

Also interesting is the sharp spikes in some years in Figure 2. At this point it cannot be said with certainty that the large numbers of homicides associated with organized crime and gang wars cited by the 1929 Illinois Crime Survey refer to cases which are in the database. The police cases seem to be a mix of organized crime cases, prohibition cases and cases which have nothing to do with either.³²¹

Figure 3 shows the fluctuations in homicides by categories of victims and defendants. At this stage of the research no explanation is offered for these patterns, which certainly warrant further study.

Is the Increase in Homicides During the 1920's Due To an Increase in Automobile Accidents, or to the Inclusion of Automobile Accidents in the Database?

Is the increase in homicides in the 1920's due to the inclusion of large numbers of manslaughters attributable to automobile accidents and other accidents? There are over 2300 cases listed as accidents in the entire database, and over 1500 deaths in automobile cases.³²²

Figure 2.

³²¹ At the end of Book 1 of the data file, there is a separate listing of police officers murdered from 1878 to 1910, inclusive. In the case numbering system introduced here these are cases 2796 through 2847. The total number of officers is more than 51, however, because of multiple officers killed in the Haymarket Riot (Case No. 2803, listing the seven police officers killed). Typical examples from this listing include: Case No 2798: July 25, 1881, Crawley, Daniel, Officer, Desplaines St. Station, fatally shot at Quincy and Desplaines Stations by "One" Kelly, who was arrested and sentenced to five years in Penitentiary. And, Case No. 2828: Nov. 22, 1903, Quinn, John, Officer, 41st Pct. fatally shot at Greenberg's saloon, Addison Av. & Robey St. by Gustave Marx, who with car barn bandits were hanged Apr. 22, 1904.

³²² The frequencies for all accidents and for all automobile accidents are included in *infra* tbl. 1, App.B.

Figure 2

Police Cases: All Police Involved, Police as Defendants, and Police as Victims, 1889-1930(N=10, 556)

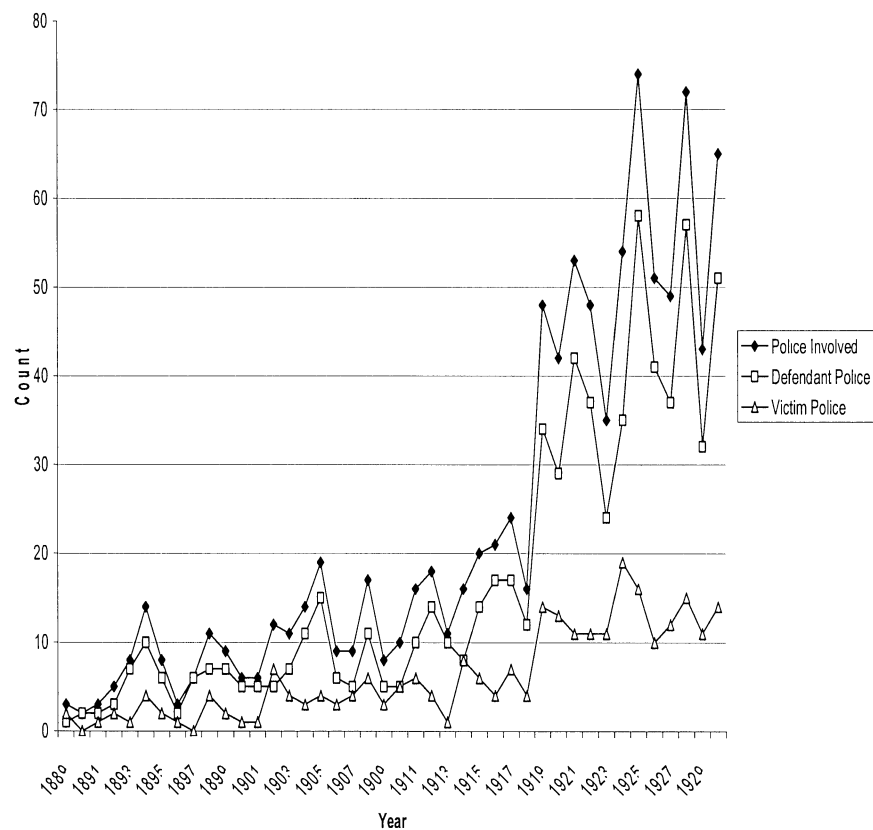
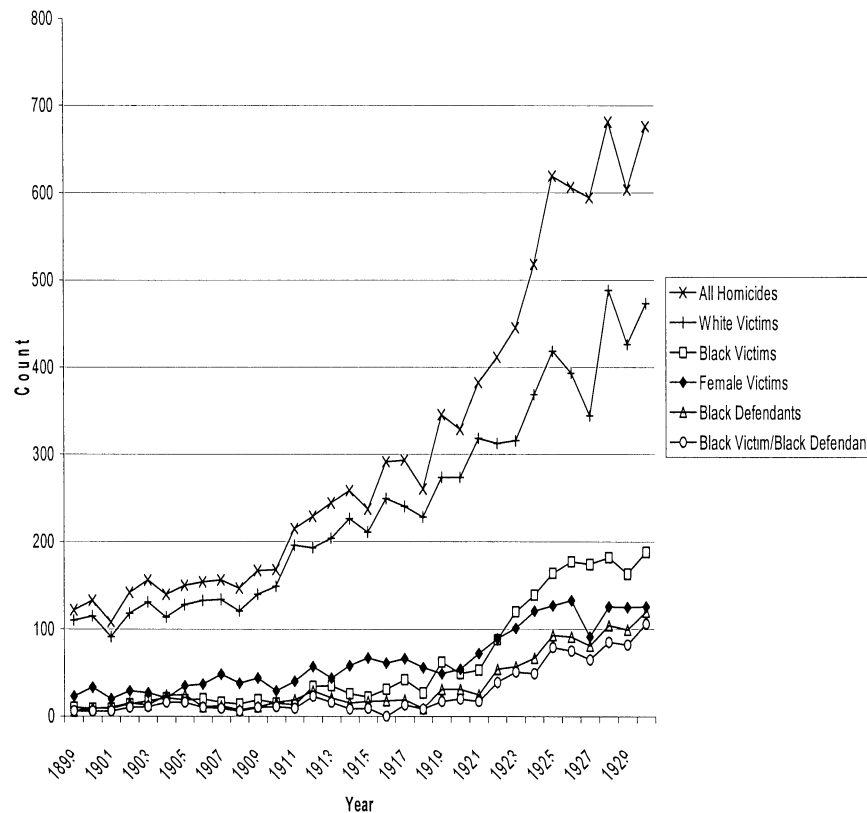


Figure 3
Race and Gender of Victim, Race of Defendant, and All
*Homicides 1889-1930(N=9,978)*³²³

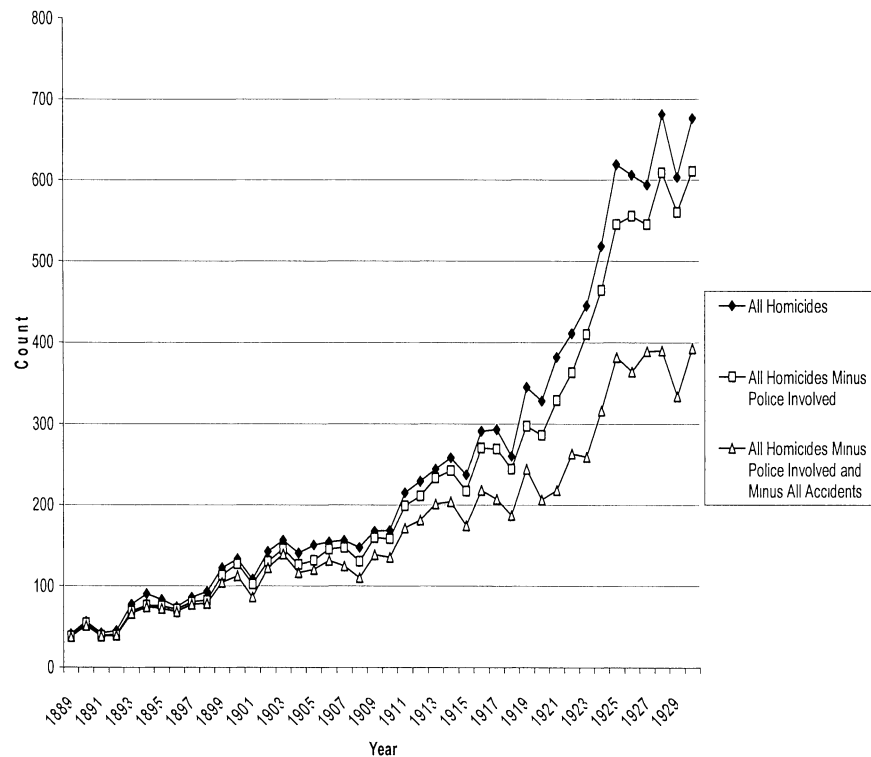


An increase in automobile related deaths does account for some of the increase in homicides in the 1920's. These cases represent a non-trivial proportion of all homicides in the 1920's.

Figure 4 shows the numbers of homicides with all accident and all police cases removed. The automobile cases represent a non-trivial proportion of all homicides in the 1920's, and removing automobile cases and all police cases does flatten the increase.³²⁴

³²³ The corresponding frequencies for Figure 3 are included in Table 3. The frequencies for these variables for the period 1874-1900 are included in Table 4, app.B. See also *supra* Tbls.A, B.

Figure 4
All Homicides, All Homicides Minus All Police and Minus All Accidents,
 1889-1930 ($N = 10,665$)



Note: All Accidents includes all automobile accidents and gun accidents. Figure 4 is based on data in Table 1 and Table 2, Appendix B. Data points for Figure 4 are obtained by subtracting "all police involved," Column 2 in table 2, from All Homicides, Column 5 in Table 2; and then by further subtracting "all accidents"; Column 1 in Table 1, from that figure.

³²⁴ See Monkkonen conclusion, *supra* note 7. The fact is, we do not know the reason for the steep increase.

A 1911 Report from the Coroner's office confirms that a small fraction of all automobile deaths are included in this data set.³²⁵ If all the automobile cases were included in this database, the increase in homicides would be much larger.

According to the 1929 Illinois Crime Survey the number of automobile accidents and how they were classified as homicides by law enforcement and the coroner in 1926 and 1927 was as follows: "the Record shows that there came before the Coroner's juries in 1926 a total of 889 cases of death by automobile, of which 598 were found to be accidental deaths, 144 open verdicts, and the remainder were classified as murder or manslaughter."³²⁶ In other words, 137 of 889 deaths by automobile were classified as murders or manslaughters.

Similarly, "in 1927 the coroner's juries considered a total of 987 such cases [of vehicular manslaughter], of which 746 were found to be accidental deaths, 92 were open verdicts, and the remainder were either murder or manslaughter. Coroner's verdicts of murder were found in 22 cases in 1926 and 27 cases in 1927." This leaves 139 cases of murder or manslaughter in 1927 involving automobiles.³²⁷

In this database the number of automobile accidents is 143 in 1926 and 118 in 1927. The 1929 Illinois Crime Survey indicates 137 murders or manslaughters involving automobiles in 1926, in comparison to 143 in this data set; and this data set indicates 118 deaths attributable to automobile accidents for the same year.³²⁸

³²⁵ See OFFICE OF CORONER OF COOK COUNTY ILLINOIS REPORT PREPARED FOR JUDGES OF THE CIRCUIT COURT BY THE CHICAGO BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY (1911). [Hereinafter 1911 COOK COUNTY CORONER'S REPORT.] This Report only includes statistics for the year 1911. For the 6 month period March 1, 1911 to August 31, 1911, the Coroner reported 119 homicides, 38 automobile homicides; and a total of 253 deaths described as transportation accidents, overwhelmingly railroad accidents. The same Table lists 39 deaths from abortions. The number of automobile deaths in this data set is 8 for all of 1911, and 11 deaths from abortion for the entire year. *Table III, Number and Most Important Classes of Cases (Inquests) Held by Coroner from March 1, 1911, to August 31, 1911, and Number Covered by Coroner's Reporters*, 1911 COOK COUNTY CORONER'S REPORT, at 66. For this data set, see *infra* app.B.

³²⁶ Lashly, *supra* note 167, at 602.

³²⁷ This number is arrived at by subtracting the number of accidental deaths (746) from the total (987) to get 241, and then subtracting the open verdicts (92).

³²⁸ The discrepancy is in the opposite direction for the two years, which is anomalous. For 1927 this data set has 38 fewer automobile homicides than those identified in the 1929 Illinois Crime Survey; and for 1926 this data set has nine more than identified in the Survey. The fact that this database has fewer than the number included in the Survey may be explained by the fact that some automobile deaths—for example, hit and run cases—were simply reported to the coroner, and not to the police.

The 1929 Illinois Crime Survey notes that the way in which automobile deaths were treated by the coroner's juries was inconsistent.³²⁹ Whether the coroner's juries classified an automobile death as murder or manslaughter may have been the rule for inclusion in this database.³³⁰

The large increase in homicides in the 1920's shown in this data set is not entirely attributable to automobile cases, nor does this data set include all automobile cases. And, while police cases show a large spike in the 1920's, removing these cases does not remove all of the increase. Whether or not the organized crime or gang killings account for all or a substantial fraction of the increase in homicides in the 1920's, the perception and image of Chicago as a lawless city dominated by organized crime persists. Further research on these cases may be able to alter that stereotype.

CONCLUSION: DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Many works of scholarship and quantitative analysis will be based upon this data set, setting new standards for research in historical criminology. Several interesting subsets of the data remain to be analyzed in future essays. Contemporaneous newspaper reports and reports of public discussions of the ramifications of the criminalization of abortion and public discussion of reform efforts involving juveniles and prostitution will be relevant.

The dates of legal decision making have the potential to lead to a number of interesting research topics. Time lags may suggest that the case was not disposed of according to ordinary procedures. Or, cases

³²⁹ "Examination of the transcripts of testimony taken before the coroner's jury in these [automobile homicide] cases discloses that in each instance the driver was unknown and failed to stop, and this is likely the reason for the finding by the jury that a murder had been committed." Lashly, *supra* note 167, at 602. This report concluded that there was no meaningful distinction between those automobile hit and run cases which resulted in a coroner's verdict of murder and those which resulted in a verdict of manslaughter.

It will be noted, however, that in the year 1926 the coroner's juries in automobile deaths returned verdicts of manslaughter in 127 cases and in 1927 in 23 cases. The transcripts of 39 of these cases in 1926, and 60 in 1927, also indicate that the driver was unknown and failed to stop, and it is difficult to find any good reason why in some cases there was a verdict of murder and in others a verdict of manslaughter.

Id. at 603-04.

³³⁰ This is only a hypothesis, however, and it is called into question by the fact that there are cases in this database where there is no decision reported from the coroner's investigation.