### THESIS

on

A STUDY OF CRIME IN AN OREGON RURAL COMMUNITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEMPERANCE LAWS

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#### INTRODUCTION

The object of this thesis is to find the effect of the prohibition laws of the State and Nation in the town of Corvallis, Benton County, Oregon, on crime, for the purpose of noting any correlation that may exist between the factors of intemperance and criminality.

A STUDY OF THE CRIMES OF CORVALLIS, OREGON, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEMPERANCE LAWS

# Location and History of Corvallis and Benton County, Oregon.

Corvallis, one of the oldest towns in the State of Oregon, is located on the west bank of the Willamette River at the junction of its tributary Mary's River. It is ninety miles south of Portland, the metropolis, and only sixty miles inland from the Pacific Ocean and located in the center of the Willamette Valley. To the West is a picturesque background of low hills culminating in the Coast Mountains, which carry on their crest Mary's Peak, the highest point of this range. And to the East and more distant are the Cascade Range which shoulder gleaming snow-capped peaks of remarkable grandeur.

The early settlers were allured to this region by the equitable climate, clear atmosphere and abundant fresh water. Added to the natural charms of this locality, were the contributing factors that this place was the head of navigation on the Willamette River, the first steamer, "Canemah", having arrived with freight and passengers at an early date, 1854. Also this town was in the direct line of travel through the State for

immigrants who filtered down from the North, principally by what is known as the Barlow route or up from the South along the Applegate trail. Here, also, in the days of "49" could be seen daily in the streets, long strings of mules being ladened with flour, bacon and such commodities as were demanded in the California gold mines, whither they were destined. When the miners returned from their quest they would leave their pack mules and equipment at Marysville (Corvallis), take the river boat and spend the winter in Portland, and return to the mines in the spring, passing a second time through the town. These were prosperous times for the village.

As to the early settlement of the town, we find its history begins with two men: Honorable Joseph C. Avery, the real founder, who crossed the plains, 1845 arrived at this place the next year, 1846. He built his log cabin on the north bank of Mary's river in the midst of his 640-acre donation claim, which also included the land on which the south half of Corvallis is located. Mr. Wm. F. Dixon, who came at the same time, took his claim adjoining Mr. Avery's on the north. The dividing line between their claims began at the Willamette river, ran along the north side of the court house square, which

was donated by Mr. Avery to the town, then on westward diagonally to what is known as Jefferson and Twelfth streets, then west on Jefferson street. Mr. Dixon built his cabin north of the Court House about five blocks and on the bank of the Willamette River over which he operated a ferry. Mr. Avery kept a cance tied on the bank of Mary's River which he freely loaned to travelers to cross in, -- their stock were obliged to swim.

In later years the writer's home was located on the same site of the Dixon cabin, and this venerable old man still resided in town and was a familiar figure on the streets of Corvallis. Mr. Avery passed away in 1876.

Being of an enterprising nature, the next winter after Mr. Avery settled, he staked off into lots, in the year 1847, what he called his "little pasture". The location chosen for the village was just north of Mary's River.

Although he went to the mines in 1847, he also found time to buy a stock of goods in San Francisco and to start a store, using his granary for that purpose. He continued merchandising for twenty-three years, but in a good building--in fact, this was the first sawed lumber building west of the Rocky Mountains.

Marysville was the first name given to the village, named for Mary's River which was so-called by a trader and trapper--Mr. Wimple--who wished to honor his sister, a lady who lived in New York state, but who never saw the river nor mountain, "Mary's Peak", that bore her name.

The name was changed later to Corvallis to prevent confusion with Marysville, California.

Corvallis could not fail to prosper because it was built in a prairie with a soil of rich loam; the hills are excellent for grazing, and the mountains are heavily timbered. Drouth is unknown.

Cereals and fruits flourish with less effort than in most states. The fertility of the valley was evidenced by the remarkably tall grass that flourished over most of this region. Old pioneers of sterling honesty say that a man on horseback could hardly be seen when riding through some sections of the Valley.

It was from such a virgin soil and region that Benton County was mapped, a land when first traversed was inhabited by a tribe of rather friendly Indians, called the Klickitats. It was not until December 23, 1847 that the county was created. When first formed, its dimensions were equal to those of a state. Far-flung were its

boundaries--its southern line reached to the boundary of California and the eastern line was indefinite like that of Calapooia county, which was once designated with an eastern line extending to the Rocky Mountains. Several divisions were made in Benton county until it was finally reduced to its present size (440,320 acres). The last reduction was made in 1893 when Lincoln county, on the west, was created.

Benton county was named for one of two Missouri senators, Thomas H. Benton and Lewis F. Linn, who championed the development of the Oregon country or the "Western Window" that looked out upon the Pacific, as Senator Benton phrased it. This was in opposition to the slave-holding political factions in Congress. It was also fitting that the county adjacent to Benton should be called Linn, commemorating the other senator who so ably assisted in establishing this state in the great Northwest.

Corvallis was made the county seat of Benton in 1853.

<sup>1</sup>David D. Fagan, "History of Benton County, Oregon, page 324.

2J. B. Norner, "History of Oregon", page 96.

The county and town declined seriously when the California mines failed to produce and there was no longer demand for supplies for this purpose. Pack trains disappeared and a general depression followed. Mr. Fagan says farmers mortgaged their farms to follow some will-o-the-wisp mining scheme for a Cayuse pony. Or they would raise Spanish calves or colts for the support of large families. 1

"Ruin and delapidation" followed until the discovery was made that vessels could enter Yaquina Bay.

After some of the land that had been held as an Indian reservation was thrown open to settlers conditions brightened for the county and town. Slowly have they attained their present stage of advancement.

David D. Fagan, "History of Benton County, Oregon,

A CRIME THAT CAUSED CORVALLIS TO SECURE PROHIBITION IN BENTON COUNTY AND A SECOND VOTE ON THE SAME ISSUE

A crime known as the Jim-Dunn-Keady tragedy was largely instrumental, if not the direct cause of Benton County freeing itself from the liquor traffic. It was as follows:

Chester Keady, the offender in this case, belonged to a family respected by the people of Corvallis. His father was employed as a printer in the Oregon State College. His uncle, the Honorable W. P. Keady, served as Senator for years in the Legislature of Oregon. Chester, or "Peg" as he was called, because he had a stiff ankle that caused him to walk on his heel, was eighteen years of age at the time of this tragedy. As a school boy, he was troublesome and later he was very much so, when he obtained liquor which he could easily do. For at that time in Corvallis, nine saloons flourished and a minor could always secure whiskey by paying any besotted patron of these dives ten cents to secretly convey to him a bottle of liquor. However,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. David A. Osburn, the night watchman who was wounded, gave the details of this crime, corroborated by his brother James L. Osburn, a life-long citizen of Corvallis.

citizens of Corvallis, still living, who knew Chester well testify that he was a very good boy when free from the influence of rum.

One beautiful spring day, April 4, 1903, Chester was drinking, and in the evening with his pistol in evidence and in an ugly mood, he entered one of the saloons and demanded a bottle of whiskey. The bartender feared trouble and though he knew Chester was under age, readily accepted the false assertion of a comrade, "Peg is of age", and sold the drunken lad a bottle of liquor. He soon became very noisy on the streets and was recklessly flourishing his weapon.

The night watchman, Mr. David A. Osburn, went to arrest Chester later in the night, for he continued to drink, yell, and waive his pistol. Mr. Osburn had employed Chester on different occasions to do various services for him. The boy had performed his tasks well and the two were very good friends. But when he got within range he was surprised by Chester shooting directly at him. He did not apprehend serious trouble, although he knew the effect that alcohol always had upon him; the ball entered his neck, passed through, was deflected into his shoulder and remains there today. Why this wound was not fatal is a mystery. Bystanders ran for the

sheriff, M. P. Burnett, also the deputy sheriff, Mr. James Dunn. They soon arrived on the street. Mr. Dunn, taking Mr. Osburn's pistol, said, "We will get that fellow."

In the meantime Chester had walked away, but they quickly located him near the corner of Third and Madison Streets by the Alley. When the sheriffs were approaching, they heard Chester say, "Watch me drop those fellows!"

It was now past midnight, a beautiful clear evening. Dunn walked up to the boy and put his arm around him to arrest him. Instantly he shot Dunn in the stomach, for he had his pistol in his hand, and again he fired, this time aiming at Burnett's head, barely grazing his temple. Then Burnett fired striking Chester in the temple. Dunn fell holding the dying boy in his arm. Dunn, not knowing Chester was fatally wounded, fired a shot through his body saying, "You'll never kill another man".

Dunn was taken to a nearby hotel and Dr. Farra was called, who pronounced his wound fatal and three days later the sheriff expired.

Mr. Burnett, the deputy sheriff, was the only peace officer left uninjured and when asked during the coroner's trial, "Who killed Chester Keady?". Without hesitation,

he answered, "I did". He was not arrested and no further court proceedings took place. A feeling of indignation in the town and community was fully aroused by this atrocious crime. Everyone fully realized that alcohol was responsible for the tragedy, further aggravated by the bartender's dispensing to a minor intoxicants in violation of the law. The pent-up undertow of all the moral forces were brought to the surface and even the moderate drinker was aroused to the evil of intoxicants.

As indignation spread, it gained force. The temperance people and sober-minded business men led by the clergy and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, set to work to secure local option for the county.

The W. C. T. U. had in its ranks three particularly brilliant women, Mrs. L. A. Addition, a resident of the town and a national official in the Temperance Union, a gifted woman, and Mrs. Wallace Nash, wife of one of the regents who was largely instrumental in establishing the Oregon State College at Corvallis. Mrs. Nash had the benefit of a fine education obtained abroad. She was a woman of marked ability. In Portland resided Mrs. Abigal Scott Duniway, sister of the noted editor of the Daily Oregonian. Mrs. Duniway was a woman with a great brain and with powerful oratorical ability. These women

gave their time and strength to this cause. They could not vote; they could only entreat, plead and implore.

The Oregon State College was the hope and pride of the town and county. In establishing the College the people had put money, by public subscription, into founding this institution. This murder, so needless, convinced the most indifferent that the community must be made safe for Oregon's young manhood if the College were to flourish.

The tragedy occurred April 4, 1903. The people worked unitedly and zealously and initiated a prohibition law that was voted the first Monday in June, 1904.

Votes cast in Benton County were 2100 and the law was carried by a majority of 225. Benton was among the first counties in Oregon to pass a prohibition law.

The liquor element remained quiet for two years, hoping that the public would forget the tragedy that was so largely instrumental in leading the county to prohibition. They sought to regain their power. They engineered a second vote on the question, but to their amazement, polled a larger majority for temperance than the first time. Therefore, never again was the matter brought to an issue.

# THE CONDITION OF THE TEMPERANCE LAWS IN THE COUNTIES NEIGHBORING BENTON DURING THE PERIODS CONSIDERED

In 1904 Benton county in a group consisting of six, carried the election for prohibition. Benton had great difficulty, however, in maintaining her law because she was surrounded by non-prohibition counties. Corvallis, being situated on the east county line, next to Linn, had particular difficulty in this respect. For by merely crossing the river one was in territory which freely dispensed liquor. Nevertheless, Benton was sufficiently successful in the maintenance of her temperance law to encourage Linn county, within two years (1906) to vote successfully for temperance. And two years later (1908), Lane county on the south boundary, did the same. Polk county on the north was the source of the greatest illicit traffic in alcoholic beverages, for at times it voted largely for local option and at other times against it, and was never wholly a temperance county until the Eighteenth Amendment was passed. The same can be said of Lincoln county on the west. Due consideration must be given in reckoning the success of prohibition in pioneer sections when surrounded by anti-influences and means of destroying the good intent of their laws.

## THE METHOD OF RESEARCH AND THE CONDITION OF THE COURT RECORDS

Three periods, one year for each, have been selected for the basis of estimating the effect of the temperance laws on crime in the town of Corvallis. The reason for selecting these particular years are as follows:

Local option was first carried in Benton County,
June, 1904, by a majority of 225 out of 2100 votes

polled. Therefore the date, 1903, is the last year in
which there was a normal sale of intoxicants in the open
saloon. The dissatisfied liquor element, especially the
saloon keepers, maneuvered a second election which took
place two years later in 1906. That resulted, however,
in an increased majority favorable to local option.
Thereafter prohibition has remained unchallenged in Benton
County.

The general election in Oregon to amend the State Constitution prohibiting the sale of intoxicants occurred November 7, 1916. It was carried by a majority of 5,261 out of 224,603 votes cast. The date 1915 is the last year effective under the Benton County Local Option Law and is the one selected in this thesis for computing

<sup>10</sup>regon Blue Book, 1911.

this period.

Since the amendment prohibiting the importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the State of Oregon was voted in 1916, so near to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States in 1918, it was scarcely established and fairly tried before the national law was in operation. Therefore, the brief period of state prohibition was omitted in this investigation. The next period is that of national prohibition, which brings us to the last year, 1927, under existing national laws.

In compiling the tables of criminality for this work, it was necessary to search for each of the three periods through both the Municipal Court Record of the town, found in the City Hall of Corvallis and the Circuit Court Journals in the Benton County Court House.

The dates for the periods are as follows:

- 1. The last year of the open saloon -- 1903
- 2. The last year of county prohibition before the State adopted prohibition -- 1915
- 3. The last year, up to date, under National prohibition -- 1927.

With considerable difficulty were the old records of the City Judge for 1903 gleaned, for they were written in long hand, as were those for the same year in the Circuit

Court Journals. Further, the criminal cases had to be carefully discriminated from the civil cases. Since the Circuit Court Journal did not give sufficient details for classifying the specific crimes, it was necessary to inspect each case from the court proceedings or legal papers collected. Each collection was placed in a stiff folding holder made for that purpose and called a "case". At both ends of each envelope were rubber bands which closed it firmly. About thirty-six "cases" were tightly wedged into a metal box called a "can". The "cans" were thrust into a metal framework that extended almost to the ceiling occupying one entire side of the room where the records are kept. This metal wall frame structure is provided with openings or pigeon-holes for receiving the "cans". Since some of these "cases" extended back many years and the oldest dates began near the ceiling of the room, a step-ladder was utilized and considerable stretching and balancing required to bring down these loftilyplaced, heavily-ladened "cans" containing the records. On account of the same name occurring repeatedly in the records, vigilance was required in enumerating the crimes. One name, that of John Johnson, occurred seventeen times in the Circuit Court Journals, and several of these "cases" pertained to the same offense because the case was carried

from one session of court to another.

Yet another difficulty was encountered by the "cases" having been misplaced: The court records are public property and open to inspection at all times. Lawyers. abstract of title officials, searchers for information of various kinds, were handling the documents continually; hence, the papers were sometimes misplaced. Lawyers occae sionally take these "cases" to their offices and are not prompt in returning them. Hence, for various reasons, the investigator must be constantly on the alert. Nearly two thousand pages of court records in this research were inspected, and this was exclusive of the task of getting down the "cases", opening the "cases", and pursuing the indictment to a finality. In this manner the information as to the kind and number of crimes committed within the precinct of Corvallis were obtained and formed into Tables I. II. and III. These tables form the basis on which the computations of this thesis are based.

TABLE I
CRIMINAL RECORD FOR CORVALLIS

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From the Mu	micip	al	Cou	rt .	Rec	or	ds-	(	City	y I	la]	Ll		]	Pro	m	Ci	r	eu.	it	C		rt		ourna:	Lfor	Ben	to
	lin	4 in seat Wrong Parking		Riding Bicycle on walk	to Winors	Disorderly Conduct	Illicit Co-habitation	Assault	Selling Liquor to minors	Keeping skins in town	50	Peddling with no license			Co-habitation	Assault	Tarcenv	Defranding	Runoland	Bootlegging	Exposure	lides in town	Circuit		Both Courts			
January February March April May June July August September October November December			4 5 1 5	1		2	1	5112	3	1		]				1		L		1		1						
Total	0 0	0	16	2	0	3	10	9	4	2	0	0]	38			20	3	3 0	0	1	0	1	7	1	45			

TABLE II
CRIMINAL RECORD FOR CORVALLIS

			I		-											021	1 (						urt	n	Count	V		
	eeding	7	Wrong Parking		g Bi	Selling Cigarettes to Minors	Disorderly Conduct	Minor in Pool Room	OO-Habi oa or	Selling Liquor to	Keeping skins in town	Peddling with no license	it sale of 1	Total	Co-habitation	Assault	Murder	Larceny	Defrauding	bootlong	Thosime	des in town	1		Both Courts			
May June July August September October	1 2	2		1 1 3 5		1	1	21	1	0		2	2	28			1	1		1	1	0			35			

TABLE III
CRIMINAL RECORD FOR CORVALLIS

				1	927	-	Las	st	Yes	ır	of	N	lat:	ion	al	P:	ro	hi	bi	t	.0	n		an de	7		222.0	7	4	222	
From the M	unic	cipa	1 C	our	t Re	co	rds	3	-Cit	5y	На	11			F'I	3 01	m	Cl	ro	eu.	B	en	to	n	Co.	our	y	1.1	10	21.	
	Speeding	Cut-out, no lights, 4 in seat	Wrong Parking	Drunk	Selling Cigarettes to Minors	Disorderly Conduct	Minor in Pool Room	Assault	Selling Liquor to	Keeping skins in town	ling	Peddling with no license	H		Co-habitation	Assault	Murder	Larceny	Defrauding		100	Exposure	Keeping hides in town			Both Courts					
January February March April May June July August September October November	18 11 10 9 11 5 2 2 10 8 7	5 5 8 14 5 10 4 13 15 4	23 12 41 27 7 5 3 4 1 12 3	2 23	1 1	1	1						24			1		1	1												
December Total	108	92	138	8	4 7	13	1 2	2 0	0 0	10	0	0	6	379	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	83					

### TABLES, PERCENTAGES, AND MATHEMATICAL DEDUCTIONS

Because the Federal statistics were not available for the years required nor those for the county, the population for Corvallis for each of the three dates was estimated after the usual method of multiplying the school census by four. The result is shown in Table IV.

Population Record from the Public School Census

:No. Year :	of Pupils be Corvallis Pu				Population
1903:	619	x	4		2476
1915:	1368	x	4		5472
1927:	2163	x		:	8652
They comp		with	the	Federal	census for the

Since the attendance of the Oregon State College increases the population of the town, it was necessary to secure from the registrar the number of non-resident students and add these to the population of the town for the years 1903, 1915, and 1927, which constitutes Table V.

TABLE V

The Number of Non-Resident O. S. C. Students
Added to the Population of Corvallis

Year	:	No.	Non-resident 0. S Students	. C.:Citizen of Corv	Total Population
1903	:		437	2476	2913
1915	:		892	: 5472	6364
1927	:		2549	: : 8652	11201

Table VI shows the number of crimes found in the Municipal and Circuit Court records per thousand population for Corvallis.

TABLE VI

Crime per Thousand Population for Corvallis

Year :	Number of crimes	: :Population	: Per thousand
1903 :	45	2913	15.45
1915 :	27	6364	4.24
1927 :	45	: 11201	4.02

In the above table it was necessary to deduct offenses pertaining to automobiles, such as wrong parking, no lights, four in a seat, for they were not violations

The total number of crimes for 1915, or 35 less 8, the number of arrests made for automobile offenses (Table II), such as wrong parking, etc., equals 27. The total number of crimes for 1927 or 383 less (108 + 92 + 138) or 338 for offenses concerning automobiles (Table III) leaves 45.

in 1903. They were laws that were of a later origin.

Further, they are not of a serious nature and can hardly be considered crimes.

In Table VII crimes against the person are considered.

TABLE VII

Crimes Against the Person per 1000

:			0-	:		:I	ndece	nt: Popul-	.:	: Per
Year:	ssau	lt:ha	bitat	ion:N	<i>[urde]</i>	er:E	xposu	re:ation	:Tota	1:1000
1903:	11	:	0	:	0	:	0	; 2913	: 11	:3.78
1915:	3	:	.0		1	:	1	: 6364	: 5	: .79
1927:	1	:	2	:	0	:	0	:11201	: 3	: .27

In Table VIII the average of those arrested for drunkenness are studied.

TABLE VIII

The Number Arrested for Drunkenness per 1000

Year	Drunk	Population	:	per	1000
1903	16	2913	:	5.49	
1915	5	6364	:	.79	
1927	8	11201	:	.71	

The study in Table IX is concerned with the illicit sale of liquor or "bootlegging".

TABLE IX

The Illicit Sale of Liquor per 1000

Year	: :No. of	Convicti	: ons:Population	:	Per 1000	
1903	:	6	2913	:	2.06	
1915		3	6364	:	.47	
1927		6	11201	:	.54	

In Table X disorderly conduct is computed.

TABLE X
Disorderly Conduct per 1000

Year	No. of Cases of Disorderly Conduct	: Per 1000
1903	3	1.02
1915	4	.63
1927	13	1.16

#### CONCLUSIONS AND GENERALIZATIONS

The prohibition struggle throughout the land was a warfare on crime. For in theory intoxicants were held responsible for a large percentage of the evils of society. The enactment of temperance laws gave an opportunity, to some extent, to test the long preconceived notion in regard to temperance legislation, as to its effect on crime.

The results in Table VI show that in 1903, the last year of the open saloon in Benton County, there were 15.45 crimes per thousand. While in the next period, that of Local Option in 1915, the number dropped to 4.24 per thousand. This was a lessening of crime to the extent of 11.21 per thousand between the two periods. Also under National prohibition there is again a decrease, for in 1927 we find 4.02 per thousand—a further decrease of .22 from county Local Option. And from no restrictions in 1903 to conditions under the Eighteenth Amendment, there was a lowering of the crimes studied to the extent of 11.43 per thousand population.

In Table VII, crimes against the person, there is also shown a marked and uniform decline under more widespread temperance laws. For we see that in 1903 there were 3.78

per thousand crimes against the person during the time liquor could be bought without question. While in 1915, the number per thousand under Local Option fell to .79. And a still further decrease is found in 1927 under National prohibition, for in that year the number fell to only .27 per thousand. The difference per thousand between the open saloon and National prohibition is, therefore, 3.51 per thousand, which shows a decided social gain over the periods studied.

By the calculations found in Table VIII we also find there was less drunkenness under prohibition than when liquor was dispensed. The difference according to this table between 1903, with no restrictions as to the sale of liquor, and the first decade in 1915, with restrictions, is 4.70 per thousand. And under National prohibition the decline is .08 less than under Local Option. Therefore, drunkenness steadily declined as temperance laws were applied to larger areas of the country.

Table IX shows that the illicit sale of liquor in Corvallis was lowered by Local Option. Included in the arrests made for illicit sales are added those of sales made to minors, a law that was frequently broken. We find that per thousand in 1903 there were 2.06, which fell under Local Option laws as low as .47 per thousand. Although under National prohibition it was 1.52 per thousand less

than under the free sale of liquor in 1903, however the sales rose to .07 per thousand above the Local Option period due perhaps to the fact that anyone showing signs of drunkenness was arrested, while formerly a drunken man was allowed to go his way unless he disturbed the peace.

Table X, estimating the number of arrests for discrederly conduct shows a marked decline from 1.02 per thousand in 1903 to .63 in 1915. And while these infringements of the law fall from 1.02 per thousand in 1903 to .63 under county prohibition in 1915 they arose again in 1927 under the dispensation of the Eighteenth Amendment to 1.16 per thousand. This may be explained by the broad application of the term "disorderly conduct", for when arrests were made and the misdemeanors registered, the real offense was not known. There are no "cases" kept in the City Hall. Therefore, no further means of obtaining the true nature of the misconduct was available.

The figures show that in the sum total of the crimes for the separate periods as tested by the years respectively 1903, 1915, 1927, there were a less number of crimes per thousand after temperance laws were enacted and extended. Furthermore, there was a lowering of the figures in each test favorable to temperance legislation in passing from the open bar to the restrictions of

County Local Option in Corvallis. The figures also show (Table IX) there was more liquor sold illicity under the open bar system than under Local Option restrictions, contrary to the currently accepted report.

That there should be little difference between the number of crimes committed when National prohibition became the law in Corvallis, that had a decade under county prohibition, is to be expected. If the laws could have been strictly enforced there should have been no difference in crime in these two periods with the exception that temperance laws were from time to time made stricter. Hence, the obtaining of liquor was made more difficult.

The conclusion seems justifiable that among other factors, there appears to be a definite relation between the decrease in crime and in the expansion of the prohibition areas and increase in temperance legislation. The same factors which made the temperance laws possible have also contributed to a decrease in criminality in Corvallis.