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THE HISTORY OF CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

From the Case File

The Fingerprints of Thomas Jennings¹

Just after 2:00 a.m. on September 19, 1910, Clarence Hiller, along with his wife and daughter, were asleep in their home at 1837 West 104th Street in Chicago when they awoke to sounds of what Mr. Hiller thought might be an intruder. Mr. Hiller got out of bed and confronted a stranger in the house. The two men struggled and proceeded to fall down a staircase. Several gunshots rang out. As the assailant got up and ran out of the house, Mr. Hiller lay at the bottom of the stairs, dying from gunshot wounds.

A few minutes later, and about a mile from the Hiller home, four off-duty policemen were waiting for a streetcar when they noticed a person who seemed suspicious. Upon questioning the man, they discovered that he was carrying a loaded pistol and had fresh bloodstains on his clothes. The officers arrested the man, who identified himself as Thomas Jennings. While at the police station, the officers were alerted to the murder of Clarence Hiller. Upon investigating the scene, police discovered that the cartridges found next to Hiller's body were the same type as those from Jennings' revolver. But the most incriminating evidence was the fingerprints left in wet paint on the staircase railing in the Hiller house—fingerprints that matched those of Jennings.

Objectives

After reading this chapter you will be able to:

- 2.1 Explain the role of informers, thief-takers, and thief-makers in England in the 1700s and 1800s and discuss how the problems associated with these individuals were addressed when designing the position of the detective.
- 2.2 Identify the tools and strategies of criminal investigations during the political era of American policing.
- 2.3 Explain the role of detectives during the reform era of American policing.
- 2.4 Discuss how community support and science has shaped criminal investigations during the community-problem solving era of American policing.

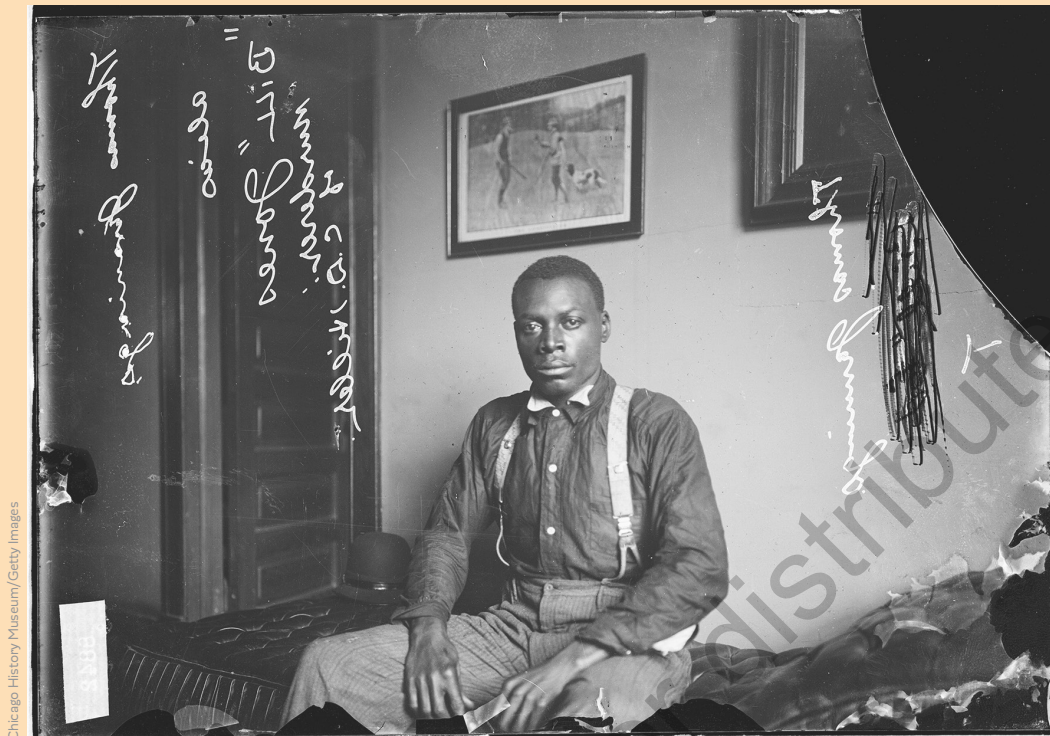


Photo 2.1

Thomas Jennings, accused of murdering Clarence Hiller, Chicago, Illinois, 1910.

On the basis of this evidence, on February 1, 1911, Thomas Jennings was convicted by a jury of the murder of Clarence Hiller and sentenced to death.

Little did Jennings know at the time that he would live on in infamy as being the first person in the United States to be convicted at trial on the basis of fingerprint evidence. Most likely he did not even realize that fingerprints were an emerging science at the time. He probably did not know that as far back as 1860, several British scientists, including Sir William James Herschel, had discovered that fingerprints were unique and did not change over time. Jennings also probably was not aware that in 1892 Sir Francis Galton wrote a book titled *Finger Prints* that proposed fingerprints as a basis for identification, and it was doubtful Jennings knew fingerprints were a much more effective method of identification than Bertillonage, the other system used at the time (and which we will discuss in this chapter). Finally, Jennings had probably never heard of Edward Henry, who wrote the book *Classification and Uses of Finger Prints* in 1900. Henry's work made the collection, classification, and identification of fingerprints relevant and useful in criminal investigations. It also led to the conviction of Thomas Jennings for murder.

Case Considerations and Points for Discussion

1. Today the characteristics and value of fingerprint evidence are commonly known and accepted. In the early 1900s they were not. Can you think of any other modern scientific advances in criminal investigations that can be compared to fingerprints in the early 1900s? Explain your answer.
2. Compare and contrast the benefits and limitations of fingerprints as a method of identification in the early 1900s with Bertillonage as it was used during the same period.

An understanding of history, and of the history of criminal investigations in particular, is important for at least four reasons. First, an understanding of history allows for an appreciation of how much or how little things have changed over time. Second, the present is a product of the past. To understand why things are the way they are today, we have to understand the past. Third, as the adage goes, those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it. To move forward, one must understand from where one has come. And finally, if history is cyclical, if it repeats itself, then we may be able to predict the future and prepare for it. It is with this knowledge that we turn to the history of criminal investigations.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE TASK: ENGLISH DEVELOPMENTS

Formal police departments were formed in the early 1800s in England. Soon after, the modern police detective was created. As discussed below, in designing the job of the police detective, the problems associated with the predecessors to the detective had to be addressed and public resistance to the idea had to be overcome.² The designers of the detective position took these issues into account when structuring the job.

INFORMERS AND PARLIAMENTARY REWARD

Parliamentary reward operated during the 1700s and early 1800s in England. With this system a reward was offered by the government to anyone who brought criminals to justice or provided information that led to the apprehension of criminals; the more serious the crime, the larger the reward. Although this system may sound like the historical equivalent of a modern-day tip line, there were major differences, one of which was the laws of the time. During the time of parliamentary reward, more than 200 offenses were punishable by death, including theft, vagrancy, forgery, and even cutting down a tree without permission. The methods of execution included hanging, burning, and drawing and quartering. Many referred to the laws of the time as the bloody code. Most people did not support the legal system or believe the legal code was just, so victims were often unlikely to pursue charges, witnesses frequently refused to testify, and juries were often not willing to convict. The public was sympathetic towards petty criminals who faced the possibility of execution.³ And by benefiting from providing information that led to the apprehension of petty criminals, informers were viewed with the same contempt as the legal system. **Informers** were not the answer—they were part of the problem.

THIEF-TAKERS

In the early 1800s, a **thief-taker** was a private citizen who was hired by a victim to recover stolen property or to apprehend the thief. The fee that the thief-taker charged was most often based on the value of the property recovered, and the thief-taker only received compensation when the property was returned. As such, thief-takers were not interested in spending time on crimes for which the property was not likely to be recovered or on thefts that involved small amounts of property.⁴ As a result, the thief-takers most often worked on behalf of the rich, not the poor. But there was an even more serious problem: Thief-takers often worked in cooperation with thieves. Some thief-takers even employed thieves.⁵ The thief would steal from the victim, the victim would hire a thief-taker, the thief would sell the property to the thief-taker, and the thief-taker would then “sell” the property back to the victim. Everyone prospered at the victim’s expense. The thief-taker arrangement was often a corrupt one.

THIEF-MAKERS

A **thief-maker** was an individual who tricked another person into committing a crime and then turned that person in for the parliamentary reward. Thief-makers were often thief-takers who resorted to deception, seduction, trickery, and entrapment to apprehend criminals and receive the monetary rewards.⁶ These people essentially created criminals for their personal benefit. Not surprisingly, the methods these individuals used were frequently viewed by citizens as outrageous and unacceptable.

Parliamentary reward: A system whereby a reward was offered by the government to anyone who brought criminals to justice or provided information that led to the apprehension of criminals.

Informers: People who provided information about criminals in exchange for parliamentary reward (money).

Thief-taker: A person hired by the victim of a crime to recover stolen property and/or to bring a thief to justice.

Thief-maker: A person who tricked people into committing crimes and then turned those people in for parliamentary reward.



Photo 2.2

Sherlock Holmes was the historical (and fictional) equivalent of today's crime scene investigator. He solved complicated murders mostly by using logic, his keen observational skills, and clues from forensic evidence, such as bullets and fingerprints.

LONDON METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

With the 1800s came the Industrial Revolution and the dramatic and rapid increase in the populations of cities. People lived in cities in order to be in close proximity to where they worked. Factory production was the basis of the new economy. With the Industrial Revolution also came an increase in wealth among some people, and poverty among others. "Urban" problems were born: sanitation and health issues, ethnic conflict, and crime. With all these changes came political pressure on the government to institute a more formal, more sophisticated, and more effective system of property protection. In 1829 the London Metropolitan Police Department was established.

Introduced early in the London Metropolitan Police Department was the concept of the plain-clothes police officer—a detective to some, a police spy to others. In designing the job of detective, much public resistance had to be overcome. The resistance was caused, in large part, because of the problems associated with parliamentary reward, thief-takers, and thief-makers. To overcome these obstacles, and to allow detectives to be accepted by the public, certain features were incorporated into the design of the detective position.⁷

First, to address the problems of parliamentary reward, such as when petty criminals faced unjust punishment because of the actions of informers, detectives were—in image, at least—linked

to the crime of murder. There was no public sympathy for murderers. The people who designed the detective position capitalized on stories of murder and offered detectives as a way to combat this horrible crime. In addition, detectives were to play a dual role: Not only were they to help bring punishment to the worst of criminals, they were also supposed to save the innocent from the worst of punishments.⁸ Early detective fiction (e.g., Edgar Allan Poe's *Murder in the Rue Morgue*, Arthur Conan Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet*) linked detectives to the investigation of murder, and this likely helped sell the idea of the police detective to a skeptical public.

Second, to address the problems associated with thief-takers, the most significant of which was that thief-takers often only worked on the behalf of the rich, detectives were to be given a salary.⁹ If detectives were given a salary, it was argued, they could work on behalf of the rich and the poor alike. Ideally, they could investigate crimes for which the property loss was small. In addition, detectives were paid more than patrol officers to offset the fees they would receive if working as thief-takers.

Third, to address the problems associated with thief-makers, particularly the practice of thief-makers tricking people into committing crimes for the thief-maker's benefit, detectives were



MYTHS AND MISCONCEPTIONS 2.1

The Original CSI

As noted in Chapter 1, *CSI* and related "crime time" television shows are very popular but tend to distort our views about how crimes are investigated and solved. Curiously, history has a way of repeating itself. In the late 1800s, Sherlock Holmes was the historical equivalent of *CSI*. Sherlock Holmes was a fictional detective created by author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He was featured in four

books and fifty-six short stories. The first Holmes book, *A Study in Scarlet*, was published in 1887. Sherlock Holmes was legendary for solving the most difficult and complex murders. His most important crime-solving tools were his brilliant use of logic, his magnifying glass, and his uncanny ability to interpret clues from shoeprints, fingerprints, bullets, and handwriting. Sound familiar?

made reactive.¹⁰ Only after crimes occurred did detectives get involved, so opportunity for thief-maker trickery was limited. Detectives were to be evaluated in terms of their success in solving crimes and thus were given more control over how to spend their working time and more discretion in determining how to investigate the cases they were assigned. These features—being responsible for the most serious of crimes, receiving a salary, and being reactive—eventually neutralized public resentment toward detectives and paved the way for their incorporation into police operations.

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS: THE FIRST POLICE DEPARTMENTS AND DETECTIVES

It was not until the mid-1800s that formal municipal police departments were created in the United States. The first police departments were located in the large and rapidly growing cities of the eastern part of the country, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York City. The Industrial Revolution created similar problems in America as in England. The mid-1800s to the early 1900s has been characterized as the political era of policing.¹¹ Politicians, particularly mayors and ward politicians, controlled virtually every aspect of policing, including who got hired, what work officers performed, and who got fired. Besides political connections, there were few selection standards. Corruption was rampant. Police supervisors were few, and, not surprisingly, supervision of beat cops was minimal. It was difficult for citizens to summon the police when needed because there was no means of communication. Officers patrolled on foot. The police made few arrests, and most were for public drunkenness.¹² This was an offense that beat cops could easily discover, and no investigation was necessary. The police simply did not have the capability to respond to and investigate crimes. When an arrest was made, it was usually as a last resort. Making an arrest in the late 1800s usually involved a lot of work; officers would literally have to “run ’em in” to the police station. “Curbside justice” with a baton was often seen as an easier and more effective alternative by officers.

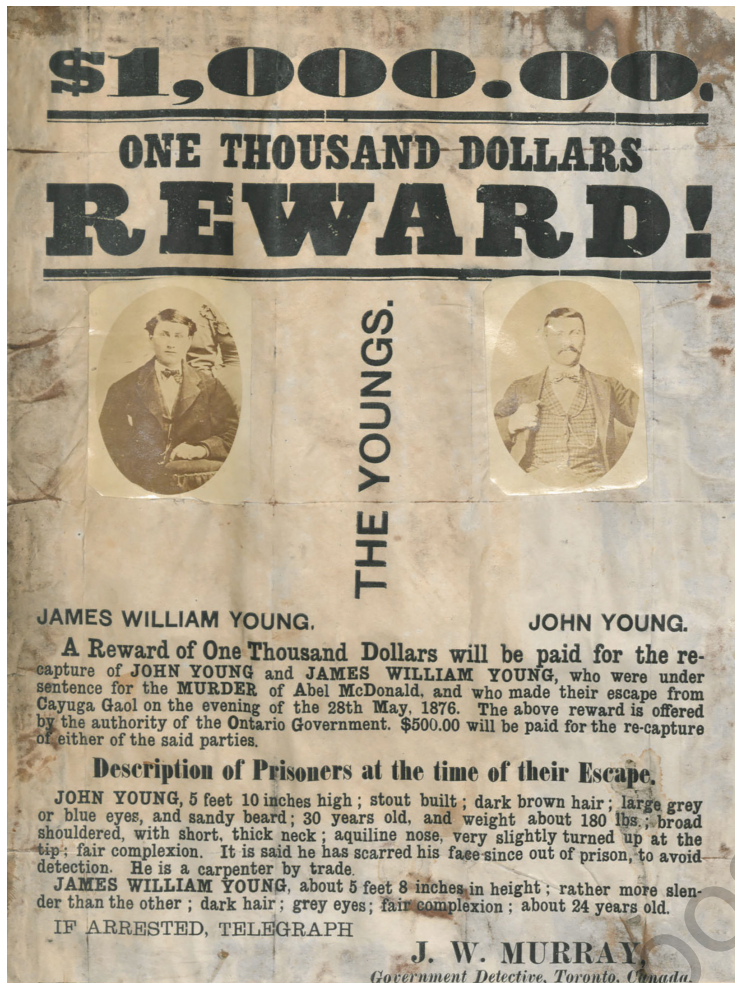
The political era of policing did not provide a large role for police detectives. Like the beat cops, detectives had limited capabilities in investigating crimes. During the late 1800s, Boston’s politicians actually



Museum of the City of New York/Byron Collection/Getty Images

Photo 2.3

Police officers in the United States during the 1800s patrolled on foot and made few arrests for offenses other than public drunkenness.



Atomic/Alamy Stock Photo

Photo 2.4

Wanted posters and photographs were among the criminal investigation technologies of the late 1800s.

Rogues gallery:

A collection of photographs of known criminals.

Bertillonage:

A historical method of identification based on a series of body measurements.

Dragnet:

A method of investigation in which the police would bring in for questioning all the suspects who could have committed that crime.

disbanded the police department's detective bureau because its contributions were so minimal.¹³ Although important qualities for beat cops were size and fighting ability, the most important quality for detectives was a familiarity with criminals and their tactics. Many detectives were selected from the ranks of prison guards, and some were even reformed criminals.¹⁴ Due to their specialized knowledge, detectives received more pay than beat cops. Detectives also received extra compensation through witness fees, which were compensation for providing testimony in court. Detective work was often a clandestine activity, and detectives were sometimes considered to be members of a secret service.¹⁵ They depended heavily on criminals for information to solve crimes and often worked in an undercover capacity to collect this information. Detectives never wore uniforms. Rather, they often wore disguises, even in court, to protect their identities. Sometimes detectives submitted their court testimony in writing so as not to reveal their identity.¹⁶

It was at about this time that identification systems began to be developed and applied to criminal investigations. The first technology used for this was photography. By 1858 the New York City Police Department had on file photographs of known criminals—what was known as a **rogues gallery**.¹⁷ Although photographs were commonly used in wanted posters and sometimes assisted in the apprehension of criminals, they were limited in their usefulness because the appearance of criminals could be altered either deliberately or simply due to aging over time. Of course, to be useful, authorities also first needed to know the identity of the wanted person and have a photograph of him or her.

The most famous identification system of the time was the one developed by Alphonse Bertillon, a French criminologist who lived from 1853 to 1914. His system was known as **Bertillonage**, and it was considered a major improvement over the use of photographs. The premise of the system was that the bone structure of an adult did not change over the course of a lifetime. Bertillon identified eleven measurements (e.g., length and width of the head, length of the left foot, the length of the left middle and little fingers) that it was suggested could be used to identify people and to differentiate one person from another.¹⁸ Bertillon estimated that the probability of two persons having the same eleven measurements was greater than four million to one.¹⁹ Instruments and instructions were developed by Bertillon to make the process of measuring a person as precise as possible. In addition, an elaborate filing system was developed to classify individuals from whom measurements were taken. Because it was difficult for the police to take measurements of criminals on the street, Bertillon also developed a scaled-down version of his system. Although the technique enjoyed initial success in confirming the identity of people and was used by police departments in many countries, by the early 1900s its limitations were obvious. It was cumbersome, prone to error, and worthless when trying to figure out who actually committed a crime.

Along with these identification methods, detectives at the time also used various other investigative tactics. One common strategy was the **dragnet** roundup of suspects. When informed of a crime, the police would find and arrest all suspicious persons and would keep these people in custody until it could be determined they did not commit the crime. In essence, the police would often resort to “rounding up the usual suspects.”

The dragnet was often paired with the **third degree**.²⁰ The origin of the expression “the third degree” is not clear, although some have speculated that the first degree was the arrest, the second degree was

being transported to the police station, and the third degree was the interrogation.²¹ Common methods of administering the third degree included beatings with a rubber hose,²² placing a suspect in a sweat box for hours or days under constant questioning,²³ drilling teeth, burning with lit cigars or cigarettes, and beating with blackjacks or batons.²⁴ It was not until 1936, in the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Mississippi*, that prolonged beatings used to extract confessions were no longer a legally acceptable police practice.

Also, in the early 1900s, the value of fingerprints as evidence in criminal investigations became recognized, as described in the introduction to this chapter. It was understood that fingerprints were unique across people, could easily be left at crime scenes by perpetrators, and could be collected and analyzed by the police. Although fingerprints as evidence still had major limitations not addressed until much later on in the twentieth century, they had major advantages over Bertillonage as a criminal investigation tool.

SHERIFFS, STATE POLICE, U.S. MARSHALS, AND THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

While police departments were being developed in the major cities in the eastern portion of the country, other areas were most likely to be served by sheriffs and marshals. In the western portion of the country, U.S. marshals were often the sole police power.²⁵ Marshals often employed deputies who also served as sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, or constables.

With the appearance of automobiles, and due to corrupt and ineffective municipal police agencies and sheriffs' departments, state police agencies were created. In 1905 Pennsylvania created the first state police agency. It was designed to provide a police presence throughout the state, to assist the local police, and to provide police services in less populated, rural areas of the state.²⁶

Also significant at this time was the development of the **Bureau of Investigation**, later known as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In a highly controversial move, in 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt created the Bureau of Investigation by executive order. Twenty permanent and eighteen temporary investigators were hired.²⁷ During the first years of its operation, the bureau was entrenched in scandal. However, it slowly became accepted as a law enforcement agency and was assigned law enforcement responsibilities, most of which applied when criminals crossed state lines.

In 1916, with war raging in Europe, the 300-agent bureau was given power to conduct counterintelligence and antiradical investigations. In 1919 the country experienced a series of bombings, with the targets ranging from police departments to banks. These actions were believed to be the responsibility of communists and others who were labeled "un-American." In response to the bombings, the General Intelligence Division (GID) was created within the Justice Department to increase significantly the ability to store information on radicals and those suspected of being sympathetic to radicals. John Edgar Hoover was named the head of the GID.

PRIVATE DETECTIVES

In the mid-1800s and early 1900s, private detectives played an important role in criminal investigations. In addition, many corporations, such as railroads and iron and coal mines, hired their own police forces for the primary purpose of dealing with their labor strikes.²⁸ The most prominent private detective agency was Pinkerton's agency. In 1850 Allen Pinkerton quit his job in the Chicago Police Department and established his own private detective agency. At first, most of the work of the agency involved protecting several midwestern railroads and railroad bridges from being sabotaged by the Confederates and striking laborers. The preferred method of operation of Pinkerton and his associates was to mingle with known rebels and criminals in taverns, hotels, and brothels to learn of their plans. Pinkerton was also hired to spy on the Confederacy, to collect information on their strengths and weaknesses, and to apprehend enemy spies. The Justice



Photo 2.5

Bertillonage involved taking various measurements of a person to confirm that person's identity. It had major limitations as a crime-solving tool.

Everett Collection Historical/Getty Images

Third degree:

The physically brutal process of interrogations of suspects by the police.

Bureau of Investigation:

The original name of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which was created in 1908.

Department, having no investigators of its own at the time, used agents from the Pinkerton agency. Pinkerton was able to operate without concern for political jurisdictional lines. This capability made him ideal for pursuing mobile criminals, such as train robbers. Pinkerton also had a well-developed system of internal communication, records, and files on criminals. Police departments often relied on this information to learn which criminals were in their area.²⁹

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS: THE RISE OF THE PROFESSIONAL POLICE DETECTIVE

With the problems of the policing system during the political era duly noted, efforts were made to reform the police—namely, to get the police out from under the control of politicians. To do so required a new way of thinking about policing. This effort took the form of police professionalism. Policing from the early 1900s to the early 1970s is known as the reform era.³⁰

The reform era was all about police professionalism and distancing police from politics. The police presented themselves as experts who had the specialized knowledge and capabilities to control crime. Crime control and criminal apprehension were viewed as the primary functions of the police. The new technology of the time—patrol cars, two-way radios, and telephones—contributed to and supported the ideals of the new way of thinking about policing.

During this time detectives became viewed as indispensable to the operations of police departments. Detectives were the ultimate professionals. They were well paid and trained and seen as efficient and effective crime solvers. Similar to the police style in general, detectives often went about their work in a professional, aloof manner. *Dragnet*, a popular television show during the 1960s (and a 1987 movie), captured this style well. The show was about two Los Angeles Police Department detectives and the investigations they conducted. There was no room for emotion in their work; they were interested in “Just the facts, ma’am.” During the reform era, detective work became more removed from interactions with criminals, with more reliance on information from science (e.g., fingerprints) and citizens (i.e., victims and witnesses).

The rise of science in criminal investigations was led in large part by the FBI. Through the 1920s and 1930s, several initiatives were embarked upon by the bureau, each of which helped solidify its reputation as the top law enforcement agency in the country. Namely, it took the lead in the



MYTHS AND MISCONCEPTIONS 2.2

The Mythology of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

The FBI has become the epitome of the scientific law enforcement agency. The agency has the highest prestige among many citizens, law enforcement officials, and even criminals. This is at least partially the result of the reverent media portrayal of the agency, even during its early years. For example, starting in 1935, a series of “G-Men” (“government men”) movies was produced. Censorship laws only allowed gangsters in the movies if they were being captured or killed by agents of the FBI.³¹

The FBI has done much to advance the methods of criminal investigation. It took the lead in the development of fingerprints as a method of identification. It instituted stringent hiring standards for its agents. Today it operates the largest and most scientifically advanced crime laboratory in the world.

It oversees a nationwide fingerprint and biometric identification system as well as the national DNA electronic database. The FBI runs the prestigious FBI National Academy. Over the years the bureau has led or assisted in a multitude of high-profile criminal investigations.

However, whether justified or not, the FBI has also been criticized for its handling of several major investigations, including the lack of information sharing that might have prevented the 2001 terrorist hijackings. The FBI crime laboratory has also been subject to continuing criticism for its work in several cases. Although the FBI continues to be an admired and well-respected law enforcement agency and is generally portrayed favorably in the media, it is not immune from criticism.

development of fingerprints as a method of criminal identification, developed a scientific crime laboratory, and established the National Police Academy (later known as the FBI National Academy) to train select local police officers in investigative and management methods. Selection for and graduation from the National Academy was and continues to be a prestigious law enforcement accomplishment. In the 1940s and 1950s, the FBI experienced dramatic growth. With the passage of federal laws, the bureau became responsible for domestic security investigations.

AMERICAN DEVELOPMENTS: COMMUNITY SUPPORT, SCIENCE, AND CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS

The 1960s were a troubling time for many Americans and for the police. In the 1960s America was in the grip of the Vietnam War. War protests were taking place across the country. It was the time of the civil rights movement and its related demonstrations, marches, and riots. The police became viewed as an “occupying army” by many in the low-income minority ghettos of urban cities. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated during this decade, as were senator and presidential candidate (and former attorney general of the United States) Robert Kennedy and civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. American society was in turmoil. Fear of crime was increasing dramatically. Actual crime was also increasing; the crime rate doubled from 1960 to 1970. The police were experiencing a crisis, yet they were supposed to have the knowledge and capabilities to control crime successfully. And if the situation was not already bad enough for the police, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered several landmark decisions (e.g., *Mapp v. Ohio*, *Miranda v. Arizona*) that were seen as “handcuffing” the police. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, several major research studies were conducted to examine the effectiveness of police operations. The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment³² concluded that random motorized patrols did not deter crime. The RAND study on detectives³³ concluded that detectives contributed little to solving crimes.

In the face of this multifaceted crisis, the police realized that the old ideas of professionalism no longer worked. They needed to enlist citizens’ support and assistance in fighting crime. This new realization led to the community problem-solving era of policing.³⁴ While the reform era emphasized police–citizen separation, the community era emphasizes police–citizen cooperation.

The idea of police–citizen cooperation and community policing is congruent with the task of criminal investigation. The basic task of the police in a criminal investigation is to collect information that will lead to the identification, apprehension, and conviction of the perpetrator of that crime. Much of the research on the investigative function highlights the role of the public as suppliers of information to the police. Simply stated, the police are dependent on the public, and the community problem-solving era makes this dependence explicit.

Strategies that provide an opportunity for community residents to share information with the police in order to solve crimes are particularly relevant in the era of community policing. For example, tip lines are common in criminal investigations today, as is obtaining information from citizens through social media. School resource officers are located in a setting where they are able to obtain information about crimes. Similarly, police involvement with community groups provides a public service and also makes it easier for residents to contact the police and provide information that may assist in investigations. These strategies are congruent with the ideals of community policing.

Along with methods to solicit crime information from citizens, other major advances in science and technology characterize the community problem-solving era of policing. Chief among these is DNA analysis. DNA analysis represents an extraordinary advance in science and in identification methods as applied to criminal investigations. DNA, along with the introduction of computer technology to store, record, and match DNA profiles across individuals, has the potential to revolutionize criminal investigative methods. Other technology in the form of automated fingerprints analysis systems, electronic networks and databases, video surveillance, and computer software to extract information from digital devices are also changing criminal investigations in dramatic ways. In addition, crime analytics has the potential to affect how criminal investigations are conducted.

During the course of history, law enforcement agencies have responded to a variety of external forces that have caused changes in their structure and function. From these changes has emerged the present criminal investigation function and investigative methods. Much progress has clearly been made in criminal investigations, but more is sure to come.

Main Points

1. With parliamentary reward, an investigative arrangement of the 1700s in England, the government offered a reward to anyone who brought criminals to justice or provided information that led to the apprehension of criminals; the more serious the crime, the larger the reward.
2. In the early 1800s, a thief-taker was a private citizen hired by a victim to recover stolen property or to apprehend the thief.
3. Also in the early 1800s, a thief-maker was an individual who tricked another person into committing a crime and then turned that person in for the parliamentary reward.
4. The people who designed the detective position considered the problems that resulted from parliamentary reward, thief-takers, and thief-makers. To address the problems associated with parliamentary reward, detectives were associated—in image, at least—with the investigation of murder. To address the problems associated with thief-takers, detectives were to receive a salary and not be paid by victims. To address the problems associated with thief-makers, detectives were made reactive.
5. Detectives played a small and largely ineffective role during the political era. They relied on the technology of photography and Bertillonage, both of which had major limitations with regard to crime solving. Detectives also relied heavily on the tactics of the third degree and the dragnet.
6. During the reform era, detectives became an important tool in police departments' efforts to enhance their professionalism and deal with crime. Detectives began to incorporate science into criminal investigations, including the use of fingerprints as evidence.
7. In the community problem-solving era, citizens are important in criminal investigations as they can supply necessary and important information. With the development of computer technology and advances in science, investigations rely more on science than ever before, including DNA.

Important Terms

Bertillonage (p. 26)

Bureau of Investigation (p. 27)

Dragnet (p. 26)

Informers (p. 23)

Parliamentary reward (p. 23)

Rogues gallery (p. 26)

Thief-maker (p. 23)

Thief-taker (p. 23)

Third degree (p. 26)

Questions for Discussion and Review

1. Describe the origins of fingerprints as evidence in the United States.
2. Explain the operations of informers, thief-takers, and thief-makers in England in the 1700s and 1800s. What problems did citizens have with these people?
3. How does the position of detective today resolve the problems associated with informers, thief-takers, and thief-makers?
4. How did the role of the detective differ in the political, reform, and community problem-solving eras of policing?
5. What were the benefits and limitations of photography and Bertillonage as crime-solving tools?
6. What were the third degree and the dragnet?
7. What role did the FBI play in advancing the methods of criminal investigation?
8. What investigative strategies are most congruent with the ideas of the community problem-solving era of policing?