their work.[92] The role of police in crime and delinquency prevention is not yet clearly defined.[93] The idea that police work requires the skills of a social worker still meets resistance, despite evidence that police work involves human relations as much as law enforcement skills.[94] In short, the social dimensions of policing which Vollmer outlined are still underdeveloped.

Several years ago, Arthur Niederhoffer, a veteran police officer turned sociologist, wrote that "from within the system a conflict of values is spreading confusion. The old police code symbolized by the 'tough cop' is waning. The new ideology glorifying the 'social scientist police officer' is meeting unexpected resistance. The external force of social change has set the police organization adrift in uncharted territory."[95] As Niederhoffer's remarks suggest, the professionalization of policing as Vollmer conceived of it has been a slow process. Although innovations in the area of crime control have been accepted relatively quickly, new ideas in the areas of crime prevention and community relations have encountered considerable opposition. In these areas, Vollmer's career may still serve as a source of inspiration to those who continue to pursue the "impossible dream" of changing the police.

*Although Vollmer had only a grade school education, he authored four books and, between 1917 and 1945, nearly fifty articles, primarily for professional journals. Here, after retirement, he is pictured with his major work,* The Police and Modern Society.

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NOTES

1. A. C. Germann, "Changing the Police—The Impossible Dream?" Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science (*JCL, C, PS*), LXII:416-21 (September, 1971).

2. Jerome H. Skolnick, *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society* (New York, 1966); Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom* (New York, 1967).

3. For biographical details of Vollmer's life, see Alfred E. Parker, *Crime Fighter: August Vollmer* (New York, 1961) and Albert Deutsch, *The Trouble with Cops* (New York, 1954), pp. 114-48. Parker, a close associate of Vollmer, collaborated with him on two books: *Crime and the State Police* (Berkeley, 1935) and *Crime, Crooks and Cops* (New York and London, 1937). Deutsch spent summers in Berkeley and became close friends with Vollmer and O. W. Wilson. The Vollmer MSS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, includes a two-page chronology of Vollmer's major activities from 1896 to 1947 which is useful. Frederick L. Collins, "A Professor Who Cleaned Up A City," *Collier's*, LXXIV:12 (November 8, 1924), contains some additional information. This discussion of Vollmer's ideas on policing is based on a reading of letters in the Vollmer MSS (which do not begin until 1929) and his published writings.

Since the research for this article was completed, the following studies have appeared: Alfred E. Parker, *The Berkeley Police Story* (Springfield, Ill., 1972); *August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism* (Interviews conducted by Jane Howard Robinson; Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 1972); Gene E. Carte, *August Vollmer and the Origins of Police Professionalism* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1972); and Gene Edward Carte, "August Vollmer and the Origins of Police Professionalism," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* I. (1973), 274-81.

4. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 1-37.

5. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 77.

6. Quoted in Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 41-42.

7. William McAdoo, *Guarding A Great City*, 3 (New York and London, 1906).

8. "The Police Problem," *Harper's Weekly*, XLIII:1202 (December 2, 1899).

9. Jacob August Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890) and *The Making of An American* (New York, 1901); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Newton D. Baker, "Law, Police and Social Problems," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXVI:12-20 (July, 1915); Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (New York and London, 1907); Brand Whitlock, *On the Enforcement of Law in Cities* (Toledo, Ohio, 1911); Theodore Roosevelt, "Ethnology of the Police," *Munsey's*, XVII:395-99 (January, 1897).

10. See in addition Frank Moss, "National Danger from Police Corruption," *North American Review*, CLXXIII:474-75 (October, 1901); Hugo Münsterberg, "The Third Degree," *McClure's Magazine*, XXIX:614-22 (October, 1907); and Hugh C. Weir, "The Menace of the Police," *World To-day*, XVIII:52-59, 171-78, 308-13, 599-606 (January-March, 1910) and *World To-day*, XIX:839-45 (June-August, 1910).

11. Formed as the National Chiefs of Police Union in 1893, it became the National Association of Chiefs of Police in 1895, the Chiefs of Police of the United States and Canada in 1898, before becoming the IACP. See the proceedings of the organization during these years.

12. See John L. Thompson, "National Identification Bureau is IACP Pioneers' Legacy," *Police Chief*, XXXV:10-42 (January, 1968).

13. See IACP proceedings.

14. August Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (*JCL & C*), XXIV:161-75 (May-June, 1933).

15. Quoted in Berkeley Writers' Program, *Berkeley: The First Seventy-Five Years*, 127 (Berkeley, 1941).

16. William Warren Ferrier, *Berkeley, California: The Story of the Evolution of A Hamlet into A City of Culture and Commerce*, 262-63 (Berkeley, 1933).

17. Berkeley Writers' Program, *Berkeley*, 123-24.

18. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 43-52.

19. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 53-54.

20. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 54-58.

21. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 69-71.

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22. August Vollmer, "Revision of the Atcherly Modus Operandi System," *JCL& C*, X:229–74 (August, 1919).
23. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 72–76.
24. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 76–80.
25. August Vollmer and Albert Schneider, "The School for Police As Planned at Berkeley," *JCL & C*, VII:877 (March, 1917).
26. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 81–85; Vollmer and Schneider, "The School for Police," 879.
27. Vollmer and Schneider, "The School for Police," 880–81.
28. August Vollmer to Cletus Howell, January 20, 1931, Vollmer MSS.
29. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 88–89.
30. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 99–104.
31. August Vollmer to Helen M. Rocca, November 15, 1929.
32. August Vollmer to Boris Brasol, December 27, 1930.
33. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 105–19.
34. See IACP, *Proceedings, 1621.*
35. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 87.
36. Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, 310–11 (New York, 1920).
37. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 123–26.
38. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 122–48.
39. Jack Webb, *The Badge* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1958); Paul Jacobs, *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom*, 13–60 (New York, 1966).
40. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 166–81.
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42. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 161.
43. Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (3rd ed., revised), p. 256 (Chicago and Philadelphia, 1939).
44. IACP, *Proceedings, 1919*, pp. 32–38.
45. See, for example, Kenneth N. Fortier, "The Police Culture—Its Effect on Sound Police-Community Relations," *Police Chief*, XXXIX:33–35 (February, 1972).
46. Charles M. Sheldon, "The New Police," *Collier's*, LI:22–23 (July 5, 1913).
47. Henry Bruère, "Police As Welfare Workers," *American City*, X:282 (March, 1914), and "The Police as Social Workers," *Outlook*, CVIII:861–62 (December 16, 1914).
48. IACP, *Proceedings, 1913*, p. 53; see also IACP, *Proceedings 1915*, pp. 66–70.
49. Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, 354–78; Deutsch, *The Trouble With Cops*, 114–48; Elisabeth Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work of the Berkeley Police Department," in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, eds., *Preventing Crime: A Symposium*, 237–63 (New York and London, 1936); *Spring 3100*, XIII:13 (June, 1942).
50. Minutes (copy), National Advisory Committee on Coordinating Councils, National Probation Association, March 28, 1936, Vollmer MSS.
51. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
52. IACP, *Proceedings, 1918*, pp. 16–20.
53. See George B. Vold, *Theoretical Criminology* (New York, 1958), 75–89; Austin T. Turk, "Prospects for Theories of Criminal Behavior," *JCL, C, PS*, LV:454–61 (December, 1964).
54. IACP, *Proceedings, 1921*, pp. 77–80.
55. August Vollmer, "The Prevention and Detection of Crime As Viewed by A Police Officer," *Annals*, CXXV:151 (May, 1926).
56. Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago and London, 1970).
57. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
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58. Lossing, "The Crime Prevention Work."
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60. August Vollmer, "The Scientific Policeman," *American Journal of Police Science*, I:8–12

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(January, 1930), and "The Scientific Policeman—Introducing A New Type of Crime Fighter," *13–13*, V:15–16 (August, 1930).

61. August Vollmer to Reverend T. McAfee, February 21, 1936, Vollmer MSS.

62. See, for example, Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.

63. Frank G. Swain to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; C. D. Lee to August Vollmer, November 20, 1929; August Vollmer to C. D. Lee, November 30, 1929.

64. August Vollmer to John G. Clark, January 9, 1935.

65. Parker, *Crime Fighter*, 153–58.

66. August Vollmer to John Buwalds, March 19, 1931.

67. August Vollmer to J. A. Greening, October 15, 1930.

68. August Vollmer to George Barton, October 28, 1930.

69. August Vollmer to O. W. Wilson, March 7, 1936.

70. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164–65.

71. Vollmer, "Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years," 164–65.

72. August Vollmer to Cornelius F. Cahalane, January 21, 1931.

73. August Vollmer to Cornelius F. Cahalane, January 21, 1931.

74. August Vollmer to G. T. Ragsdale, March 20, 1936.

75. Peace Officers' Association of the State of California, *Proceedings, 1925*, pp. 49–54.

76. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 5.

77. Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities.*

78. See, for example, Jerome Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest; A Report Submitted by Jerome H. Skolnick, Director Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Villence*, 241–92 (New York, 1969).

79. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 1.

80. August Vollmer to Roy V. Sherman, February 4, 1930.

81. See *Municipal Police Administration*, 5th ed. (Chicago, 1961), 152–53.

82. August Vollmer to W. S. Gilmore, October 25, 1929; August Vollmer to C. H. Campbell, October 15, 1934; August Vollmer to Roy V. Sherman, February 4, 1930.

83. U.S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Police*, No. 14 (Washington, D.C., 1931), 19.

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86. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society*, 118.

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88. Vollmer and Parker, *Crime and the State Police*, 131.

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*Mounted first on bicycles, Berkeley's police department became the first full motorized force in the country. Photographed in the 1920's, the officers exude a serious calm befitting their newly attained reputation of excellence. Under the innovative leadership of August Vollmer, the department set standards of pioneering professionalism for several decades to come.* Berkeley Police Department.

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