

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

In the preceding pages of this issue appears a warm and pleasant account of an immigrant who came to Lancaster, worked hard and purposefully, married and reared a family. George Krupa's values guided his life and theatrical work, and as a result the late Mr. Krupa is remembered widely in Lancaster as a fine Christian gentleman, a wonderful father, and as a builder and operator of theatres where no member of a family ever need worry about hearing a foul or profane word, or an off-color joke. The Krupa reputation was built on clean, wholesome entertainment.

Unfortunately, Lancaster had, and doubtless still has, many persons to whom the idea of wholesome family life and clean entertainment was foreign. The following essay is not pleasant to read, and perhaps only mature persons should read it. A realistic picture of Lancaster in the twentieth century must include the immorality as well as the nobler aspects of its community life. The historian shares with the sociologist a concern for the causes and effects of immorality, the former to understand what has occurred and why in the context of history, the latter to examine social change and socio-pathological problems from the standpoint of serving public policy if not from scientific interest.

Existence of the Law and Order Society presupposes a need for an organization to root out and attack public immorality. A human institution, the Law and Order Society has had its failures and its critics. It has been accused of interference with private concerns, of fostering a restrictive and exclusive Protestant morality, of encouraging hypocrisy. At times its actions have seemed more quixotic than serious; a few of its own "white knights in shining armor" have been waylaid in their pursuit of the Holy Grail. The important fact remains, however, that the Law and Order Society has triumphed in making Lancaster one of the cleanest communities in our nation without the use of oppressive measures and narrow evangelistic zeal. While countless other communities sadly contemplate their soaring crime and delinquency rates and the expansion of vice, Lancaster can reflect with humble satisfaction on its relative freedom from rampant social disorder and crime. Many factors have contributed to Lancaster's stability and morality, not least among them being its unique cosmopolitanism (or pluralism) which has existed from the county's earliest days. Much credit, however, is deserved by the Law and Order Society. There is much to do to keep Lancaster a clean, decent community; its growing population, its industrialization, its affluence makes Lancaster a "ripe plum" toward which the greedy fingers of organized crime and vice stretch. District Attorney Wilson Bucher's opposition to Bingo is directed at preventing a small and innocent-looking crack from appearing in our moral armor, a crack which would admit the vanguard of crime and immorality.

The Editor

A History of the Lancaster Law and Order Society

Peter J. Betts

THE PROBLEM OF IMMORALITY

In 1914 Lancaster was an average town of 50,000 people and was a somewhat old, conservative, and stable society with a small proportion of "foreigners." Lancaster was full of churches, had an academy, a college, and a theological seminary. The cultural life was on a high plane and the respectable citizens were proud of their city. Lancaster was not excessively industrialized.¹

Just as the physical body may be plagued with diseases, so the social body may be impaired with such diseases as alcoholism, gambling, prostitution, political crookedness, juvenile delinquency, and crime.²

Although the city of Lancaster, generally speaking, may be called a moral city, it had a seamy side which included 45 houses of prostitution with a patronage of 3 to 5,000 persons a week, including students of the college and high schools. These houses of prostitution had a weekly income of \$6,000 to \$9,000. There were burlesque shows on Saturday afternoons and evenings which drew an attendance of 1,200 persons. On the midway of the country fair and in the traveling carnivals, obscene dances were performed. At one of these dances, 150 boys were counted among the observers. There were, also, unregulated dance halls and other vice agents and at least 72 saloons. One of these saloons had 450 members and in one evening there were 75 to 125 prostitutes in this saloon. It was almost impossible to obtain liquor license convictions in these saloons. Out of the nineteen polling places in Lancaster, sixteen were saloons.

At this time, 10,000 persons patronized gambling devices and 30% of the movies shown in the town were conducive to immorality.³

Around 1914, Lancaster, like many other cities in the United States of the time, allowed a great deal of readily available prostitution. Several streets near the center of the city of Lancaster were known locations of brothels and other resorts identified with prostitution. This section was accepted by the citizens of Lancaster as

a part of the segregated district and the third parties, who profited from such operations. These third parties extended their operations until Lancaster became known as a "wide-open" town.⁴ According to a 1934 report, underworld characters said that those who had money to spend on prostitution merely went out of town to such places as Columbia and Eden, Pennsylvania, after conditions became unfavorable for organized prostitution in Lancaster.

Even though Columbia is a small town of nearly 12,000 souls, ten miles out of Lancaster, it is said to contain a red light district grossly out of proportion to its size and the main brothel keeper is said to use business methods that are generally found only in the larger cities where graft, corruption, and vice are common.⁵

In Lancaster, it was found that there were several different types of prostitution organizations. Public places that were frequented by alleged prostitutes, such as tap rooms, beer saloons, and lunch rooms, were investigated by the 1934 survey. The average man on the street knew that in Lancaster the prostitutes were using this type of establishment to ply their trade and that these women came quite frequently at night and that their acquaintance was easily made. These were classified as Class A resorts. Twelve of these resorts were investigated and seven of them were found that had prostitutes who offered sexual intercourse only, usually at \$2 and the act was to be accomplished at a hotel, in a car, or in an apartment.

The Class C type of prostitution included the third parties, such as bellboys, taxi drivers, and waiters. A "go-between" seems to serve as a valuable adjunct in cities where prostitutes are afraid of coming in contact with the law enforcement officers. Lancaster and the outlying areas relied on this method of operation. All members of this type of operation carried on their activities in a semi-clandestine manner.

The Class D type of prostitution included buildings that were licensed as hotels which prostitutes frequented for immoral purposes, with or without the consent of the management. The best hotels, and some of the cheaper ones, in Lancaster were investigated but none had resident prostitutes. However, bellboys were eager to act as "go-betweens." In eight hotels that were investigated, five were identified with prostitution in some manner. The Weber, Lancaster, and Buchanan hotels were not identified with prostitution.

Prostitution that includes flats and apartments where the prostitutes live and practice their trade, without the supervision of a madam or other operator, are classified as Class E prostitution. This type of business was conducted by "go-betweens." Six such places were investigated in Lancaster and all were located in multiple family residences in the 400 block of N. Mulberry St., and the first block of each of North Duke, South Lime, West Orange and South Franklin streets.

Prostitution that was conducted in the same manner as Class E but in which the prostitutes divided their earnings with the madam or other operator is classified as Class H prostitution. This type of prostitution was very scarce in Lancaster. These operations were conducted in a clandestine manner and the prostitutes charged from \$1 to \$3 or more for their services. Only two such places were cited: one in the 200 block of West Walnut Street, and one in the 200 block of West King Street.

The final class investigated in the 1934 survey was Class K, which consisted of street soliciting. Very few solicitors were seen on the principal streets of Lancaster, by day or night, because of law enforcement and, thus, they concentrated their activity on passing automobiles. In this type of operation, the act was usually accomplished in the car, which was driven just outside the city limits.⁶ It must be remembered that the 1934 survey was conducted after the founding of the Law and Order Society. This Society had already done much to cut down on the problem of prostitution in Lancaster by the time that this survey was made.

Because the towns of Columbia and Eden are so close to Lancaster, their prostitution problem became a part of Lancaster's problem. Many taxicab drivers were found "hustling" for the "out of town joints" and all of them that were questioned admitted that a good deal of their night business consisted of acting as "go-betweens" for brothels. One cab driver said: "If it wasn't for these joints, the night job on a taxicab wouldn't be worth a dime."⁷ Taxi drivers received a commission from the brothel keeper for potential patrons. The survey reported the Eden brothel keeper allegedly was related to an official of a local taxicab company.

Prostitution became a major problem in Eden because of the big-time tactics used by the brothel keeper. When a former taxicab driver was shown that one successful brothel usually attracts others, he said: " 'Not in this neck of the woods. He's been over there in Eden for the last three or four years. Never gets bothered. He's in with a mob that sees that nobody else muscled in.' " He went on to say that the gang worked as far away as the Middle West and that they shipped new girls in as part of their circuit. Some of these girls were around the ages of eighteen or nineteen years.⁸ The prostitution problems of Columbia and Eden were made more acute because of the efforts of the Law and Order Society in Lancaster which severely limited the activity of prostitutes in Lancaster.

In 1913 facts began to become known relating to the amount of prostitution going on in Lancaster and its influence on and hazards to health and the general welfare of the community. A committee of community-interested citizens was formed and an intensive survey was made, the results of which were published. The report of the investigators stated that " 'vice resorts' were found at 53 separate addresses; a decidedly large number for a city of 47,227 population.' "⁹

The Law and Order Society of Lancaster was also concerned

with the problem of gambling in the Lancaster community. One may tend to ignore gambling on a small scale, such as a small bet on the outcome of a football game, but, like the alcoholic, the desire to gamble grows and soon it may dominate a person. This can lead to tragic results because the general average shows that illicit betting is four times as great as licit betting.¹⁰ As stated, the law on gambling generally says that anyone who manufactures, sells, leases, uses, or has knowledge of such a device shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction will have to pay a fine not exceeding \$500 and undergo an imprisonment of not over one year. Gambling is defined as anything at which money or other valuable thing may or shall be played for, or staked or betted upon.¹¹

Gambling is most certain to break down a society for if everyone followed the instinct to get something for nothing, no work of value would be done. As Deets Pickett said, "Every man employed by the great gambling trade is a burden upon the men and women who work. The weight of vice and crime which rests heavy upon the land must be borne by the producers and conservers of wealth."¹² The test of value of any enterprise, from the pragmatic Christian viewpoint, is whether or not it makes a useful contribution to society. If reward depends on luck and not on skill or labor, the enterprise must be considered as gambling. This is true of bingo and the selling of "chances" for something of value. All too often, churches use this means to raise money. Gamblers are a total loss to the community because they do no good for the community. Instead, they take money away from people without compensation, which harms the society. Professional gamblers are spongers and a worthless lot who are determined not to make an honest living but to take advantage of the instinct to get something for nothing.¹³

In the booklet, **Community Clinic**, by Wilbur La Roe, Jr., it is stated that most of the huge spending on gambling (\$2,681,737,705, in 22 states) goes to the anti-social group, most of whom are law-breakers.¹⁴

The author of this booklet, who has studied criminals, states that the professional gambler is among the worst offenders of society because many of them bribe the police, and some do not hesitate to shoot those who oppose them.¹⁵

The Law and Order Society's concern for gambling is two-fold. First of all, they view gambling from the standpoint of good citizenship. Gambling is forbidden by law and the law should be enforced. The Society is also concerned with gambling for moral and spiritual reasons. "We are convinced that gambling is part of the destructive 'something for nothing' philosophy which has made great inroads in so many areas of our common life."¹⁶

In recent years, the Law and Order Society has been campaigning against bingo games. Dr. Charles D. Spotts, former President of the Society, agreed that bingo is relatively harmless and entertaining. However, if it is allowed to get too big there is the danger that other games will come in. That is why bingo games must be

controlled and why the visiting carnivals are not allowed to bring in burlesque shows and other evil influences because once they can operate freely, other gambling games will come in also.¹⁷

The problem of alcoholic drinking was a major concern of the Society. People drink as a means of escape from reality by placing themselves in a stupor where their conscious minds do not have to confront the world's realities, which shows a moral weakness and an inability to face problems. Another reason for drinking is social pressure, in which persons drink for enjoyment and because they do not want to be embarrassed by declining a drink. Alcohol is a poison and it slows down nerve reactions and muscular co-ordination, which, in turn, causes accidents on the highways and in the factories.¹⁸ In the National Safety Council report of 1942, entitled **Accident Facts**, it was stated:

"Reports of state traffic authorities indicate that one of every five fatal accidents involved either a driver or a pedestrian who had been drinking. Careful research studies on a small scale have indicated that even this large percentage may underestimate the true frequency of drinking drivers and pedestrians in traffic accidents. One of each nine drivers involved in fatal accidents had been drinking. One in every six adult pedestrians killed was also reported drinking."¹⁹

Liquor is especially wasteful in wartime because of its effect on manpower. Dr. Thomas Myers, past-president of the American College of Neuro-Psychologists said in July, 1942, that chronic alcoholism was preventing one million persons from carrying out their responsibilities in the war effort. Liquor causes a severe economic drain, for, according to this source, four billion dollars are paid each year for legal alcohol while the economic loss caused by those who are unable to work because of the use of alcohol amounts to five billion dollars per year. The costs of jails, courts, asylums, accidents, disease, and crimes caused by drinking amounts to another five billion dollars per year.²⁰

The use of liquor causes many crimes. In 1941 alone, 630,568 violations of state laws and municipal ordinances were recorded. Of these 187,118 were connected with liquor, 142,748 for being drunk, 34,007 for drunken driving, and 10,363 for violations of liquor laws.²¹

There is a definite connection between the use of alcohol and venereal disease. A person under the influence of alcohol is apt to become more promiscuous because he tends to lose his will power. Surgeon General Thomas Parran, a former director of the United States Public Health Service, found that prostitution is closely linked to the "kindred evils of drunkenness, drug addiction, and larceny."²²

The Law and Order Society of Lancaster recognized the problem of alcohol and its related evils. The Society believed, however, that the alcohol problem must be approached as a social problem and not as a prohibition issue.²³

THE LAW AND ORDER SOCIETY

As early as 1889, Lancaster had an organization dedicated to secure, "by all proper means, the enforcement of the laws against Sunday traffic of whatever nature and character the same may be, and of all such laws and ordinances as may from time to time exist in this Commonwealth relating to the liquor traffic and immorality, and to encourage and assist the authorities in the maintenance and enforcement of the same." This group called itself "The Law and Order Society" of Lancaster County, Pa. A Guarantee Fund financed by the selling of \$25 shares was established. One dollar annual dues were charged to members. In addition to the usual officers, the Society had an Executive Committee consisting of five members from each township, ward, and borough.²⁴

Apparently the organization failed to arouse much interest. Possibly its unwieldy Executive Committee, if its organization ever was perfected, doomed the Society to an early death.

Nearly 5 years later, the Lancaster Law and Order Society was reorganized by Dr. Clifford J. Twombly, pastor of the St. James Episcopal Church. Dr. Twombly was a young man when he came to Lancaster and was noted for being a fearless and fighting minister. He was spurred into action when he learned that a house of prostitution was located on the same block as his wealthy and fashionable church. After a personal investigation, he discovered 40 such houses in Lancaster, which were a part of a vast crime ring. Dr. Twombly preached against the houses of prostitution from his pulpit and called a meeting of the influential citizens of Lancaster and the Law and Order Society was formed. At the reorganization of the Society, he was the only minister that was a member.²⁵

Dr. Clifford Twombly was the moving spirit of the Law and Order Society for 25 years. However, from the beginning a dedicated group of laymen and clergy worked with him, including laymen of the Lutheran, Methodist, Evangelical and Reformed, Episcopal, and other churches. These, as individuals, have provided much of the finances necessary for carrying on the work and their moral support backed the smaller number of clerics who joined the Society.²⁶ The present organization began as the Law and Order Committee, which had its first meeting on November 23, 1912, and after 30 years it had become a permanent organization under this name.²⁷

The reactivation meeting of the Law and Order Society was made up of representatives of the local Ministerial Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Charity Society. The Society grew to encompass over 100 members with a governing board of 20. The standing of the Society came to be so great that a visit or a letter from them could not be ignored. The growth of their influence is partly the result of the willingness of the members to testify in court themselves, often in unpopular cases. The Law and Order Society

was incorporated in 1915. It was concerned primarily with morality in Lancaster City.²⁸

The original committee of the Law and Order Society heard reports of various investigations, which brought to light the seamy side of the city of Lancaster.²⁹

In its early days the Law and Order Society had to fight hard to gain a place in the community. Men of unquestioned standing had personally to take part in unpleasant proceedings, give testimony in court and had to be protected by the police. However, they showed their ability to gain the facts, to stand their ground, and to see the issue through to its successful conclusion.³⁰

The Society set to work at once, and after ten years, in 1924, they were able to report that 65 houses of prostitution had been closed, burlesque shows had been suppressed, obscene dances had been stopped on the midways after four prosecutions in court, policemen now supervised the dance-halls and parks, and 14 drinking places had been successfully prosecuted, eight hotels, six road-houses, and a beer club had been disbanded. By 1924 the Law and Order Society had also suppressed such gambling devices as slot machines and punchboards with six prosecutions, their motion picture investigations had had national ramifications, a curfew had been placed on the city, 80 questionable magazines had been suppressed, and with the aid of the "G-men" a white-slave ring had been broken up.³¹

By 1933-1944, the Law and Order Society was still needed, although they were able to report that they did not have to do such spectacular work as they had done in the past, for by this time there were no known houses of prostitution in Lancaster, although prostitutes still operated by themselves, which is almost impossible to stop. The police were co-operating well and were keeping gambling pretty well down to minimum. Since its inception, the Society had solicited, and gained, the help of four or five district attorneys in their fight against obscene magazines. The protests of the Society, however, were not always enough to stop the showing of immoral movies and stage shows. At this time, the budget of the Law and Order Society was between \$1,200 and \$1,500 per year which was contributed, in an average year, by a dozen churches and a limited number of individual persons. Most of the budget was for the salary of the full time agent employed by the Society. By 1943 most of the Society's work was preventive because its reputation was so well established that certain practices were not even attempted in Lancaster. In some cases, a warning or a visit by a member of the Law and Order Society was all that was needed to stop the evil influences.³²

The amount of constructive work done by the Law and Order Society of Lancaster and its influence for good in the community has made it evident that any city that wants to become clean and to remain clean cannot do so without a Law and Order Society, or a similar body of men and women from different churches. The police are not sufficient to keep a city clean without an organization that

cannot be bought off, called off, or scared off, and who have no other purpose than keeping a city clean. The law needs a body to support the courts, aid in the carrying out of the police duties, and to back testimony.³³

The Law and Order Society is not a temperance society for the Society wants to enforce the existing laws regarding sanitation, closing time, the sale of liquor to minors, and the use of such places by prostitutes. It is not a society of professional "do-gooders" for the Society functions for the good of the city in much the same way as the fire department. The Society cultivates close contacts with the American Social Hygiene Association and the National Probation Association. The members of the Society look carefully at the issues dealt with and do not act out of emotion or sentiment, and are aware of the sociological trends prevalent in society and want to stop the flow of evil influences in a community. The Law and Order Society realizes that it cannot make a community good just by enforcing the law; rather the Society wants to reduce the temptations to do evil by getting rid of these evil influences.³⁴

The Law and Order Society believes that a social clinic, such as itself, must have a knowledge of what forces are destroying a society before it can take action. There is an abundance of sources from which this information can be gained. A community is a group of people who are joined together for their own protection. Those who break the laws set up for the protection of the society, brand themselves as antisocial and must be punished for endangering the society and for ignoring its rights.³⁵

The church represents and stands for a certain moral philosophy, unselfish living, clean and honest government, sound bodies and healthy minds, and a society in which each person contributes to the welfare of the whole. As such, it must study and judge the activities of those who sell salacious literature, public officials who are corrupt, those who participate in gambling, sell liquor and narcotics, run houses of prostitution, and those who exploit labor for their own profit.³⁶ There has to be continual warfare between the church and antisocial forces. Roland M. Rice states: "A halfhearted Christianity is no match for a wholehearted paganism."³⁷

There are many social resources in a community which may be tapped in the fight against evil influences. These resources were among those used by the Law and Order Society. They made use of and co-operated with other agencies dealing with social problems in the community. A foundation was laid for co-operative effort by surveying the community's resources and by becoming acquainted with their personnel. The Law and Order Society became familiar with the local officials, such as the mayor, the chief of police, the governing board of the community and the district attorney, and tried to enlist the co-operation of these officials and backed them if they did good work.³⁸

There are two different classes of membership in the Law and Order Society. The active member is elected and has the right to

vote and to hold office. The contributing member contributed financial support to the Society.³⁹ A very small part of the membership of the Law and Order Society is made up of ministers. Most of the membership is composed of prominent citizens, including businessmen, lawyers, and doctors. Dr. Charles D. Spotts, President of the Society in 1951, was a fifty-two year old shrewd and energetic minister who was head of the Franklin and Marshall College department of religion. He emphasized, in 1951, that the 150-odd members of the Law and Order Society represented nearly all occupations and were outstanding citizens of Lancaster.⁴⁰

Interested persons, who were not already members of the Law and Order Society, could help the Society in its work by becoming active or contributing members or by having their organization, such as church, church school, civic, and others, contribute funds and send representatives to the meetings of the Society. Interested persons can also aid in this work by bringing to the attention of the Society places that generate evil influences in the city and by spreading the spirit of the Society by praising those establishments that conform to the standards of the Society.⁴¹

In spite of the positive contributions of the Society to the community, there was often a lack of support. As late as 1947 the Society asked for more people, churches, agencies, and service clubs to help support it for they felt that all those people, agencies, and organizations who believe in a decent, clean, and moral community atmosphere should feel that the Law and Order Society was a worthy organization to support.⁴²

Between January 1, 1946 and July 10, 1947 there were only 36 organizations that contributed to the support of the Law and Order Society. Out of the 60 Protestant churches in Lancaster and the 325 churches in the county, only two had contributed to the Law and Order Society in that 18 month period.⁴³ More people would be willing to support the Law and Order Society if they were presented with the need, but much of the work of the Society in this period was not spectacular and, therefore, it did not get into the newspapers. Most of the work of the Society is routine inspection, prevention, and investigation.⁴⁴ However, the Law and Order Society is worthy of "support by churches and Christians, and also of less church-minded people on the grounds of secular and humanistic interests and in the preserving of a clean and moral community."⁴⁵

In more recent years, the Law and Order Society's job was to act as a watch dog on city officials. The Society received good co-operation from the city officials, the district attorney, the state police, and the liquor control board. Because of this co-operation, the Society seldom had to bring prosecutions to court for these officials did the job for them.⁴⁶ Thus, now that the Society has proven itself, its work is a little easier because of the co-operation and aid from the public officials.⁴⁷ Because of its reputation, the Law and Order Society receives advance representatives from circuses who wish to play in Lancaster asking what types of shows can be performed. Some magazine sellers also check with the Society and ask

what types of magazines they can sell. Also, meetings are held between the president of the Law and Order Society and representatives of the Liquor Control Board.⁴⁸

The regular meetings of the Law and Order Society are held on the fourth Monday of October, January, and April of each year. However, special meetings may be called by request of any two members of the Society. Fifteen members constitute a quorum for conducting meetings.⁴⁹ Because of the nature of the Society, most of the work is done by the agent and the president of the Society. Besides the usual work of the Society, the president has weekly meetings with the agent in which the agent presents a written report, which is discussed, and the president suggests certain actions in regards to certain cases mentioned in the report. During the week, several telephone conversations are held with the agent by the president. The president also speaks for the Law and Order Society and in 1943-1944 he made six addresses on behalf of the Society.⁵⁰

The Board of Directors of the Law and Order Society is made up of 20 members that are elected by the active members of the Society. The Board has the power of general direction of the work of the Society.⁵¹ In the year 1941-1942, the Board of Directors included seven ministers, three college and seminary professors, three businessmen, two public school teachers, one academy headmaster, and four women.⁵²

The Executive Committee of the Law and Order Society is made up of five members of the Board and are appointed annually by the president. This body has the power to take the initiative in prosecuting the work of the Society, referring to the Board for approval of actions as the judgment of the situation demands.⁵³

As mentioned before, the budget of the Society is composed of contributions from a few churches and other religious organizations, as well as from laymen and ministers.⁵⁴ The total receipts of the 1943-1944 year totaled \$1,579.93, with a small balance at the end of the year. An increasing number of churches in Lancaster have been contributing to the Law and Order Society on a regular basis. In the year of 1943-1944 there were 18 congregations making such contributions.⁵⁵ By 1951 the budget had grown to a figure somewhat less than \$3,000 and most of this amount made up the salary of the full time agent. Special collections were used to meet specific situations.⁵⁶

"The purpose of this Society shall be the suppression and elimination of unlawful, immoral, and corrupting conditions and agencies in the community, and other benevolent undertakings along kindred lines."⁵⁷

The Law and Order Society believes that law enforcement alone is not enough, but only the elimination of open sources of evil will help the people in the community by eliminating sources of temptation, and, therefore, help prevent wrong-doing. The Society concentrates its efforts in stopping the flow of evil which might, other-

wise, swamp the community, and thus, give schools, churches, and other uplifting organizations a better chance to exert an influence for good.⁵⁸

The Society acts as a receiving center for information concerning suspected origins of evil and violations of laws against crime and vice. The Society conducts its own investigations and has brought to light many such evils that threaten the moral life of the community.⁵⁹ "It has conceived of itself, and tried to function as one agency of the Christian conscience of the community operating to forestall, oppose and eliminate conditions which would make evangelism and Christian education more difficult and the luring of boys and girls and men and women into sin and its penalties more likely."⁶⁰

Life is more decent in a place where 125 of the most objectionable magazines are not sold, circuses do not have midways full of gambling devices and burlesque shows, reduction of Bingo, free or organized prostitution, and taprooms and amusement places under constant surveillance. This makes life more decent, church work easier, and children and youth safer from the influences of the more flagrant moral evils of the day.⁶¹

The Law and Order Society is very careful about proceeding against evil influences. The Society makes sure that they get the facts first, before they act; facts that are from a reliable source and that can be supported in court. To get these facts they employ a full time agent. At times, the Society has used expert professional investigators from the outside for dealing with the vice traffic.⁶² After the facts are gathered, corrective activity is planned, but only after consultation with those who know the most about the problem, such as lawyers, judges, politicians, the police, newspaper reporters and editors, social workers, teachers, truant officers, and officers of the Church Federation. The project is organized carefully with the most skilled leadership.⁶³

The Law and Order Society tries to eliminate evil influences in several ways. One of these ways is by fair warnings to those persons who are responsible in each case. As a last resort, the evil is brought to the attention of the city police or the state police, the district attorney, or other proper authority. The Society offers sympathy and co-operation when cases are brought to court in order to give the authorities the assurance that there is an organized, Christian, civic-minded group of citizens who will support them to the limit in the carrying out of their duties.⁶⁴

Upon receiving reports of liquor violations, the president of the Law and Order Society reports the particulars to the State Liquor Control Board in Harrisburg. In cases concerning gambling, both city and state police have co-operated in dealing with this menace. Consultations with the district attorney are used when literature cases come up, and whenever prosecution is considered.⁶⁵ A case in point is offered in the pamphlet entitled **List of 104 Magazines Against the Distribution and Sale of Which the District At-**

torneys of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania have issued Warning which quotes two letters from District Attorney, Charles W. Eaby, dated June 24, 1936 and December 8, 1936, and directed to newsdealers and distributors. The letters listed magazines of an objectionable nature and they were warned not to sell them upon the penalty of prosecution.⁶⁶ On November 13, 1936, after the first letter of warning had been sent out by the district attorney, it was noted that certain dealers had ignored the letter. On this date they were indicted. They pleaded "guilty" and were fined \$200 and given suspended jail sentences by the Court for the distribution and sale and possession with intent to sell copies of the banned magazines.⁶⁷

A chief method of procedure of the Law and Order Society is the maintaining of a full time agent who keeps a constant watch on the potential sore spots in the community. His salary takes up most of the budget which is contributed by a number of churches and a few individuals.⁶⁸ The agent makes rounds of the various magazine agencies and book stores, theatres and other amusement places, fairs, carnivals, and so on and warns persons responsible when their activities border on the immoral or illegal, and, when necessary, he reports his findings to the Law and Order Executive Committee which works with the law enforcement officers and the Court to discourage lawlessness and indecency. The agent and other interested persons act as the eyes and ears for the Law and Order Society for the correction of conditions which threaten the moral and spiritual life of the community.⁶⁹ The Law and Order Society tries to stay in the background in all of its activities. Dr. Charles D. Spotts, long-time president of the Society, says that it is far better to have the district attorney or the state police instigate action than for the Law and Order Society to do so.⁷⁰ Dr. Spotts further states that "We always go after the big shots. We never hit the little fellows on the corner. If you penalize the big shots the little ones fall into line."⁷¹

The Department of Community Relations and Social Action functions through two groups, its own members and the Law and Order Society of Lancaster. Through this organization, the Law and Order Society is involved in county-wide activities which include fighting racial discrimination and the finding of better jobs for the Negro. They fight juvenile delinquency by keeping in touch with the Probation Officer who co-operates with their activities. Corruption in politics is opposed on both the local and national levels and the Society participates in the Brotherhood Week Program, as sponsored by the National Conference of Jews and Christians, as well as in the United Nations Week. The Society also supports the National Council of Churches.⁷²

III. THE LAW AND ORDER SOCIETY IN ACTION

The first action of the Law and Order Society was initiated by Reverend Dr. Clifford G. Twombly after he discovered a house of prostitution in the same block as his church. He contacted the American Hygiene Association which sent two investigators to Lancaster. After several months, these investigators had gathered a vast amount of first-hand information on the prostitution ring operators.

The Law and Order Society called a meeting of the city officials, the district attorney, judges, legislators, and the sheriff, all of whom had been hostile and obstructive to the formation of the Law and Order Society. At the meeting, Dr. Twombly said that he had evidence on the houses of prostitution and knew who went to them, when they went, what time they went, how much they paid the prostitutes, and other information. Dr. Twombly gave these officials 48 hours to get the prostitutes out of town, or he would publish the information that he had in his possession in the newspapers. Among the patrons of these brothels were at least one judge, college professors, college students, police officials, and some other prominent citizens. These persons did not want their names published in the newspapers in connection with prostitution so they agreed to clean up Lancaster. In this first action, a collection was taken for the prostitutes who would be thrown out of a "job." This collection raised \$2,000 on the spot and it was distributed among the prostitutes. Many of the prostitutes left Lancaster, but some stayed and married and raised families. This 1913 action got the Law and Order Society underway as a community force for good.⁷³

In 1915 another investigation was conducted in Lancaster and a second report was published. This report showed a vast improvement over the former situation and it stated that Lancaster no longer was considered an "open town."⁷⁴

The continued influence of the Law and Order Society was shown in a 1934 survey of Lancaster. It was reported by persons both in and out of the underworld that prostitution had suffered badly in Lancaster, and that only a few of the "old timers" still hung on. It was also reported that it was, in fact, dangerous to operate houses of prostitution in the city. When the 1934 report was made, many persons referred to the "good old days" of the red light district and characterized the conditions in Lancaster, when compared to those of 1913, as "Sunday School," and "church town" and whose city officials were dominated by the Law and Order Society. Those persons of the underworld seemed to delight in calling the members of the feared, voluntary law enforcement agency, the Law and Order Society, and other persons who wanted to suppress prostitution, as 'hypocrites.'⁷⁵

In 1934, an underworld resort owner, who boasted of his record, stated the underworld opinion of the [Lancaster County] district attorney currently in office [the late Paul A. Mueller, Esq.]:

"A couple of years ago we thought that the town would open up . . . We thought he (the District Attorney) was with us. He's an ex-Commander of the American Legion and you know they're good fellows. As soon as he started in office he began to play ball with the churches, and now he's turned out to be a - - - . Well he's licked. If he ran for dog catcher again he couldn't be elected. He claims he's got the good people in Lancaster behind him. Well let him see how much they'll get him when he runs for office."⁷⁶

The 1934 survey concludes that flagrant prostitution in Lancaster has been entirely eliminated and that the hard core that does remain could best be ousted by acting against the operators and "go-betweens" of the surrounding resorts.⁷⁷

Apparently the underworld did not take the original clean up of prostitution in Lancaster seriously for they operated under the assumption that it was just a spurt of activity that would soon pass. However, nearly 20 years later, Lancaster still operated an effective law enforcement program and it was successful to the extent that open prostitution has virtually disappeared and prostitution may be found only with difficulty.⁷⁸

The Law and Order Society carried on a vigorous campaign against gambling. One underworld character said the following about the financial losses to the citizens of Lancaster because of this suppression of gambling:

"This is one - - - of a town, I don't blame you for one single moment to be disgusted with it. It's my home town and I can't say a word in praise of the - - - place. We're cursed here with a lot of reformers; the churches are running this town. There's a - - - Law and Order League, or whatever the hell they call it, and a couple of ministers who always stick their long noses into somebody's business. I'll just show you the kind of people we've got here. And yet the town is sporty itself, that is the individual. Figure this out, every day there were six hundred racing forms delivered in the city of Lancaster; now you take, for instance that there's two people for each one of these forms. That's putting it at the lowest possible average. That means that there's twelve hundred people every day who are betting on the ponies. Now I don't care how much they bet. Let it be only a buck, but that's dough, isn't it? Yet they won't let the bookie run. They're complaining all the time about the bookies, and you've got to send it to Harrisburg. Why even the papers are crooked, they are hypocrites."⁷⁹

The Society was very much concerned about the type of literature that was sold on the public news-stands because of the effects that it could have on the youth of the community. Dr. Charles D. Spotts said that the Law and Order Society does not really ban any literature, but objectionable portions of magazines are blue-penciled. After the seller had been warned two or three times, the material is turned over to the district attorney, who acted against the sale of this objectionable material immediately.⁸⁰ The Society was not just concerned with pornographic material but also with the so-called horror and crime comics.

The Law and Order Society was active in many different fields in its campaign against social evils. Among these activities was the education of the public. The Society engaged in educational campaigns and in the distribution of pamphlets and booklets which described in common language the evils of gambling and how corruption undermines democratic government.⁸¹ Among the literature that was distributed was a booklet written by Wilbur La Roe, Jr. entitled **Community Clinic**, which was reprinted by the Law and Order Society. The Society distributed 1,000 copies of this booklet in the community; the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church 2,000 and the Woman's Guild of Evangelical and Reformed Church distributed 2,000 each, and the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church distributed 2,500 copies. Thus, through the Law and Order Society a great number of this booklet, which describes social evils and how to combat them, were distributed.

Another example of the type of literature that was distributed by the Society is the 1942-1943 annual report of the Law and Order Society. About 1,000 copies of this report were distributed to the members of the Law and Order Society and to church groups. These reports were used as examples of Christian social action by classes at Franklin and Marshall College and the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.⁸²

The Law and Order Society found that it could not be effective if it had to operate with hostile officials opposing it. At one point, the Society's work was opposed by the district attorney and by the judges. The Law and Order Society formed a coalition [*sic*] and succeeded in ousting the strong political machine that was dominating local politics and in electing people who would do their jobs satisfactorily and follow the letter of the law. After the political machine was ousted, the job of the Law and Order Society was easier for they found "that they did not have to prosecute as often because the elected officials were doing their jobs."⁸³

Unfortunately, churches and their pastors, in many cases, have hesitated to identify with the Law and Order Society and to help the Society to carry out its program. However, since 1933 this situation has been changing and the churches have been including the Law and Order Society in their annual budgets. Their hesitating to join with the Society in the battle against evil influences has been the result of the old saying that "you can't make people good by law." However, the Law and Order Society contended, and not without some success, that "by good laws and their enforcement you can make it less easy for people to get into evil."⁸⁴ "The challenge to Christian citizenship is a double one: to dam up the flow of evil by every preventive measure possible; and, having done that and while doing it, to bring men and women and children into redemptive relationships with God through Christ."⁸⁵ If you want to accomplish anything, you must do both duties, for if you do not, the undone one will undo the done one.

The influence of the Law and Order Society increased between 1947-1948 because it became affiliated with the United Churches of Lancaster County, to which regular reports of the activities of the Law and Order Society are made. Church people throughout Lancaster County are becoming aware of the work of the Law and Order Society and are giving financial support to the Society.⁸⁶

The Law and Order Society has many credits to its name. Among these are included aiding in the closing down of many houses of prostitution, thus, making the city of Lancaster and its vicinity a morally cleaner place to live and work in. The Society co-operated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation by helping to break up a white-slave ring and it helped girls to build a new life out of a life of sin and evil. The Society has aided in the closing down of places that sold liquor under illegal circumstances or has caused the illegal activities to cease. Magazine stands were cleaned up and persons who persisted in selling banned literature were prosecuted in court. The Society's efforts were conducted on a national scale in that it co-operated with the American Social Hygiene Association in their fight against evil influences. Aid and sympathy were lent to the courts of law, to the district attorney, the mayor, the city and the state police, the sheriff and the constables, and other officers as they did their duties, often against those who made life dangerous and difficult for honest officials.⁸⁷

In 1934 the Society was able to report that, aided by the district attorney, they stopped the sale of two magazines and helped to prosecute four men in New York City whose obscene material was advertised in one of these magazines which might have poured into Lancaster. The Law and Order Society also aided other communities, such as Allentown, Norristown, Schuylkill County, and Yonkers, New York to act against such magazines. Between the years of 1929 and 1934, the Society was able to keep 54 such immoral magazines out of Lancaster. The organization also cleaned up the side shows of all circuses coming into Lancaster and investigated and brought about many changes for the good in movies, newsstands, parks, saloons, and dance-halls. With the aid of the mayor and the police, all gambling at carnivals, circuses, festivals, and fairs of Lancaster were stopped and the Society was helpful in suppressing 40 gambling games and a few immoral shows at the County Fair. During these years, vice conditions in Lancaster underwent a new and thorough investigation by one of the most expert investigators in the nation and the findings were put into the hands of the proper officials for their aid and help in suppressing these evil influences, with good results. The investigation showed encouraging and convincing proof of the influence exerted by the Law and Order Society over the underworld of Lancaster.⁸⁸

In 1940 the Society was able to report that in the suppression of filthy magazines not one of the 100 banned magazines had appeared on the newsstands in recent months. During this year the Society also conducted a campaign against dancing "joints" and the agent of the Society had made eight visits to the Rocky Springs Park

and stopped a new gambling game and discontinued Sunday dancing. In the control of illegal gambling at festivals, the agent visited 19 different festivals and stopped several illegal games. The agent also visited seven circuses and stopped violations of the law. In the suppression of peddling and begging by small boys, the agent visited those who ran this racket, most of which took place after 11:30 P.M. The police stopped the practice in certain areas and on the basis of the agent's report one boy and his parents had to appear before the Juvenile Court. In the campaign against commercialized Sunday amusements, a local organization was prevented from presenting a band concert with paid admission and one movie was prevented a Sunday showing. Also in 1940, the Society helped in an anti-bingo campaign in that the investigation of the Society was reported to the Commissioner, who called off one show, and District Attorney Shirk was visited twice during the period of the Landis "test case." The Society also removed slot machines, check list jurors, and stopped one source of the sale of baseball lottery and pool tickets.⁸⁹

The Law and Order Society conducts a constant campaign against public dancing "joints," taprooms, and saloons. Many of these places are visited weekly by the agent on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights. In the year 1941-1942, nine of these places had their licenses suspended by the State Liquor Control Board on the basis of the information given by the agent of the Law and Order Society. Also during this year, two proprietors were called to Harrisburg for hearings on charges of selling liquor to minors, public nuisance, and for serving drunks. This was the result of two years' work. One of these places was closed and was made into an apartment and six Sunday beer clubs were suspended in the same year. There is a constant control of illegal games of chance and gambling at festivals and carnivals. During this period the agent visited festivals 53 times and discovered only one offense, which, considering the activities of previous years, was an excellent record. Three pin ball machines were also removed from various establishments. The Society constantly suppresses filthy magazines. The agent visited downtown newsstands weekly and on information given to the district attorney by the Law and Order Society in the year 1941-1942, nine additional magazines were banned and letters were sent to the magazine sellers warning them not to sell such magazines. One magazine distributor was prosecuted in court. Also during this year, objectionable movies were suppressed but only a part of one movie had to be censored.⁹⁰

In 1943, in activities other than usual, the Society ended the use of certain isolated areas by young (under 17 years of age) girls and men in uniform. The Lancaster Law and Order Society reaches into other towns. By request, a committee of the Society met with a group of Reading, Pennsylvania, citizens and the nature of the work was described in the anticipation of the founding of a similar organization in that city. In the field of education, the booklet **Community Clinic** was printed and distributed to acquaint churches

with the program and to prepare them for community action in moral issues. Out of this influence, 9,000 copies of this booklet were distributed through various church boards.⁹¹

By 1951 the Law and Order Society was able to report that bookies were very scarce in Lancaster, as were numbers peddlars and punchboards. Slot machines were almost nonexistent and organized houses of prostitution were definitely not in business in the city of Lancaster.⁹²

“‘Brother, this town is closed down tight. It’s been closed down for years.’”⁹³ This was the usual reply given when racketeers were asked about the conditions in Lancaster as recently as 1951.

According to Dr. Charles D. Spotts, there are a number of reasons for the success of the Law and Order Society. One of these is the use of a full time agent, which enables the Society to keep a constant vigilance on potential trouble spots. Another reason is that no legal action is taken by the Society until the case is fool-proof. The members of the Society are able to offer excellent legal advice. However, the best results come from warning the offenders and by forcing them to stop objectionable activity without prosecution. The Law and Order Society can do this now because of its position, but it had to prosecute in earlier years to get the same results. Dr. Charles D. Spotts said, “It’s been a long, hard fight. We believe Lancaster is now a really clean city and we want to keep it that way. It’s a hard job that requires constant vigilance — but nowhere as hard as it was when the Society first started to go to work on the rackets.”⁹⁴

The result of this clean-up of Lancaster is that young people have a much better chance for growing up to be decent and responsible men and women. Other communities have heard of the success of the Law and Order Society and have followed the example of Lancaster. The pastor behind all of this is probably as much responsible for the campaign for better movies as anyone else in the United States, which shows how much influence was wielded by the leaders of the Society.⁹⁵

One of the unfortunate results of the activity of the Law and Order Society was the opposition which was raised against it. Dr. Charles D. Spotts, former president of the Society, and the agent of the Society, have been threatened several times and have been called “snoopers” in various anonymous letters. However, those who have written these letters have to admit that the Law and Order Society is mainly responsible for the cleaning up of Lancaster and ridding it of evil influences.⁹⁶ When the Society was first started, the city and county officials tried every means to stop the activities of the Law and Order Society and to prevent it from becoming a success.⁹⁷ One of the chief discouragements faced by the Law and Order Society, during the last 25 years, is the reluctance of the city churches, as churches, to identify themselves with the work of the Society.⁹⁸

In 1947 James E. Wagner stated that it was time for the peo-

ple of Lancaster to take stock of the Law and Order Society, which after 16 years of service to the community was still encumbered with misunderstanding. James E. Wagner stated that "I am convinced that the Law and Order Society is marked by more erroneous and widespread misunderstanding, more fallacious and unmerited criticism, and a more shameful lack of support from people who ought to be supporting it, than any other agency in the community."⁹⁹

A case in point is a letter written to the editor of a local newspaper in Lancaster, which reads as follows:

"Editor, New Era: This afternoon I have been reading of the raid last night at the Odd Fellows' Hall. According to the account in the paper, this was brought about by a complaint from a self-styled 'Law' and 'Order' society.

I have one question to ask. What is this Society? Is it a group which honestly believes in law and order, or is it a group of hypercritical, mealy-mouthed goody-goodies who have nothing better to do than attempting to prevent honest people from having a bit of harmless recreation?

There is no doubt in my mind! Why in Heaven's name can't these people mind their own business? Who was being harmed by this bingo game? It was merely a group of people trying to have a little fun. If the slimy minds of this so-called 'law' and 'order' society find fault with this, what hope is there for any of us?

I am only a senior in a county high school; therefore, it makes little difference what I think. However, I do ask you to print this letter. I also invite any members of this society to reply to this."¹⁰⁰

The record of positive and constructive work done by the Law and Order Society through the years is answer enough to this letter. A typical American city of 60,000 people, under the leadership of a Lutheran layman, has almost completely freed itself of commercialized evil. The Law and Order Society is the organization through which this man, and other clergymen have worked to achieve this fact.¹⁰¹

IV. CONCLUSION

In Dr. Twombley's Farewell Sermon to St. James' Church, Sunday, April 30, 1939, he states that the Law and Order Society, made up of Christian men and women who cared enough for the moral climate of Lancaster to take action, with the result that there is no open gambling, commercialized vice, immoral burlesque shows, corrupting carnivals, and 956 evil magazines are not sold in Lancaster.¹⁰² Since the Law and Order Society has been incorporated, the Society has grown in influence and strength so that Dr. Twombley could truthfully say in his farewell sermon that:

"The forces of the underworld are beaten in this city today and they know it, for they call Lancaster a 'Sunday School Town.' That this is still true is confirmed by the recent report of a 'Survey of Commercialized Prostitution Conditions' made by the American Social Hygiene Association. A long-time resident of the city, in a good position to know, was the first to say: 'Been in Lancaster for 39 years . . . Know this town inside and out . . . Sure did have whore houses . . . That's about 20 years ago. I used to deliver papers in the houses . . . The girls used to ask me to send them customers . . . That's all gone for many years . . . Churches and the Law and Order Society don't allow anything like that now.'"¹⁰³

The Law and Order Society performed a valuable service for without the Society the churches would have been afraid to tackle the evil influences because they would have hesitated to act as a law enforcement agency. However, the church can act through the Law and Order Society without fear for it is an organization fostered by Christian conviction. The Law and Order Society has become the Christian people and churches in action for a better community. Only the churches can supply the men and women of a character and conviction needed in the Society and under which such an organization may be developed. The continuing history of the Law and Order Society demonstrates that community action of this type must be a fusion of lay and clergy working together.¹⁰⁴

A measure of the success of the Society is given by the underworld itself: "The Law and Order Society is always on the job and keeps things tight shut, and folks are afraid. This is a one-horse town, controlled by the churches, ruled by reformers and hypocrites," is the sorrowful refrain of the broken underworld of Lancaster."¹⁰⁵

As late as 1948, in spite of the vigorous activity of the Law and Order Society, only a few people realized how much the Society had done to change the reputation of Lancaster. In the preceding 35 years, the reputation of the city of Lancaster was changed from being one of the four worst cities in Pennsylvania to the cleanest city in Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁶ In the report of the survey of June of 1950 as made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the American Hygiene Association, it was stated that Lancaster was "one of the cleanest cities in America, judged by its freedom from vice and or-

ganized crime.' ”¹⁰⁷ One of the major reasons for the favorable report of this survey was the highly effective Law and Order Society of the city of Lancaster.¹⁰⁸

Although often faced with strong opposition and seemingly constantly plagued with a lack of public support and general misconceptions, the Law and Order Society has succeeded in completely changing the characted of Lancaster. This Society succeeded where the law and public officials have failed. The Society has gone far beyond the local scene for its example and influence is felt across the nation. This organization has shown America a way to fight vice and crime in a situation where the law is without effect. By putting into practice a program of strict law enforcement, the Society has demonstrated the worth and value of the law and the democratic system of government.

After the initial years, the work of the Law and Order Society was mainly preventive, as it is today. Therefore, not much is heard about the Society at present. It is there however, and always guarding Lancaster from an invasion of evil influences. The city of Lancaster may be justly proud of her Law and Order Society and should be thankful for those who cared enough to do something about the previous conditions in Lancaster.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Peter J. Betts was born 29 June 1943 at Boston, Massachusetts. When he was five years old, Peter left the city renowned for its "Watch and Ward Society" to accompany his parents to India where his father served as a medical missionary to Christian Medical College and Hospital. He attended school in Kodaikavol, South India, until 1960 when he returned to the United States. In 1961 he graduated from Lower Merion High School, Ardmore, Pa., and then attended Pennington School in New Jersey. In 1966 Mr. Betts was graduated from Albright College, Reading, Pa., with a bachelor of arts degree in history. His advisor was Dr. William Hummel, also a contributor to the Journal.

[Editor's Note: The opinions and interpretations expressed herein are those of the author, and are not necessarily those of the Lancaster County Historical Society or editorial board.]

NOTES

1. Nevin C. Harner, **A Quarter Century of Community Change.**
2. Wilbur La Roe, Jr., **Community Clinic**, p. 3.
3. Harner, **op. cit.**
4. **Commercialized Prostitution Survey, Lancaster, Pa., (May 7-12, 1934) p. 1.**
5. **Ibid.**, p. 3.
6. **Ibid.**, pp. 5-10.
7. **Ibid.**, p. 4.
8. **Ibid.**, pp. 4-5.
9. **Ibid.**, p. 1.
10. La Roe, **op. cit.**, pp. 13-14.
11. **Law on Gambling, Act of 1860.**
12. La Roe, **op. cit.**, p. 13.
13. **Ibid.**
14. **Ibid.**, p. 15.
15. **Ibid.**, p. 16.
16. C. L. Martin, **To a Selected List of Community Leaders, (July 25, 1950).**
17. "Gambling and Vice Scarce in Lancaster; Law and Order Group Keeps City Clean," **The Gazette and Daily, (February 10, 1951), pp. 1, 35.**
18. La Roe, **op. cit.**, pp. 6-8.
19. **Ibid.**, pp. 8-9.
20. **Ibid.**, p. 9.
21. **Ibid.**, p. 10.
22. **Ibid.**, p. 10.
23. **Ibid.**, 6. 6.
24. **Constitution of The Law and Order Society of Lancaster County, Pa., 1889.**
25. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 35.
26. Reverend James E. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **The Lancaster Law and Order Society Annual Report 1943-1944, pp. 12-13.**
27. **Ibid.**, p. 9.
28. Harner, **op. cit.**
29. Wagner, **op. cit.**, p. 10.
30. Nevin C. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942.**
31. Harner, **op. cit.**
32. Wagner, **op. cit.**, pp. 11-12.
33. **Annual Report to Law and Order Society, (1948).**
34. James E. Wagner, "As I See Life," **The Law and Order Society in Our Town.**
35. La Roe, **op. cit.**, pp. 3-4.
36. **Ibid.**, p. 4.
37. **Ibid.**
38. **Ibid.**, pp. 5-6.
39. **By-Laws of the Law and Order Society of the City of Lancaster, Pa.**
40. **The Gazette and Daily, (February 10, 1951), op. cit.**, p. 1.
41. **If the Churches Don't Support The Lancaster Law and Order Society, Who Will?**
42. Wagner, "As I See Life," **op. cit.**
43. **Ibid.**
44. **Ibid.**
45. **Ibid.**
46. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 1.
47. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942, op. cit.**
48. **Ibid.**
49. **By-Laws of the Law and Order Society, op. cit.**, pp. 2-3.
50. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, p. 2.
51. **By-Laws of the Law and Order Society, op. cit.**, p. 2.
52. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942, op. cit.**
53. **By-Laws of the Law and Order Society, op. cit.**

54. **If the Churches Don't Support the Lancaster Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
55. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, pp. 7-8.
56. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 35.
57. **By-Laws of the Law and Order Society, op. cit.**, p. 1.
58. **If the Churches Don't Support the Lancaster Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
59. **Ibid.**
60. **Ibid.**
61. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942, op. cit.**
62. Harner, **A Quarter Century of Community Change, op. cit.**
63. La Roe, **op. cit.**, p. 6.
64. **If the Churches Don't Support the Lancaster Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
65. **Job Analysis For Agent of Lancaster Law and Order Society.**
66. **List of 104 Magazines Against the Distribution and Sale of Which the District Attorneys of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania have issued Warning.**
67. **Ibid.**
68. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942, op. cit.**
69. **If the Churches Don't Support the Lancaster Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
70. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 35.
71. **Ibid.**
72. **Job Analysis of the Department of Community Relations and Social Action.**
73. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 35.
74. **Commercialized Prostitution Survey, op. cit.**
75. **Ibid.**, p. 2.
76. **Ibid.**
77. **Ibid.**, p. 10.
78. **Ibid.**, p. 2.
79. **Commercialized Prostitution Survey, op. cit.**, p. 3.
80. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**
81. **Ibid.**
82. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, p. 7.
83. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**
84. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, p. 13.
85. **Ibid.**, p. 14.
86. **Annual Report to Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
87. **If the Churches Don't Support the Lancaster Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
88. **What has the Lancaster Law and Order Society done during the Year 1934?**
89. **What Has the Lancaster Law and Order Society Accomplished During 1940?**
90. Harner, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1941-1942, op. cit.**
91. **Annual Report of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1943.**
92. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 1.
93. **Ibid.**
94. **Ibid.**, p. 35.
95. Harner, **A Quarter Century of Community Change, op. cit.**
96. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 35.
97. **Ibid.**, p. 1.
98. Harner, **A Quarter Century of Community Change, op. cit.**
99. Wagner, "As I See Life," **op. cit.**
100. Elizabeth Shaw, "Letters to the Editor," **The Lancaster New Era**, (December 2, 1953).
101. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, p. 9.

102. **Annual Report to Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
 103. **Ibid.**
 104. Wagner, "Some Social Action," **op. cit.**, p. 12.
 105. **What has the Lancaster Law and Order Society done during the Year 1934?, op. cit.**
 106. **Annual Report to Law and Order Society, op. cit.**
 107. **The Gazette and Daily, op. cit.**, p. 1.
 108. **Ibid.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reports

- Annual Report to Law and Order Society, 1948.**
Commercialized Prostitution Survey, Lancaster, Pa., May 7-12, 1934.

Pamphlets

- Annual Report of Lancaster Law and Order Society for the year 1943.**
 Harner, Nevin C., **A Quarter Century of Community Change.**
 —, **A Review of the Work of the Lancaster Law and Order Society for the Year 1941-1942.**
If the Churches Don't Support The Lancaster Law and Order Society, Who Will?
 La Roe, Wilbur, Jr. **Community Clinic.** Reprinted by the Law and Order Society of Lancaster, Pa., 1943.
List of 104 Magazines Against the Distribution and Sale of Which the District Attorneys of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania have issued Warning.
 Wagner, James E. "As I See Life," **The Law and Order Society in Our Town.** Reprinted from **The Lancaster Advertiser** (Lancaster), Thursday, July 10, 1947.
 —and Spotts, Charles D. "Some Social Action," **The Lancaster Law and Order Society Annual Report 1943-1944.**
What has the Lancaster Law and Order Society done during the Year 1934?
What Has the Lancaster Law and Order Society Accomplished During 1940?

Articles

- "Gambling and Vice Scarce in Lancaster; Law and Order Group Keeps City Clean," **The Gazette and Daily** (York), Saturday morning, February 10, 1951, pp. 1, 35.
 Shaw, Elizabeth. "Letter to the Editor," **The Lancaster New Era**, December 2, 1953.

Other Sources

- By-Laws of the Law and Order Society of the City of Lancaster, Pa., Adopted October 24, 1921.**
Job Analysis For Agent of Lancaster Law and Order Society, January 14, 1957.
Job Analysis Of The Department of Community Relations and Social Action. Law on Gambling, Act of 1860, P. L. 397, Section 55.
 Martin, C. L., and Spotts, Charles D. **To a Selected List of Community Leaders.** July 25, 1950.