

PART II

**SPECIFIC TYPES OF OFFENSES
AND OFFENDERS**

CHAPTER XIII
HOMICIDE (In Cook County)

By

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CHAPTER XIII

HOMICIDE (In Cook County)

1. Introduction. It seems altogether fitting that a survey of criminal justice in Illinois should devote some space to a separate study of Homicide in Cook County.

Murder in Chicago during the last few years has been a never failing source of news; moralists have deplored, speakers have ridiculed and scathingly condemned, humorists have indulged in their best jokes, and the "movie" scenario writers and producers have reaped a golden harvest all at the expense of the good name and reputation of the second city of America. Yielding place only to New York in population and conceded to be the fastest growing and one of the most progressive of the larger cities in America, Chicago is in bad standing before the country.

A canvass of the public utterances of prominent men throughout the nation and of press comment from one seaboard to the other discloses a unanimity of condemnation which, for bitterness and invective, has probably never before been equaled. One would expect denunciation no more harsh, nor criticism less tempered by reason and understanding, if Chicago were in a state of war with the balance of the country. Nor is it limited to this country. The bad name has traveled around the world. An analysis of the charges in the blanket indictment upon which this community has apparently been tried and convicted in the world forum of public opinion indicates that they are numerous and some are of long standing; but the principal complaint is its crime record, and more specifically its record of gang murders and bombings.

The bomb, as a gang weapon, has been used sporadically for years, but has only become really popular since the summer of 1927. As a means of intimidation it has no equal. It has been used effectively by extortionists, the so-called racketeers, who resort to all manner of force and violence to terrorize their victims into joining mushroom trade organizations and combinations of small business concerns. Liquor and gambling syndicates have used the bomb to warn competitors against territorial encroachments. Disappointed liquor, vice, and gambling racketeers, who had been receiving protection but had it withdrawn and given to others, have bombed the homes of those to whom they trace the double-cross. And in the primary campaign of 1928 in Cook County the bomb was used as a political weapon to intimidate voters and candidates for public office. A United States senator and a judge of the Circuit Court had their homes bombed and the lives of their families were endangered.

But no one was killed; nor has any recent bombing in this community resulted in the loss of life. While the bomb, so far, has proved more bark than bite, it has done much to confirm and aggravate the bad reputation of Chicago as a gang center and crime ridden community.

That reputation owes its origin, however, to gang murders. The weapons which have made Chicago infamous are the machine gun, the

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pistol, and the sawed-off shotgun. These weapons leave death in their trail, and it is with human killing this report is concerned. These killings, of course, are a serious reflection upon the law enforcing agencies and no one will be heard to deny that they constitute a grave menace to the peace and dignity of the city and state. As advertised to the world, however, the citizens of Chicago going about their daily tasks and visitors coming to the city on business or pleasure are actually in danger, while upon the streets, of being killed by gangsters' bullets. Nothing could be more absurdly untrue. In the two years last passed only two innocent bystanders were killed in Cook County and neither was killed by gangsters. When gangsters kill, they kill each other. Occasionally a gangster kills a policeman, but more often policemen kill gangsters. The tables and maps in this report, showing the places where murders are committed, indicate that they are confined largely to certain small areas such as may be found in every large city—places to be avoided.

Gang killings, of course, are spectacular, mysterious, and dramatic; they possess all of the elements of intense human interest and therefore have great news value. Plays have been written and "movie" scenarios woven around Chicago's gangs, and there has been so much exploitation of these events that when a Chicago gunman's weapon "barks" its echo is heard around the world; while if the same weapon were discharged in any other city in the country it would hardly be heard around the block. It is a fact that there was a substantial reduction in gang killings during 1927. While such crimes have been reduced, there has been a slight increase in other murders, the details of which will presently be discussed.

It is also true that there have been no convictions in gang murders in Chicago during the period covered by this analysis—1926 and 1927. Such crimes, however, are seldom solved in any large city. The gang code of silence even to the grave, and the swift capital punishment inflicted by gangland itself upon informers, makes it difficult in the ordinary gang killing to get sufficient facts to identify the killer. Moreover, the public clamors but feebly for the punishment of a gang killer who has not only disposed of an actual or potential murderer, but has usually imposed upon himself the death penalty, which will sooner or later be executed by the friends of his victim. Thus the situation, in a way, adjusts itself. There is a sort of rough justice about the process that lulls into a state of indifference the average citizen who reads about it in the newspaper. While the failure to detect gang murderers and bring them to justice in Chicago and elsewhere is evidence of a lame and halting police administration, yet so long as the gangsters only kill each other the public is not likely to get very badly excited about it.

The report which follows was prepared with a view of presenting a detailed picture of homicide in Cook County, showing the places where persons are killed, the causes of death, the motives which led to the killing, the color and sex of victims, and of the killers, and the effectiveness of the authorities in solving cases of felonious homicide and punishing the offenders.

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2. *Agencies Dealing with Homicide.* Three agencies of government are brought prominently into operation in homicide cases; namely, the police and sheriff, the coroner, and the state's attorney. The sheriff, the coroner and the state's attorney are county officers.

It should be stated, perhaps, for the benefit of the reader who may be unfamiliar with the facts, that Chicago is a city in Cook County and that the county officials, including the coroner, have jurisdiction in the city as well as in the county outside of the city. The police of the city of Chicago, however, have no authority outside of the city, as the policing of the county area is left to the sheriff and his deputies, including the county highway police, and in the incorporated communities to their local police. The records of the Police Department of the City of Chicago, therefore, contain only those deaths which occurred within the city limits. The estimated population of Chicago for 1926 was 3,625,446, and in 1927, 3,771,473; while in Cook County, outside of Chicago, the population is estimated at approximately 500,000. The whole of Cook County is, in fact, very closely linked with the city and for our purposes it is difficult to separate homicides in the county from those committed in the city. Very often the person killed in the city will be taken into the county, where the body is found. This is undoubtedly true of gang killings. The figures in this report were made up by fixing the scene of the crime as the place where the body was found, although it is possible, of course, that some of the killings ascribed to the county actually occurred in the city.

(a) Police

Since by far the larger number of deaths in Cook County occur in the City of Chicago, it is pertinent to examine the methods of the police in this first step to investigate the causes of death. The police department employs a criminologist who is a physician and whose duty it is to accompany the homicide squad when the police are called to the scene of a murder. Briefly, the procedure is as follows:

When "homicide" is flashed through the police switchboard, it is relayed to the detective bureau, and the homicide squad, accompanied by the criminologist, is immediately dispatched to the scene. Measurements are made, the body examined, pictures taken, and, when possible, finger-prints are observed and examined. An effort is made to locate witnesses and wherever possible statements and affidavits are obtained. When, in the opinion of the captain or lieutenant in charge of the homicide squad, the assistance of the state's attorney's office is required, that office is notified and an assistant state's attorney is assigned to the case. This, however, is rarely done as the police officials take the position that they are better able to handle a witness in the average case than the assistant state's attorney. The task of gathering the evidence and rounding up the witnesses for the coroner's inquest is left entirely to the police.

In many cases the police will file a charge of murder or manslaughter in the municipal court against the person or persons indicated by their investigation as guilty of an offense, merely in order to hold the accused until the coroner's jury verdict is returned. As will hereafter appear, in many

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such instances the person against whom the charge is filed is exonerated by the coroner's jury, whereupon it is the usual practice to dismiss the charge and drop the prosecution. In some cases, however, a prosecution is pressed notwithstanding the coroner's verdict. The homicide squad which first handles the case works on it while the evidence is fresh. It is more or less an emergency force working on the case while it is still hot, but if an arrest is not made at the time or shortly thereafter, it is considered an unsolved or uncleared case which is charged against the district in which the death occurs, and it then becomes the duty of the commanding officer of that district to continue the investigation. About three or four times a year a "chaser" is sent out from headquarters to every station that has uncleared homicide cases, which prepares a list of such cases together with a statement of what progress, if any, has been made, and a recommendation of what further action should be taken. This usually stirs up renewed action on the case and an officer is sent out to interview witnesses, the family of the deceased, etc., in an effort to solve the crime. Where an arrest is made the case is followed through the coroner's office, the municipal court, the grand jury, trial court, and to final disposition.

An individual file is kept by the police department, containing all statements, records, affidavits, reports, photographs, charts of the scene, exhibits, including firearms, bullets, and clothing, all of which are available to the state's attorney's office if there is a prosecution.

(b) The Coroner

The coroner is theoretically the least important of all of the agencies provided by law for dealing with homicide cases so far as the binding effect of his action is concerned, for his duties are largely perfunctory and the verdict of his jury merely advisory and limited to a determination of the causes of death.

Neither the police, the state's attorney, or the grand jury is bound by the findings of the coroner's jury and the verdict is not admissible as evidence in civil suits for the purpose of establishing personal liability or a defense to a suit where a death is charged, or for the purpose of establishing any other issue between private litigants. In practice, however, the coroner's verdicts are a very potent factor in the determination of many important questions. The medical examination by the medical deputies is often conclusive, as is shown by Chapter IX of this Survey relating to that subject. The jury invariably includes in the verdict not only the cause of death, but undertakes also to determine, in the first instance, the question of whether a crime was committed, the character of the crime and who committed it, if the killer is known, and will often order the release of persons in custody charged with the killing, on the ground that the killing was justifiable or that there was no evidence to hold the accused. This is an assumption of the prerogatives of the police and prosecutor which would not be nearly so significant were it not for the fact that the police and prosecutor in criminal cases are inclined to accept the coroner's verdict as final, not only with respect to the cause of death, but also as to whether due to felonious, accidental, or excusable homicide.

In 376 deaths in 1926 and 1927, charges of murder or manslaughter were

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filed by the police against 401 persons who were released upon an exonerating verdict by the coroner's jury (Table 14); and of all cases of "justifiable homicide" according to the coroner's verdicts, only 59 were followed by a charge lodged by police against the exonerated persons. The psychological effect of a verdict of accident in an automobile death is sufficiently strong upon the uninitiated to induce settlements of civil damage suits, and on the other hand, a verdict of murder in a case of death by automobile—although no one was ever punished for murder in such a case—is sufficient to cause the driver to be held as for a serious charge, possibly without bail, or required to give heavy bail and to employ counsel.

The tendency of coroner's juries, controlled as many of them are by the politically appointed deputies, to include in their verdicts findings which are foreign to the fundamental function of that body has not escaped the attention of the press and public of Chicago, as is evidenced by numerous complaints of the administration of the coroner's office, running through the record of local current events during recent years. One of the judges of the municipal court recently made this statement from the bench in commenting on a verdict of exoneration:

"The coroner's office has no right to pass upon the merits of a murder case. A coroner's jury sits only as a court of inquiry to decide the cause of death. If the coroner's jury would confine themselves to their legal powers there would be more effective prosecution in these murder cases."

As soon as a body is discovered, the coroner's duties are prescribed in the statute as follows:

"As soon as he knows, or is informed, that the dead body of any person is found, or lying within his county, supposed to have come to his or her death by violence, casualty, or any undue means, he shall repair to the place where the dead body is and take charge of the same and forthwith summon a jury of six good and lawful men of the neighborhood where the body is found or lying to assemble at the place where the body is, at such time as he shall direct, and upon view of the body to inquire into the cause and manner of the death."¹

The practice is to remove the body to a local undertaker's rooms and hold the inquest there. In most cases of felonious homicide more than one hearing is held. These hearings are conducted by deputy coroners. The juries are selected by the deputy coroners. The statutory provision requiring "six good and lawful men of the neighborhood" is construed in practice as such men as the deputy coroners may select, so long as they reside in Cook County. The jurors are paid one dollar each per hearing. The average jury in Cook County is made up of men who seek the service for the money there is in it. Two hearings a day are the average for any one juror, although some jurors have served on as many as 12 inquests in one day. What actually happens in practice is that the deputy coroner selects some members of each jury from political hangers-on, who attach themselves to the particular deputy to whom they owe their appointments and go about

¹ Chap. 31, Sec. 10, Smith-Hurd Revised Statutes, 1927.

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with him from one hearing to another, so long as they are in his favor. Frequently, as many as five hearings are held of one inquest, the proceedings being adjourned from time to time.

In the month of January, 1928, thirteen deputy coroners were conducting inquests; 447 inquests were held; and 918 jurors were used, 168 of whom served at more than one inquest. One hundred served from 2 to 9 times; 14 served from 10 to 19 times; 26 served from 20 to 29 times; 22 served from 30 to 39 times; 5 served from 40 to 49 times; and 1 served from 60 to 69 times. The statute authorizes the coroner to use substitute jurors after the hearings have commenced, not to exceed three in each case, where the jurors first selected die, move from the state, or for other sufficient reasons. The records show an extensive substitution of jurors. Frequently not one juror will remain sitting throughout all of the hearings in one inquest. In one case, selected at random from the records of the coroner's office, 6 men served at 4 hearings, and 6 other men served at 1 hearing. In another case, 1 juror sat at 5 hearings; 4 sat at 4 hearings; 1, at 3 hearings; 1, at 2 hearings and 4, at 1 hearing. In another, 3 jurors sat at 2 hearings and 6 jurors sat at 1 hearing.

Every time a new juror comes into a case it is necessary for the reporter-stenographer to read from his notes the evidence adduced at previous hearings. The reporter is paid fifty cents a page for his transcripts, which he transcribes from his notes on each hearing. Some of the transcripts show that some of the testimony thus read to the subsequent jurors was repeated in the transcript, obviously for the purpose of increasing the reporter's compensation.

The use of regulars, or "Fridays" as they are termed, as jurors, may save the time of citizens in the various communities where inquests are held, most of whom would serve at considerable loss, yet the practice cannot fail to result in verdicts of deputy coroners rather than verdicts of juries. These deputies are all political appointees, there being no civil service regulations. The coroner, being elected, is necessarily in politics, and it is inevitable that his appointees should be selected for political considerations rather than fitness for the office.

(c) The State's Attorney

The police are on hand at every inquest, and in fact, the whole burden of assembling the evidence and presenting it is upon them. The state's attorney's office, in the average run of cases, has no representative at the inquest. Occasionally, in a case of great public interest, an assistant state's attorney is present. Such occasions are rare. It is submitted that this is most unfortunate for the state. The adverse interest is practically always represented, and although the deputy coroner does most of the questioning and the proceedings are informal, and cross-examination of witnesses is not permitted, counsel for the accused is allowed, upon request, to question witnesses, and it often occurs that by artful leading questions a witness is put on record about the facts in a murder case in a light he never intended. When later at the trial in the criminal court he is confronted with the cold record of his answers to these questions at the coroner's inquest, the witness may be so effectively impeached, however unjustly, as to seriously impair

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the prosecution. If the state's attorney were present these very common occurrences might be wholly avoided. Indeed, it is hard to square efficient administration of prosecution in homicide cases with the practice of ignoring the inquest.

The inquest is the first hearing had wherein the facts of the killing are recorded. The hearing is usually held the next day after the body is discovered and the facts are still fresh in the minds of the witnesses. To the testimony elicited at this hearing should be applied the legal knowledge of the prosecutor in determining whether a prosecution should be started, regardless of the coroner's verdict. To this failure of the prosecutor to be on hand at this tremendously important initial step in homicide cases may well be ascribed the amazing discrepancy between the number of homicides committed and the number of persons punished therefor.

3. *Sources of Data of Homicide.* For the ensuing analysis of homicides in Cook County, including the city of Chicago, for the years 1926 and 1927, the records in the office of the coroner of Cook County were examined to obtain these facts relating to the death of the deceased and the causes thereof. But the investigation did not stop there. The records of the police, state's attorney, and the courts were examined in each case of death to determine the cases in which prosecutions had been started. The unsolved cases were developed by this process. Where it was found that a charge had been filed or the facts presented to the grand jury, the investigation continued until each case had been disposed of. If the prosecution resulted in conviction and punishment, the nature thereof is shown. Cases which were disposed of before punishment were noted and the method of disposition recorded.

The period covered by the analysis (1926 and 1927) was selected for the purpose of drawing whatever comparisons might appear significant between the homicide record for each of the two years. In May, 1927, the municipal administration of the City of Chicago was changed and some rather drastic changes in policies were made, both with respect to police, which are municipally controlled, and also the crime policy of the administration, which it was thought might be reflected in the homicide figures. The same prosecuting officials and, with a few exceptions, the judges of the courts and other court officials were the same during both years. As it turned out, there were exactly the same numbers of murders in 1927 as in 1926. These figures are at variance with those heretofore published, official and unofficial, based on coroner and police records, but this is explained in part by the fact that the record upon which this report is based is taken as of the date the death occurred and is for the calendar years, whereas the coroner's records are for the fiscal year from December, to December, and tabulated as of the date of the coroner's verdict. Thus the coroner's reports contain cases in the 1926 record where the death occurred in 1925 and omitted from the 1927 record deaths which actually occurred in 1927 but the verdicts were not returned until 1928. An example of how the coroner's method of recording homicides may lead to erroneous results is the killing of Assistant State's Attorney William H. McSwiggin, and two companions, by gangsters in April, 1926. These were probably the most notorious murders in the

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history of Cook County, but they were not included in the coroner's tabulation and report of murders of 1926, for the reason that the coroner's jury has never returned a verdict in those cases.

It is a matter of common knowledge that no reliable data can be obtained on the general run of the volume of felony crimes committed. Many such crimes are never reported to the police and no one except the victim and the criminal ever learns anything about them. Other such crimes are reported to the police and are suppressed or reported as crimes of lesser degree than were actually committed. This is not possible, however, in homicide cases. In every such case there is a body or what remains of it, and sooner or later it is discovered. It is next to impossible to completely destroy every part of a human body. In 1898¹ a man killed his wife in the city of Chicago and so completely dissolved her body in a sausage vat that there remained only a small sesamoid bone, which, together with two rings identified as having been worn by the victim, provided the basis for a successful criminal prosecution, which landed the criminal in the penitentiary. Instances wherein the murderer is able so completely to get rid of the chief bit of evidence against him are, however, rare.

4. *What Is Homicide?* Before attempting a discussion of the various classes of homicides as fixed by the verdicts of coroner's juries, it may be well to point out some of the possible misconceptions concerning the meaning of the term "homicide."

In its broadest sense, "homicide" is defined in law as the killing of one person by another, but is popularly and erroneously understood to be limited to murder, and murder in turn is immediately associated in the mind of the average person with machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, pistol fights, pay roll robbery holdups and gang warfare. This is especially true of killings in Chicago. Homicide may perhaps best be described as the destruction of the life of one human being by the act, procurement, or culpable omission of another. It is either justifiable or excusable and, therefore, lawful; or it is felonious homicide, as in cases of murder and manslaughter. We are not concerned in this report with "excusable homicide" or, as it is sometimes termed, "homicide by misadventure," as that classification includes all forms of accidental killings, upon many of which coroner's inquests are held, but no crimes are involved.

5. *Homicides, 1926, 1927, Classified by Grades of Criminality.* The lieutenant of police in charge of the record bureau makes his own classification of each case of homicide in Chicago and determines the motive, independently of the coroner's office and other agencies. If, however, from the facts and circumstances a case appears to be murder and is so classified by the chief of this department, and the trial in the criminal court results in a verdict of "not guilty," the case is taken out of the murder class and placed in the class of justifiable homicides. A comparison of the police classifications of homicide cases with those in the office of the coroner of Cook County discloses some marked differences. Inasmuch as the classification in the office of the coroner is for the whole unit of Cook County, including Chicago, and appears to be

¹ *People v. Luetgert*, not reported.

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less affected by outside considerations than the police classification, we have taken the coroner's classifications as the basis for this study.

There are five general classes of homicides according to coroner's verdicts, which are considered in this report. They are "murder," "manslaughter," "undetermined abortion," "undetermined violence," and "justifiable homicide." We have further divided these classifications into two additional classes; namely, "automobile manslaughter" and "police killings." The following table is based upon that classification:

TABLE 1. HOMICIDES, 1926, 1927, CLASSIFIED BY GRADES OF CRIMINALITY

	1926	1927	Total
Murders	380	380	760
Manslaughters	44	18	62
Auto manslaughter	127	123	250
Undetermined abortions	28	30	58
Undetermined violence	56	29	85
Justifiable homicides	61	73	134
Killed by police.....	43	46	89
Total	739	699	1,438

Ordinarily, "undetermined abortion," "undetermined violence," and "justifiable homicide" (including police killings) would not be included in a discussion of the homicide record, but were included in this study for the following reasons:

"Justifiable homicides," as in cases of self-defense, are included for the reason that such killings are *prima facie* unlawful and require a finding by some constituted agency of the justification which purges the act of its unlawful character. In many instances, however, there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes justification, and a verdict of justifiable homicide by the coroner's jury is sometimes nullified by the police or grand jury, who file charges against the killer notwithstanding the coroner's verdict, in which event the killing may be found to have been murder or manslaughter.

"Police killings" in the line of duty are shown separately from the class of justifiable homicides to emphasize the difference in the characteristics of each, although the coroner's juries have found all killings by police in Chicago and Cook County, during the period of this study, to be justified, and these verdicts have been taken as final. There have been no prosecutions in such cases.

The classes of "undetermined abortions" and "undetermined violence" would not ordinarily be included in this report, but it was found that in some of these cases prosecutions were started notwithstanding the verdict of the coroner. The verdict of "undetermined abortion" is rendered in cases where the facts show that an abortion has been committed, but it could not be determined by the jury whether by the deceased herself or by instruments in the hands of another. The class "undetermined violence" includes cases where the evidence showed that the body of the deceased bore marks of violence but the jury was unable to determine from the evidence whether the wounds were inflicted by another or were received as the result of an accident, as by a fall. The verdicts in each of these classes are in effect open verdicts

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as to the cause of death, but are, nevertheless, expressive of suspected foul play and leave the way open for further detective work.

Deaths by automobile, found by the coroner's verdict to be due to manslaughter, have been separated from the other manslaughter cases for the reason all such cases are due to culpable negligence and there is a very fine line of distinction between an accident and a crime in such cases. Such deaths are usually excluded altogether from consideration in homicide statistics. 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. In 1927 the coroner's juries considered a total of 987 such cases, of which 746 were found to be accidental deaths, 92 were open verdicts, and the remainder either murder or manslaughter. Coroner's verdicts of murder in automobile killings were found in 22 cases in 1926 and 27 cases in 1927.

6. *Homicides Classified by Modes of Killing.*

The homicide record is made up of all manner of causes of death. The following Table 2 was prepared with a view of showing the relative frequency of the different methods of killing persons in this community, not only in murder cases but in other classes of homicides as well.

The most outstanding fact shown by Table 2 is the heavy proportion of deaths by shooting in all classes of homicides. In murder cases, other than automobile, infanticide, and abortion, which classes are separately considered, 73 per cent in 1927, and 77.31 per cent in 1926 were gun murders. These percentages were substantially affected by gang killings, all but a few of which were by shooting. Twenty-four per cent of gun murders in 1927, and 30.6 per cent in 1926 are classified as gang killings. Included in the figures in the above table are deaths by abortion, infanticides, drowning, asphyxiation, poisoning, etc. All such deaths have gone into the previously published murder records for Cook County, to swell the enormous total, without any explanation; but it is obvious that a distinction should be made between deaths by shooting, stabbing, and other forms of violence, and deaths due to abortion, infanticide, other non-violent means, and by automobile through culpable negligence.

7. *Murder by Automobile.*

It will be noted in Table 2 that the coroner's jury found verdicts of murder in 22 automobile killings in 1926, and 27 in 1927. There is a serious question whether any vehicular death should be rated murder. Certainly there has never been a successful prosecution for murder in such a case in this county. It would be necessary to show that the driver had a clear view of the deceased and did actually see him, but nevertheless deliberately ran him down with the intention of killing him, and this state of facts seldom exists in such cases.

Examination of the transcripts of testimony taken before the coroner's juries in these 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. 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 123 such cases. The transcripts

TABLE 2
HOMICIDES 1926, 1927, CLASSIFIED BY MODES OF KILLING

	Shot		Cut or Stabbed		Struck by Blunt Instrument		Poisoned		Asphyxiated		Burned		Drowned		Beaten in Fight		Infanticide		Abortion		Fall		Auto-mobile		Strangulation		Skull Fracture		Beaten and Kicked		Blow and Violence Undetermined Means		Miscellaneous		Total		Grand Total
Year	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26	27	26 & 27
Murder	242	235	45	52	17	18	3	3		3		1		2	4	2	29	19	16	12	1	1	22	27	1	2			1					2	380	380	760
Manslaughter	7	5	9	6	2	1									9	5				1														17	44	18	62
Auto Manslaughter																							127	123											127	123	250
Undetermined Abortion																	28	30																	28	30	58
Undetermined Violence	2	3								1											2	5			1	1	28	10			21	9	2	56	29	85	
Justifiable Homicide	46	58	9	13	3										3	2																			61	73	134
Killed by Police	43	46																																	43	46	89
TOTALS	340	347	63	71	22	19	3	3	0	4	0	1	0	2	16	9	29	19	44	43	3	6	149	150	2	3	28	10	0	1	21	9	19	2	739	699	1438

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in 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. A reasonable and fair consideration of these cases justifies the conclusion that they were all in the culpable negligence class and should, therefore, be rated manslaughter and in no such case should a verdict of murder have been returned by the coroner's jury.

8. *Infanticide.* Infanticide cases are also to be distinguished from murder by violence because of the peculiar circumstances of such cases. The English classification of this offense is limited to the killing of a new-born child by its mother before she has fully recovered from the effects of childbirth, and infants aged one year and under, killed under circumstances which would not bring it within the above definition of infanticide according to the Infanticide Act of 1922, are included in the record of "murders." An examination of the testimony before the coroner's juries in Cook County in all of these cases shows the child to have been newly born. In most instances the bodies were found outside of a building, usually in an ash pit, garbage can, upon a railroad track, and at other places in the streets and alleys, although two were found in department stores and one in an elevated train. This precludes the probability of guilt of the mother. Death was caused in some cases by neglect and in others by some act of violence, such as strangulation or a blow upon the head. There were no colored children in this class.

9. *Abortion.* Deaths by abortion, also by reason of the peculiar circumstances of every case, are usually distinguished from other unlawful deaths, and properly so. The element of voluntary submission to the operation by the deceased is involved in every case and some of the sting of criminality is thereby removed from the act; moreover, the practice appears to be so wide-spread among certain classes of persons who desire to be relieved of the physical suffering and the responsibilities of childbirth, that it is difficult to attach the same degree of culpability to the act of abortion that is associated with the act of shooting or stabbing another. A notable instance to the contrary, however, is found in the recent trial and conviction for murder by abortion of a prominent physician in the city of Chicago. The jury assessed the death penalty. This is the first case of its kind on record in Cook County. There was evidence of peculiarly aggravating circumstances, which no doubt influenced the verdict of the jury. The Supreme Court reversed the jury's verdict and the defendant was given a new trial which resulted in a conviction for manslaughter and a sentence of 1 to 14 years in the penitentiary.

10. *Undetermined Violence.* That class of deaths included in Table 2 under the head of undetermined violence—56 in 1926, and 29 in 1927—were caused, it will be noted, mainly by skull fracture and other forms of blows upon the head or body. An examination of the transcripts of the testimony before the coroner's juries in these cases indicates quite plainly in each of them that the coroner's jury was

TABLE 3
HOMICIDES CLASSIFIED AS TO COLOR AND SEX OF VICTIMS
(1926 and 1927)

	MALES						FEMALES						TOTALS				TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL
	White		Colored		Indian and Chinese		White		Colored		Indian and Chinese		Males		Females		Both Sexes		
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	
Murder	217	214	84	84		6	58	53	21	23			301	304	79	76	380	380	760
Manslaughter	20	10	14	5			6	2	4	1			34	15	10	3	44	18	62
Auto Manslaughter	74	91	12	9			35	22	6	1			86	100	41	23	127	123	250
Undetermined Abortion							24	25	4	5					28	30	28	30	58
Undetermined Violence	43	22	7	5			5	1	1	1			50	27	6	2	56	29	85
Justifiable Homicides	34	28	27	39		1		2		3			61	68		5	61	73	134
Killed by Police	30	32	13	14									43	46			43	46	89
TOTALS	418	397	157	156	0	7	128	105	36	34	0	0	575	560	164	139	739	699	1,438

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amply justified in raising the inference that death was due to foul play and thereby putting the cases in the class of those which should be further investigated with the view of detecting the guilty person. It will later be noted in connection with the discussion of judicial administration in homicide cases that prosecutions were started in some cases where the coroner's juries returned verdicts of undetermined violence, but there were no successful prosecutions. About the only comment that can be made upon these deaths is that no one was punished therefor.

11. *Justifiable Homicides.* In the class of justifiable homicides, 90 per cent of such deaths in 1926, and over 97 per cent in 1927, were by either shooting or stabbing, a very heavy percentage being gun deaths. An examination of the transcripts of the evidence before the coroner's juries shows that most of these cases were due to fights, and the deceased being the aggressor, the jury exonerated the killer on the ground of self-defense.

12. *Killed by Police.* There were 43 persons shot by the police in 1926 and 46 in 1927. In the majority of these cases the testimony in the coroner's inquests indicated that the policemen were fully justified in killing the deceased. The large majority were killed while in the act of committing crime. Some notorious gangsters are in the list. In others it would seem that the police were hasty and there might be some doubt as to the justification, but in every such instance the coroner's jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide and no prosecutions resulted. From this we may conclude that the police of the City of Chicago incur no hazard by shooting to kill within their discretion.

13. *Homicides Classified as to Color and Sex of Victims.* Table 3 was prepared with a view to classifying homicides as to color and sex of victims.

14. *Colored Victims.* In considering the relative number of colored and white persons killed, it should be borne in mind that the colored population is approximately five per cent of the total population in Chicago and Cook County. The percentage of colored victims, however, is relatively much greater. The following table of percentages of colored victims in all classes of homicides, related to the total number of persons killed in 1926 and 1927, is compiled from Table 3.

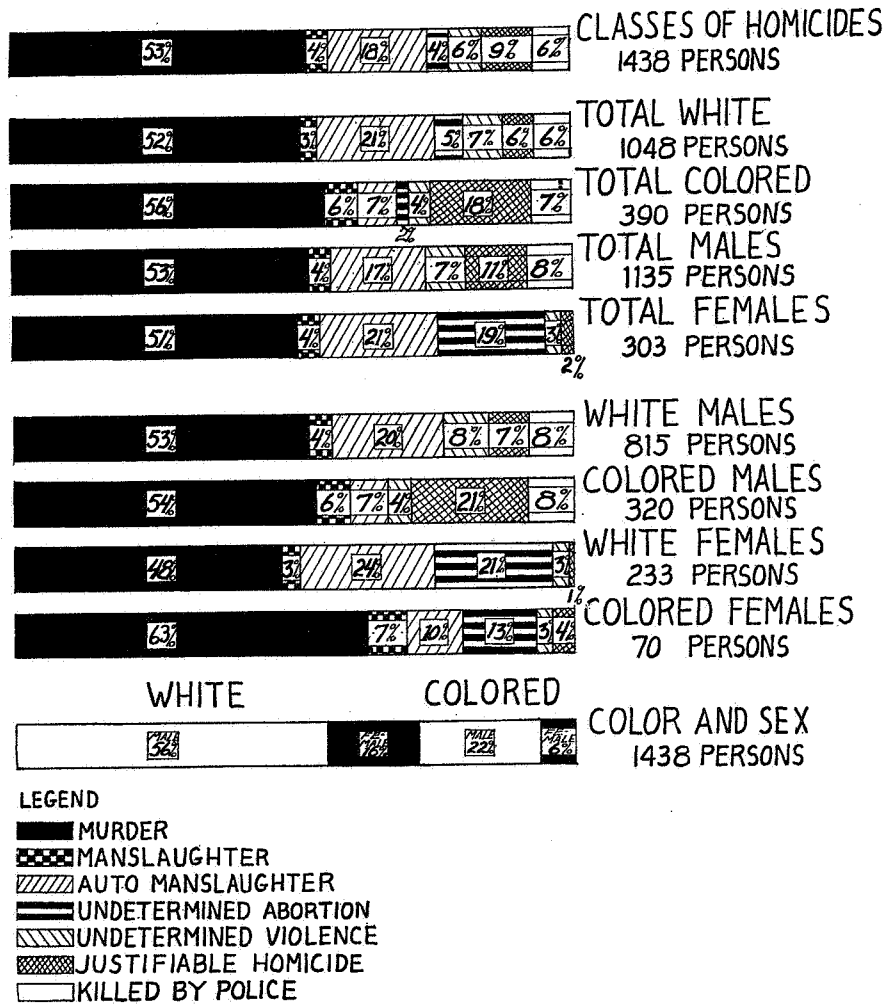
TABLE 4. PERCENTAGES OF COLORED VICTIMS TO TOTAL NUMBER KILLED

	1926 Per Cent	1927 Per Cent
Murder	27.63	28.16
Manslaughter	40.91	33.33
Automobile manslaughter	14.17	8.13
Undetermined abortion	14.29	16.67
Undetermined violence	14.29	20.69
Justifiable homicide	44.26	57.53
Police killings	30.23	30.43

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The following chart, Table 5, is designed to present in graphic form the facts disclosed by the foregoing table.

TABLE 5. CHART COMPARING VICTIMS AS TO COLOR AND SEX
HOMICIDES CLASSIFIED, 1926-1927



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In explanation of this chart, attention is called to the fact that a total of 1,438 cases of homicide for the years 1926 and 1927 are considered with reference to a classification of the various degrees or kinds of homicide related to white and colored male and female victims. Fifty-six per cent of all persons killed during that period were white males; 16 per cent white females; 22 per cent colored males; and 6 per cent colored females. Of this number 53 per cent were classified as murder; 4 per cent manslaughter; 18 per cent automobile manslaughter; 4 per cent undetermined abortion; 6 per cent undetermined violence; 9 per cent justifiable homicide; and 6 per cent killed by police. The remaining parts of the chart are the detail of the total number of cases, divided between the various classes of persons, and require no further explanation.

15. *Modes of Killing as Related to Color and Sex.* The following chart, Table 6, more graphically portrays the relation of modes of killing to distribution between colored and white males and females in murder cases in 1926 and 1927.

Exactly the same percentage of the total colored males and colored females murdered were shot, and the same is approximately true of deaths by stabbing, being 27 per cent in the case of colored males and 25 per cent in the case of colored females. This is contrasted with 71 per cent deaths by shooting of white males, which is due to the large number of gang killings of white men. As between white and colored, this chart indicates practically the same percentage of gun deaths, the predominating feature of the comparison being that 89 per cent of all deaths of colored persons were accomplished by either shooting or stabbing. Of the total number of murders in 1926, 63.68 per cent were shot and 11.84 per cent cut or stabbed, as against 61.84 per cent shot in 1927 and 13.68 per cent stabbed.¹

16. *Motives.* The classification of murders as to the motive which led to the killing has been attempted on the basis of the facts elicited at the coroner's inquests and from an examination of the

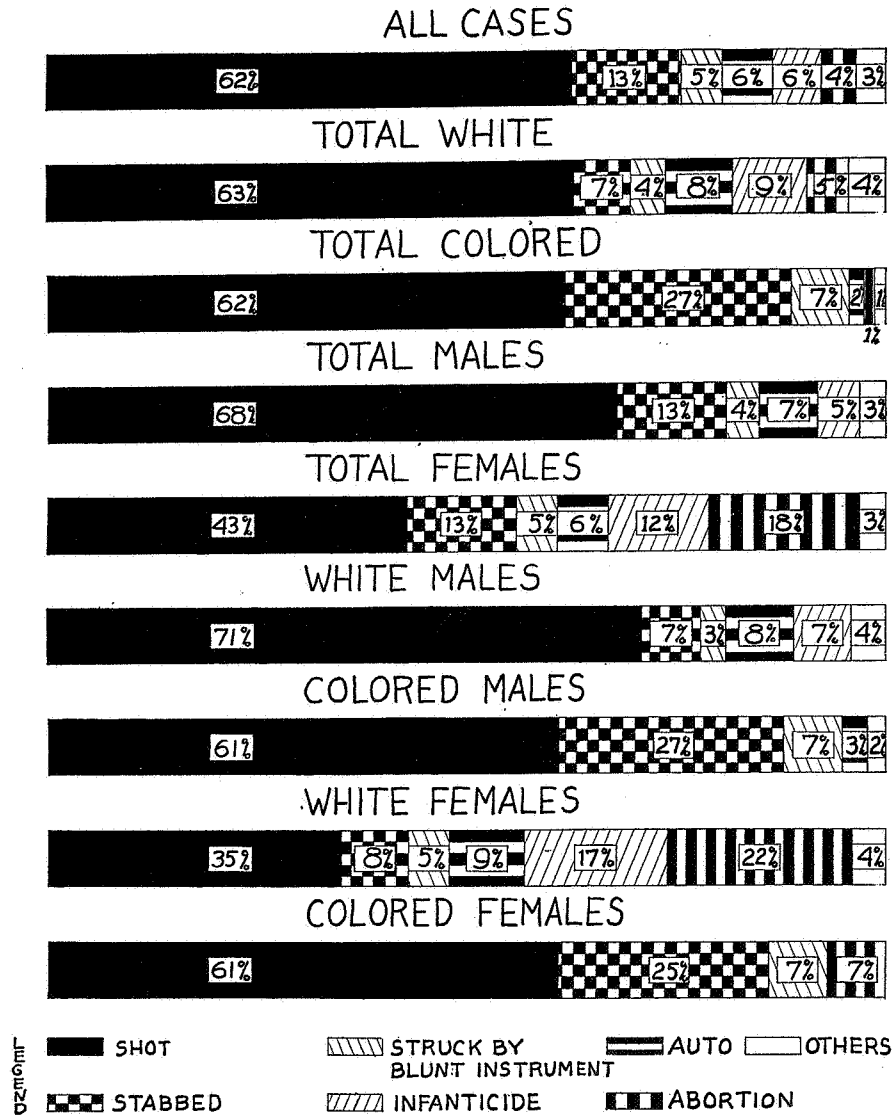
¹ *Carrying Concealed Firearms.* In connection with the heavy proportion of deaths by shooting in all classes of homicide, it is deemed appropriate to direct attention to the practice of carrying concealed weapons in Chicago.

This offense is a misdemeanor, except in cases of ex-convicts who have within five years prior to the act of carrying concealed firearms been convicted of certain crimes of violence, in which cases it is a felony. Only nine prosecutions for felony were started in Chicago in 1926, the period covered by the survey; however, during the same year, 1,358 prosecutions were started in the municipal court for misdemeanors and 1,710 in 1927. If an increase in the number of such misdemeanor crimes is any indication of increase in the volume of such crimes, the record shows an increase of 47 per cent from 1924 to 1927.

There is much leniency shown in prosecutions in the municipal court of these cases. Some of the judges of such courts have been releasing persons charged with carrying concealed firearms where the testimony showed that the weapons were in the automobile driven by the defendant, and in other cases where it is shown that the concealed weapons were discovered on the defendant after arrest and search, the defendant has been released on the ground that his constitutional immunity from illegal search and seizure was violated. The practice of carrying concealed firearms is prevalent in Chicago and there is undoubtedly a direct connection between this situation and the large percentage of felonious homicidal deaths by shooting.

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TABLE 6. CHART OF MODES OF KILLING AS RELATED TO COLOR AND SEX
CAUSES OF DEATH IN MURDER, 1926-1927



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records in the homicide bureau of the Chicago police department. The result is shown in Table 7 for both years:

TABLE 7. MURDERS, 1926 AND 1927, CLASSIFIED BY MOTIVES

	1926	1927
Gang killings	74	56
	1926	1927
Italians	39	35
American	19	8
Colored	2	—
Chinese	—	3
Others	14	10
	74	56
Abortions	16	12
Infanticides	29	18
Automobiles	22	27
Jealousy	31	23
Domestic (husband or wife)	32	23
	1926	1927
Husbands killed	9	4
Wives killed	23	19
	32	23
Revenge	14	23
Police officers, deputy sheriffs, watchmen killed on duty	11	9
Unknown motive	13	30
Girl thrown from automobile	1	—
Victims of moron	1	2
Killed by insane persons	6	5
Killed by father, not insane	—	1
Killed by mother, not insane	—	3
Killed for insurance	2	—
Victim of rape	1	1
Innocent bystander killed	—	2
Victims of hold-ups	37	34
Altercations and brawls	90	111
Total	380	380

17. *Gang Murders.* Some explanation of the manner in which these classifications by motive were made is probably in order, for there is always room for differences of opinion, especially as to what constitutes a "gang murder."

The figures in the foregoing table showing "gang killings" include every death which, from the facts and circumstances shown by the evidence at the coroner's inquest and by memoranda in the police department, clearly pointed to the murder as having been committed by some member of a band of organized criminals and in accordance with gang methods of disposing of their enemies. Thus a few were listed as the victims of a so-called labor war, three were Chinese killed in a flare-up of a Tong war according to the police theory, and the others (by far the largest group) were members of the forces of rival liquor and gambling syndicates. The police classification is considerably at variance with these figures. Figures given out by the police of Chicago for 1926 reported 24 "gang war" victims, 2 "blackhand," and 6 "labor war" murders, a total of 32 during that year, whereas our

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investigation discloses 45 such killings in the same area. In 1927 the police report shows "gang war" 6, "Tong war" 3, "blackhand" 1, and "labor war" 5, a total of 15. Our classification places responsibility for 37 murders in the city of Chicago for that year upon members of gangs.

The gang murder is usually attended by identifying characteristics: the victim is shot, the body is riddled with bullets or shotgun slugs, and is sometimes found in an isolated spot. Some of these murders, however, have been committed in broad daylight in public places, witnessed by numerous people, and the identity of the victims as members or employees of liquor or gambling syndicates, coupled with the surrounding circumstances indicating that they had been lured to the spot where they were killed, serves to definitely establish the motive. The "blackhand" classification adopted by the police, as distinguished from gang murders, would seem to be erroneous. While blackhand methods have been employed by rival gangs, the real motive behind all such killings is definitely known to be liquor and gambling gang wars (see Chapters XVI and later, of this Survey).

The division of gang and non-gang murders in the city and the county for 1926 and 1927 is shown as—

Gang Murders:	1926	1927
City	45	37
County	29	19
Non-Gang Murders:		
City	283	296
County	23	28
Total	380	380

There are several facts to be noted in connection with Table 7. Probably the most outstanding one is that gang killings were reduced in 1927 nearly 25 per cent from 1926, while the increase in other types of murder was six per cent in 1927 over 1926. In connection with the reduction of gang murders in 1927, however, it should be stated that of the 23 murders in 1927 laid to the motive of revenge, and 30 in the same year classified as motive unknown, there were in all likelihood some killings which, if the facts were known, would put them in the class of gang murders. The fact that more Italians than all other nationalities combined were killed in gang murders will occasion little surprise. The members of that race more than of any other, appear to be more active in the liquor and gambling gang wars.

18. *Other Motives—(a)* The detail of murder by abortion—16 cases in 1926 and 12 cases in 1927—appears from the following table to be:

	1926	1927
By midwife	9	5
By physician	7	7
	16	12
Married:		
White	11	7
Colored	1	1
Single:		
White	3	4
Colored	1	—
	16	12

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These figures show a marked predominance in white married females, doubtless representing that very small proportion of a large number of very common instances in which resort is had to this dangerous expedient.

(b) *Murderers Killed on Spot.*

One white murderer and two colored, in 1926, and three white and two colored, in 1927, were killed on the spot by citizens who witnessed the murder.

(c) *Murderers Suicides.*

Murderers who were suicides were:

	1926	1927
White	10	15
Colored	—	5
Chinese	—	1
	10	21

(d) *Domestic Quarrels.*

So much is made of killings of husbands by their wives, in the columns of the daily press, that the fact as shown in Table 7, that there were more than four times as many wives killed by husbands in 1927 as there were husbands killed by wives, is rather interesting, and the record is very little different for the previous year.

(e) *Altercations and Brawls.*

Another item of interest in Table 7 is the large increase in deaths due to altercations and brawls. Intoxication was the moving cause in practically every one of these cases. Liquor was easier to get in 1927 than in 1926 and this is one of the results of that condition.

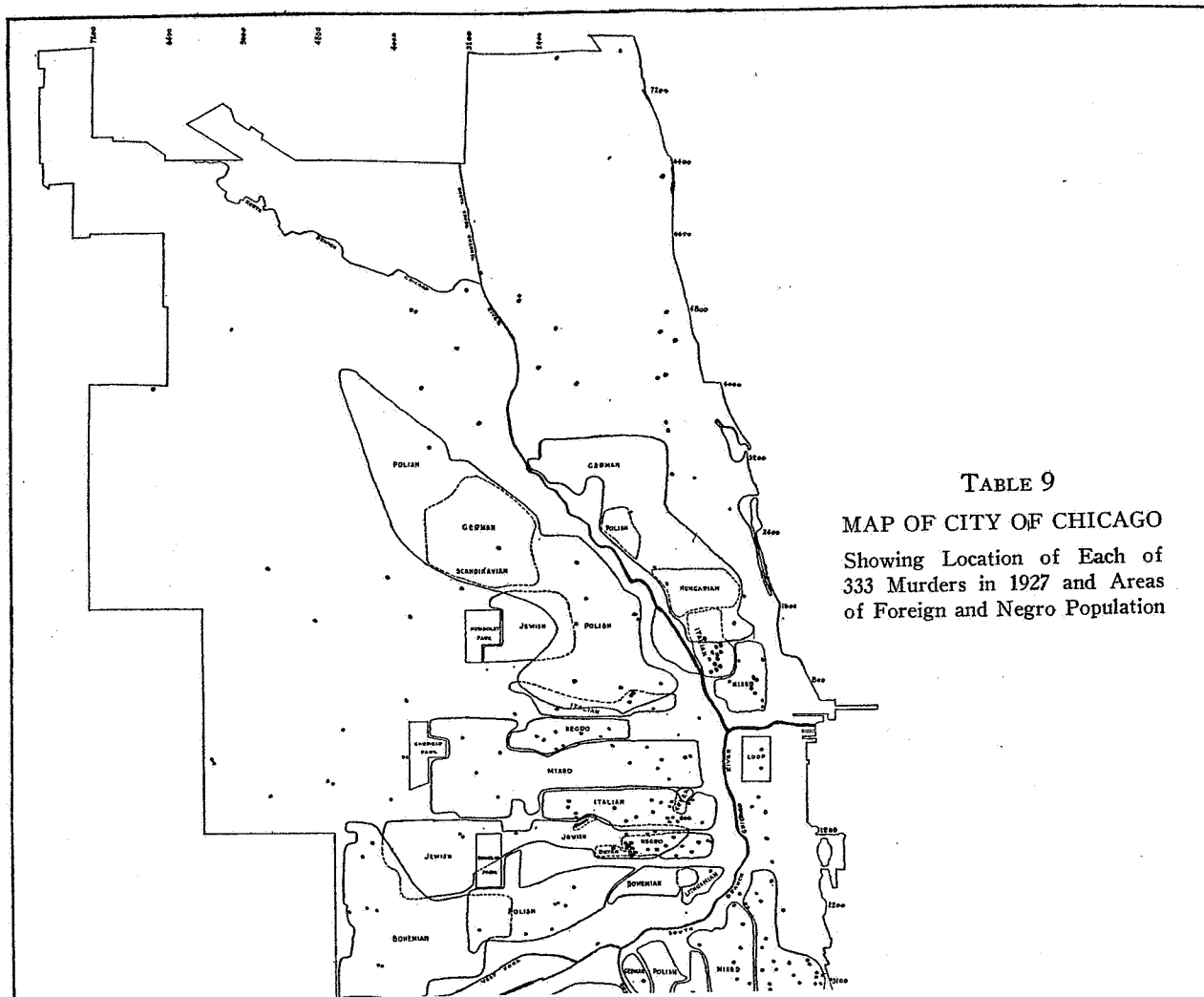
The seasonal fluctuations and distribution of murders classified as to gang and non-gang murders for the period of this investigation is shown by the following Table 8:

TABLE 8. MURDERS CLASSIFIED BY MONTHS, 1926-1927

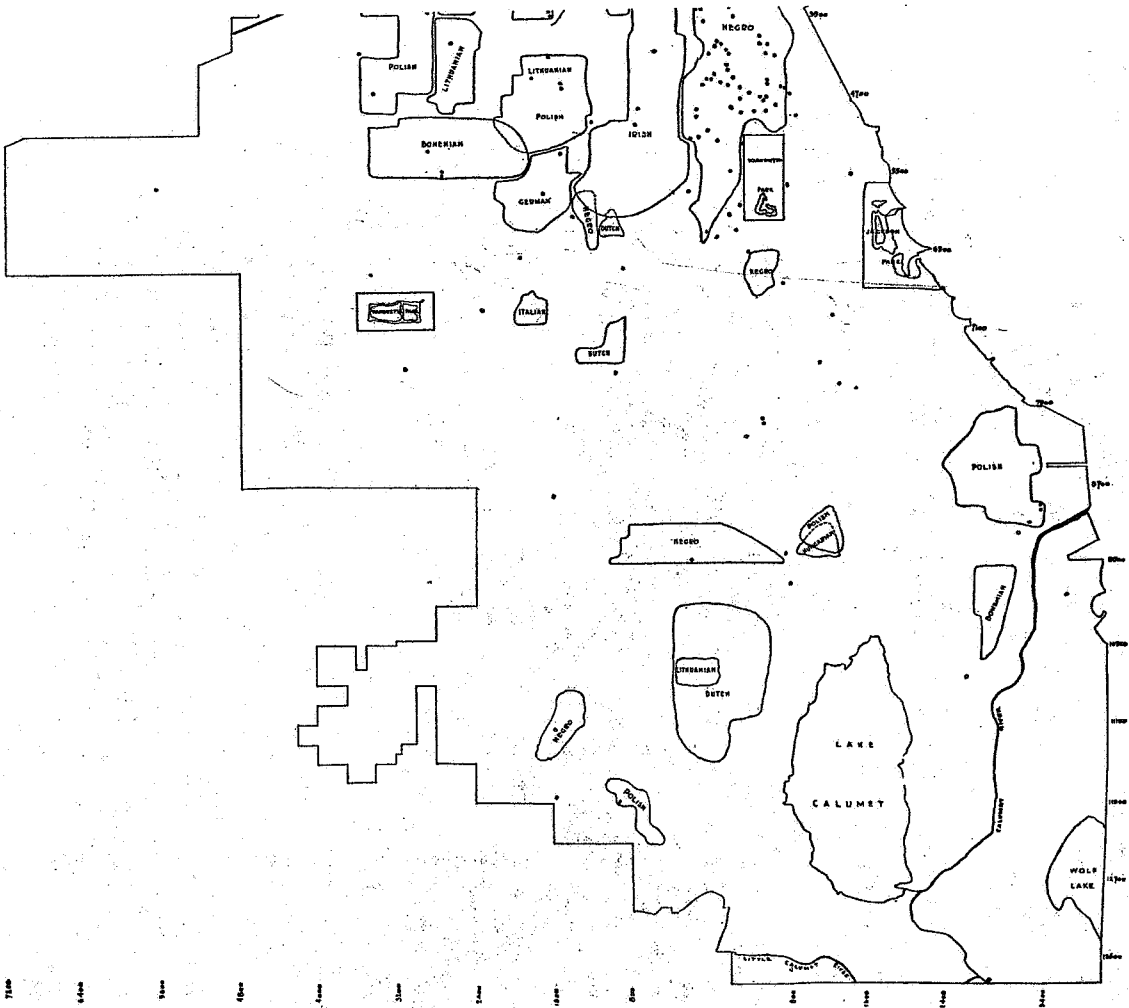
	Gang killings		Non-gang Killings		Total Killings		Total Killings		Grand Total
	1926	1927	1926	1927	Gang Killings	Non-gang Killings	1926	1927	
January	6	2	28	27	8	55	34	29	63
February	5	2	21	32	7	53	26	34	60
March	9	8	21	28	17	49	30	36	66
April	12	3	27	29	15	56	39	32	71
May	2	6	24	14	8	38	26	20	46
June	5	9	20	29	14	49	25	38	63
July	8	10	21	22	18	43	29	32	61
August	9	3	27	13	12	40	36	16	52
September	3	2	18	29	5	47	21	31	52
October	4	2	41	39	6	80	45	41	86
November	5	4	21	22	9	43	26	26	52
December	6	5	37	40	11	77	43	45	88
Total	74	56	306	324	130	630	380	380	760

Aside from the decrease of gang murders in 1927, mentioned above, the significant facts of the above distribution of murders by months, it may

TABLE 9
MAP OF CITY OF CHICAGO
Showing Location of Each of
333 Murders in 1927 and Areas
of Foreign and Negro Population



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Homicide (In Cook County)

be stated, are chiefly the excess number of gang killings in May, June and July of 1927 over the same period in 1926. This was due to the war between the rival gangs who were fighting it out for supremacy in the city of Chicago, the prize being the control of the so-called gambling, liquor, and vice syndicates. That was largely confined to the county area in 1926, during the Capone-McDonnell feud in which McSwiggen, assistant state's attorney, was killed, there being ten more such murders in the county in that year than in 1927. The issues in the campaign preceding the municipal election in 1927 were largely confined to whether or not Chicago should be a wide-open town. The voters answered this question in the affirmative, and the result was heralded far and wide as a victory for the group of politicians who favored a liberal policy for the administration. This drew the organized criminal forces from the county back into the city from which they had been largely excluded by the previous administration, and during the months of May, June and July there was considerable fighting between rival gangs to secure control of the valuable liquor and gambling privileges.

Shortly after the election of Mayor Thompson in April, 1927, on a so-called "liberal" platform, William Allen White wrote an article for Collier's in which this shrewd prophecy was made:

"The City Administration and the County Administration at the moment are friendly. The entire legal machinery of Chicago and Cook County is in the hands of one group of politicians. It is inconceivable that this group will permit homicide to prevail in Chicago when by systematic blackmail—also highly remunerative—homicide may be prevented. We have come to a stage in the enforcement of prohibition in our great cities when it is necessary for a community to choose between wholesale homicide following uncontrolled bootlegging and wholesale bootlegging under blackmail without the homicide."

This is just what happened. The cessation of hostilities in August, as a result of an agreement reported to have been made between the predominant rival gangs and the controlling politicians, marked a decisive decline in the number of such deaths. There have been several flare-ups since then, caused every time by breaches of agreements as to territorial limits. The only other fact of interest in the above table is that October and December appear to be the months in both years when murder is most prevalent. The increase in the latter month is due to the holiday season, when cases of drunkenness and brawls are more numerous.

20. *Murders Classified
by Localities
(Chicago, 1927).*

There are in every large city certain localities that are recognized as places to be shunned because of the character of the neighborhood. The chances of a stranger being robbed or slugged are greatly enhanced in such localities. This is true in Chicago. The accompanying map, Table 9, shows that murder in this city is confined to a few comparatively small areas.

Table 10 shows further the distribution of all kinds of murders in 1927, classified as to motives and related to population and racial characteristics of each area.

TABLE 10
MURDERS IN CHICAGO
1927
CLASSIFIED BY MOTIVES AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN RELATION TO POPULATION AND POLICE DISTRICTS

Pol. Dist.	Popu-lation	Racial Character	All Murders	MOTIVES											Alterca-tions and Brawls	Motive Unknown
				Gang Killings	Abor-tions	Infanti-cides	Vampire Autos	Jealousy	Domestic (Husband or Wife)	Revenge	Police, Etc., Killed on Duty	Killed by Insane Persons	Innocent Bystander Killed	Victims of Holdups		
1	6,573	American	2	1		1										
1A	16,946	American-Negro	12	1		1	1	2		1	1				5	
2	104,135	Negro-Mixed-American	18			1				1	1			1	14	1
2A		Negro-Mixed-American	27		1		1	2	1	3			1	3	13	2
3	130,013	Negro	46			2		3	6	1				10	22	2
4	89,469	American	4					1	2					1		
5	143,149	American-Negro	5				2		1						2	
6	86,373	American	2											1		1
6A	18,370	American-Negro-Polish-Hungarian	5				3									2
7	57,036	American-Polish	4				1			1					2	
8	27,138	American	3	1						1	1					
9	74,024	American-Dutch-Polish-Lithuanian-Negro	3	1											1	1
10	83,904	American-Negro	4				1			1		1			1	
11	142,658	American-Dutch-German-Negro	3		1			1							1	
11A	109,691	American-German-Italian	8	1	2							2		2		1
12	60,381	Irish-Polish	7	1		1		1						2	2	
13	130,671	Bohemian-Polish-Lithuanian-German	6			1				1				2	1	1
14	59,206	Lithuanian-Mixed-Polish-Irish-German	4	1						1				1	1	
15	63,509	American-Mixed-Polish-Lithuanian	6	3	1							1			1	
16	57,578	Italian-Negro-Greek-Dutch	35	8	1	1		1	3	2	1			3	13	2

TABLE 10—Concluded
MURDERS IN CHICAGO
1927
CLASSIFIED BY MOTIVES AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS IN RELATION TO POPULATION AND POLICE DISTRICTS

Pol. Dist.	Popu-lation	Racial Character	All Murders	MOTIVES												
				Gang Killings	Abor-tions	Infanti-cides	Vampire Autos	Jealousy	Domestic (Husband or Wife)	Revenge	Police, Etc., Killed on Duty	Killed by Insane Persons	Innocent Bystander Killed	Victims of Holdups	Alterca-tions and Brawls	Motive Unknown
16A	33,641	Bohemian-Lithu-anian	1							1						
17	174,426	Polish-Irish-Italian-Mixed-Negro-Dutch	14	4			1		2	1		2		1	2	1
18	135,621	Bohemian-Jewish-Polish	7	1			1	2				1			2	
19	27,922	Mixed-Negro	7		1			1		1					3	
20	70,184	Mixed-Negro	11	1				3	1					1	4	1
21	207,804	American-Jewish-Mixed-Bohemian	12	1		1		1				2		1	3	3
22	115,578	Polish-Italian	10	3			3	1						1	2	
23	118,813	Polish-Jewish-American-Italian	4	1		1		1							1	
24	187,260	American	5				2			2		1				
25	174,280	Polish-German-Scandinavian-American	4	1		1		1						1		
26	99,304	American-Polish	2				1									1
27	113,874	American	1				1									
27A	203,693	American-Polish	8		2	1	4							1		
28	49,329	Mixed-Italian-American	18	4	1	1		1		1			1	3	6	
29	92,724	German-Hungarian-Italian-American-Polish	5	2					3							
30	81,536	German-American-Swedish-Polish	5		1	1	1		1						1	
31	120,909	American	6	1		1		1	1						2	
32	102,470	American	3				1				2					
33	128,945	American	3		1	1					2					
34	72,336	American	3									1			1	
Totals	3,771,473		333	37	12	16	24	23	22	19	8	11	2	34	106	19

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In the contiguous area, consisting of police districts four to eleven inclusive, beginning at the eastern and southern boundaries of the so-called black belt, and including practically the whole south end of Chicago, containing over seven hundred thousand population, 33 persons were killed, of which 21 were by crimes of violence.

Likewise to the north of the loop and in the heavily populated residential districts along the north shore, from Division Street to the city limits, containing a population of six hundred thousand, there were 25 murders in 1927, of which 15 were crimes of violence. Four of these were policemen killed by persons chased into this territory by the police.

On the northwest side, north of Kinzie Street and west of the North Branch of the Chicago River, north and west to the city limits, a contiguous area containing a population of approximately one million persons, 24 murders were committed in 1927, of which 11 were crimes of violence.

In police district No. 16,¹ which embraces the territory described as the near southwest side, inhabited by Italians, Greeks and Negroes, 35 murders, 8 of which were gang killings and 21 others murder by violence, were committed in 1927, whereas immediately to the south in district No. 16A, inhabited by a settlement of Bohemians and Lithuanians, only 1 murder, classified as revenge, was committed during the same period.

In the district containing the famous "Loop," the heart of downtown Chicago, one gangster was found slain and a one day old infant was found in a department store. These are the only murders recorded in that area in 1927.

The heaviest murder rate for any contiguous area is that south of Sixteenth Street and east of South State Street, continuing south to the south end of Washington Park at Sixtieth Street, and west of Cottage Grove Avenue, known as the black belt, inhabited largely by Negroes. In this area, containing a population of about two hundred fifty thousand, 103 murders were committed in 1927, of which 54 were the result of altercations and brawls; 14 were victims of hold-ups; 5 were violent deaths, motive undiscovered; 6 were violent deaths, motive revenge; 7 husbands or wives killed; 7 deaths due to jealousy; and 1 gang death; a total of 94, or 91 per cent, deaths by violence.

In one police district in this area 46 deaths occurred, 44 of which were due to violence, mainly to shooting and stabbing. This district has a population of 130,000, practically all of which consists of Negroes.

The area north of Chicago Avenue, west of Michigan, south of Division, and east of the river, containing a population of about fifty thousand Italians and mixed races, contains the famous "death corner" at Milton and Oak Streets. Eighteen murders were committed in this area in 1927, 4 of which were gang killings, 6 altercations and brawls, and 3 victims of hold-ups.

¹ Refers to old Police District numbers.

Homicide (In Cook County)

Just to the west of that area and across the river is an area with a bad record of violent murders. The population is a little over one hundred thousand, consisting mainly of Italians and Poles, with ten deaths, three of which were gangsters, three brawls, and one hold-up victim.

Of the total of 333 murders in the city of Chicago in 1927, 230 were by known violence, and this does not include 11 deaths by insane persons, 19 for revenge, and 19 motive unknown, most of which were deaths by violence.

An examination of the accompanying map and Table 10 in connection therewith discloses that murders of violence are most prevalent in the negro and Italian settlements. It has already been shown that gang murders are predominant among Italians. An examination of the transcripts of evidence taken at coroner's inquests points conclusively to intoxication as the principal cause of deaths in the negro communities, listed under the head of altercations and brawls. Ten cent craps games in combination with an overdose of bootleg gin provides the set-up for most of these killings. Jealousy and domestic quarrels follow as a close second as the motive for deaths among Negroes, also induced, in most instances, by intoxication.

21. *Police Administration
in Murder Cases.*

Up to this point only facts pertaining to the deceased in homicide cases have been considered. It is logical to consider next the steps taken by the authorities to apprehend and punish those guilty of unlawful homicide. The first of these steps leads to the police department and other detecting and apprehending officials. The most important fact to be determined in attempting to measure the effectiveness of the detecting and apprehending officials is the number of unsolved homicides. In another part of the report will appear a discussion of police administration in connection with homicides of lesser degree than murder, confining this section to an analysis of the efforts of the police to cases where the coroner's juries returned a verdict of murder.

22. *Same:
Unsolved
Murders.*

Unsolved or uncleared murder is murder in which no charge has been filed and no arrest made after a finding by the coroner that a murder has been committed. In many of these cases the coroner's jury named the slayer and ordered his arrest and presentment to the grand jury, but no arrest was ever made and no one presented. In others, the coroner's verdict was murder by unknown persons and the identity of the slayer was never established. In a few instances it was found that the killer was not known to the coroner's jury but a charge was later filed by the police against some person in such cases. Following is a table (No. 11) of unsolved murders in Cook County for 1926 and 1927, classified as to color and sex of victims and as to causes of death, from data procured by following through records of coroner, police, prosecutor, grand jury, and municipal and criminal courts:

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TABLE 11

UNSOLVED MURDERS, CLASSIFIED AS TO SEX, COLOR, AND MODE OF KILLING

1926 and 1927

	GRAND TOTALS 1926-1927			Total Killed		MYSTERIES				Named by Coroner. No Prose- cution		Unknown to Coroner. Presented by Police	
	Total Killed	Mysteries				1926		1927					
		100%	No.	%	1926	1927	No.	%	No.	%			
WHITE MALES:													
Shot.....	304	138	45.42	155	149	77	49.67	61	40.94	9	21	14	18
Stabbed.....	31	9	29.03	16	15	7	43.75	2	13.13		1		1
Struck by Blunt Instrument.....	14	8	57.14	8	6	3	37.50	5	83.33				
Auto.....	34	30	88.23	13	21	12	92.30	18	85.71	1			1
Poison.....	4	1	25.00	2	2			1	50.00				
Strangled.....	1	0	0.00	1									
Gas.....	3	0	0.00		3								
Burned.....	1	0	0.00		1								
Infanticides.....	29	28	96.48	18	11	17	94.44	11	100.00				
Beaten in Fight.....	3	0	0.00	3				1	100.00				
Beaten and Kicked.....	1	1	100.00		1	1	100.00						
Fall.....	2	1	50.00	1	1			2	100.00				
Drowned.....	2	2	100.00		2			1	50.00				
Unknown.....	2	1	50.00		2								
TOTAL WHITE MALES.....	431	219	50.81	217	214	117	53.91	102	47.66	10	23	14	20
WHITE FEMALES:													
Shot.....	39	4	10.26	20	19	3	15.00	1	5.26	2	1	1	1
Stabbed.....	9	0	0.00	5	4								
Struck by Blunt Instrument.....	5	1	20.00	2	3			1	33.33				
Auto.....	10	7	70.00	5	5	4	80.00	3	60.00				1
Strangled.....	2	2	100.00		2			2	100.00				
Poison.....	2	0	0.00	1	1								
Infanticides.....	19	19	100.00	11	8	11	100.00	8	100.00				
Abortion.....	25	1	4.00	14	11	1	7.14			1			3
TOTAL WHITE FEMALES.....	111	34	30.63	58	53	19	32.76	15	28.30	3	1	1	5
COLORED MALES:													
Shot.....	103	14	13.59	55	48	4	7.27	10	20.83	10	13	1	1
Stabbed.....	46	2	4.35	19	27	1	5.26	1	3.70	4	7		
Struck by Blunt Instrument.....	11	2	18.18	5	6	1	20.00	1	16.66		3		
Auto.....	5	5	100.00	4	1	4	100.00	1	100.00				
Beaten in Fight.....	3	0	0.00	1	2					1			
TOTAL COLORED MALES.....	168	23	13.63	84	84	10	11.90	13	15.47	14	24	2	1
COLORED FEMALES:													
Shot.....	27	0	0.00	12	15					5	4		
Stabbed.....	11	0	0.00	5	6						1		
Struck by Blunt Instrument.....	3	0	0.00	2	1					1	1		
Abortion.....	3	1	33.33	2	1	1	50.00						
TOTAL COLORED FEMALES.....	44	1	2.27	21	23	1	4.76			6	6		
OTHER MALES:													
Shot.....	4	1	25.00		4			1	25.00				
Struck by Blunt Instrument.....	2	0	0.00		2								
TOTAL OTHER MALES.....	6	1	16.67		6			1	16.67				
GRAND TOTALS.....	760	278	36.58	380	380	147	38.68	131	34.47	33	54	17	26

Attention is first called to the last two columns of the above table headed "Named by coroner, no prosecution" and "Unknown to coroner, prosecuted by police." The figures of these two classes were not considered in arriving at the percentages of unsolved killings, but were included in this table for the reason that they were obviously more closely related to the purpose of this table than to any other. Strictly speaking, the first, "Named by coroner,

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no prosecution," should properly be included in the unsolved murder class, for while there was a person named by the coroner in each case and it was, therefore, solved to at least that extent, yet there was no arrest and no prosecution, and the murder, therefore, remains uncleared.

The other class, "Unknown to coroner, prosecuted by police," is just the converse of that situation. The murder was an unsolved one so far as the coroner's jury was concerned, but the police record was cleared by an arrest and prosecution in each of those cases. The percentage of successful prosecutions in such cases will be found to be negligible in other tables, hereafter to appear, and so, while none of these cases was ever cleared by conviction, the responsibility therefor is upon the process of prosecution and judicial administration and not upon the police.

23. *Same: Unsolved Murders Related to Color and Sex.*

The above table presents some very interesting facts. The culprits were caught in 86.37 per cent of cases where negro men were murdered as against 50 per cent of murderers of white men.

When a colored woman is murdered, the slayer is apprehended in 97.73 per cent of the cases; whereas, if the white female infants killed and listed under infanticides are eliminated from consideration in determining the percentage of mysteries in cases of white women killed, it will be found that the result is practically the same as in the case of white men killed.

24. *Same: Unsolved Gun Murders.*

Gun murders of white men were unsolved in a little less than one-half of such cases in 1926 and a little over 40 per cent in 1927. Thirty-two per cent of all gun murders in both years were unsolved. As is shown in the other tables on causes of death, this result is materially affected by the number of gang murders which were all by shooting. In 1926 there were 45 gang killings in the city of Chicago, 32 of which were unsolved. In the same year there were 29 deaths in the county areas, all of which were unsolved. In 1927 there were 37 gang murders in Chicago, of which 27 were unsolved, prosecutions being started in 10 cases. During the same year, in the county area, 19 gang murders occurred, of which 16 were unsolved. In the cases of gang murders where prosecutions were started, taking them out of the unsolved class, there were no convictions resulting from any of such prosecutions, so all of them may well be rated mysteries.

25. *Same: Unsolved and Unconvicted Murders Charted in Comparison with Total Murders.*

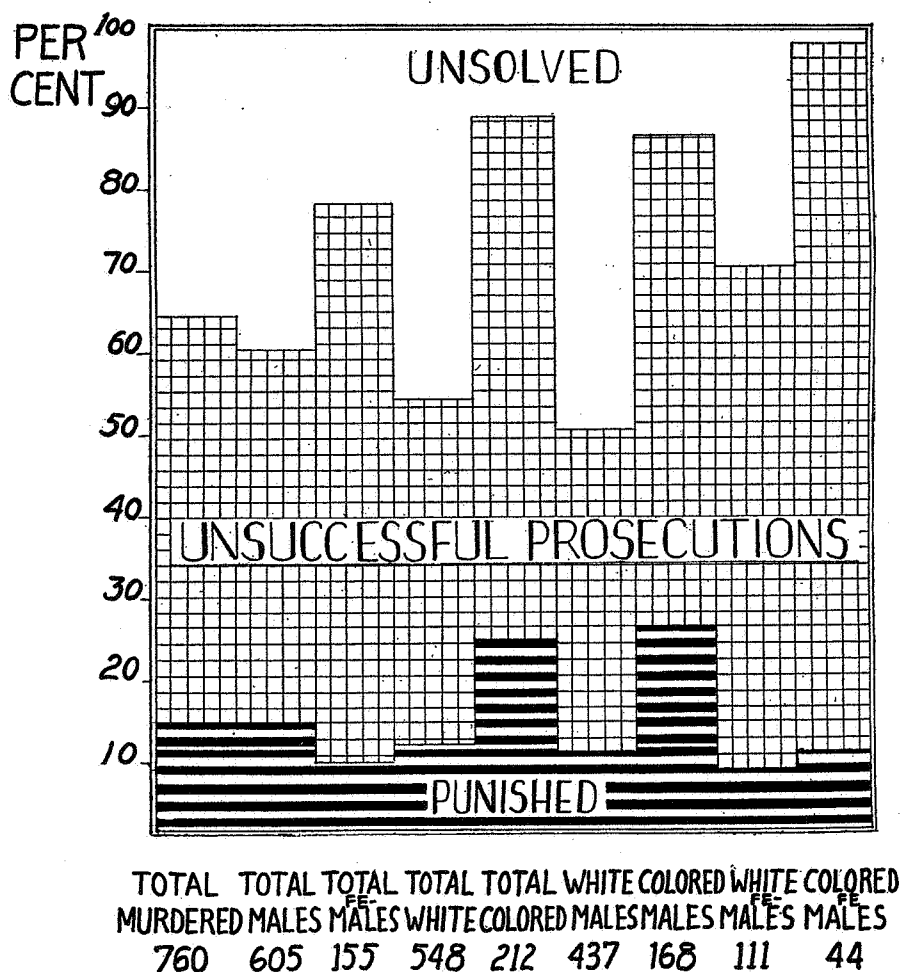
The chart, Table 12, was designed to show more graphically the same facts set out in Table 11, the main portion of the figure

showing the relative proportion of mysteries and unsuccessful prosecutions, compared to those punished in the total number of murder cases in 1926 and 1927. The unsolved cases are classified by causes of death.

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TABLE 12. UNSOLVED AND UNCONVICTED MURDERS, COMPARED WITH
TOTAL MURDERS.

MURDER, 1926-1927



26. *Murders Classified
as to Kinds of Known
Perpetrators.*

as to principals, exclusive of accessories and restricted to one killer for each murder.

The color and sex of perpetrators of murders (exclusive of all other classes of unlawful homicides), so far as they are known, is set out in Table 12-A, classified

TABLE 12-A. UNSOLVED MURDERS, CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES OF DEATH

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PER CENT OF UNSOLVED MURDERS IN EACH CAUSE OF DEATH

SHOT 477 PERSONS	██████████	32%
STABBED 97 PERSONS	██████	11%
STRUCK BY BLUNT INSTRUMENT 35 PERSONS	██████████	31%
AUTO 49 PERSONS	██	86%
INFANTICIDE 48 PERSONS	██	96%
ABORTION 28 PERSONS	████	7%
OTHERS 26 PERSONS	██████████	31%
ALL PERSONS 760	██████████	36%

TABLE 13
COLOR AND SEX OF KNOWN PERPETRATORS OF MURDERS
 (Classified by Principals, restricted to 1 killer for each crime)
 (1926-1927)

VICTIMS	MALES						FEMALES						TOTAL			
	White		Colored		Indian and Chinese		White		Colored		Indian and Chinese		Males		Females	
	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927	1926	1927
White Males	65	71	12	9			9	11					77	80	9	11
Colored Males	11	9	50	54			1		10	7			61	63	11	7
Indian and Chinese Males		1				4								5		
White Females	27	29	1				10	5					28	29	10	5
Colored Females	2	1	16	19		1			2	2			18	21	2	2
TOTALS	105	111	79	82		5	20	16	12	9			184	198	32	25

Homicide (In Cook County)

The above Table 13 shows that white men killed 76.83 per cent of white men victims, while colored men killed 73.24 per cent of colored men victims. White men killed 14.08 per cent of colored men victims, while colored men killed 11.86 per cent of white men victims. Seventy-seven and seventy-seven hundredths per cent of white women were killed by white men and 81.39 per cent of colored women by colored men. The instances of white men killing colored women and colored men killing white women are negligible. White women killed 20 white men and 15 white women in the two year period, a ratio of four to three, while colored women during the same period killed 17 colored men and four colored women, a ratio of four to one. The table shows that white men killed twice as many white men as white women and that colored men killed three times as many colored men as colored women. On the other hand white women killed $1\frac{1}{3}$ times as many white men as white women and colored women killed four times as many colored men as colored women.

27. Judicial Disposition of Homicides Charged by Police.

It has previously been stated that in certain cases the police department in the city of Chicago has filed charges in the Municipal Court in homicide cases, in which the persons charged were later exonerated by the coroner's juries. Each of these cases represents a death for which the police sought to hold some person or persons responsible for the killing, which action by the police was later nullified by the verdict of the coroner exonerating the person charged. None of these cases have been included in the total of homicides (Table No. 1) which have previously been considered in this report. The following Table 14 shows the number of such deaths and the number of persons charged by the police in each of the classes of murder, manslaughter, and automobile manslaughter, classified according to the charges filed by the police and the disposition of the charges in the municipal court, grand jury, and trial court.

TABLE 14. HOMICIDES CLASSIFIED AS TO CHARGES FILED BY POLICE,
EXONERATED BY CORONER, AND LATER DISPOSITION BY COURT

Disposition	—Murder—		Manslaughter		Auto Manslaughter		—Total—		Grand Totals
	2 cases, 2 principals 1926	7 cases, 9 principal- pals and accessories 1927	20 cases, 20 principals 1926	17 cases, 32 principal- pals and accessories 1927	130 cases, 133 principal- pals and accessories 1926	200 cases, 205 principal- pals and accessories 1927	152 cases, 155 principal- pals and accessories 1926	224 cases, 246 principal- pals and accessories 1927	
Juvenile Court for mental test	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
(A)									
In preliminary hearing.....	2	9	17	31	125	200	144	240	384
Nolled	..	..	4	20	16	47	20	67	87
Dismissed, want of prosecution ..	..	..	1	..	30	25	31	25	56
Discharged	2	9	12	11	79	126	93	146	239
Error, no complaint	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
Complaint denied	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
(B)									
By Grand Jury	..	..	2	..	6	4	8	4	12
No. Billed	..	..	2	..	6	4	8	4	12
(C)									
In Trial Court	..	..	1	..	2	..	3	1	3
Dismissed, want of prosecution ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
Acquitted	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	2
Probation on plea of guilty to assault with deadly weapon ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
Total.....	2	9	20	32	133	205	155	246	401

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The above Table 14 shows that during the year 1926 and the year 1927 the police filed charges in 376 cases of death which were regarded by them as felonious homicide, charging 401 persons for such deaths as principals and accessories. In each of these cases the coroner's jury exonerated the person charged; 384 of the 401 persons thus charged were released in the Municipal Court, which is the court of preliminary hearing in felony cases, in the manner set out in the table; 12 went to the grand jury and were no billed; 2 were acquitted upon trial; 1 case was dismissed for want of prosecution in the trial court; 1 was certified to the Juvenile Court for mental test and lost from our further consideration; and 1 pleaded guilty to assault with a deadly weapon and was admitted to probation. Thus the record stands one hundred per cent releases in such cases, if the single case of probation is to be rated a release.

28. *Same: Unknown to Coroner, but Later Charged by Police.*

The following Table 15 is designed to show the number of persons named by the coroner and ordered held and those cases in which the coroner's jury found that a homicide had been committed by unknown persons and the police later identified and lodged a charge against some person. The table, therefore, shows all classes of homicide cases in which the verdict of the coroner's jury indicated that someone should be held and excludes altogether those shown in the preceding Table 14 as charged by the police and exonerated by the coroner.

TABLE 15. TOTAL PERSONS CHARGED IN HOMICIDE CASES, 1926-1927

Murder	701
Manslaughter	59
Auto manslaughter	203
Undetermined abortion	13
Undetermined violence	15
Justifiable homicides	59
Killed by police	—
Total	1050

The principal feature of this Table 15 is the fact that although a very considerable percentage of homicides, including murder, running as high as fifty per cent in some classes, are never solved, yet there are any number of cases where there are multiple defendants for a single death, and this is reflected in the above table, showing 1,050 persons charged out of 1,438 homicides committed, as shown in Table 1. The disposition of charges against these persons will next be considered.

29. *Same: Judicial Disposition of Murder Charges, in Detail.*

The following Table 16 was prepared from data collected first in the coroner's office and then through records of police, prosecutor, and the various courts to determine the disposition of cases filed against persons named as principals and accessories in murder cases for the years 1926 and 1927, classified as to color and sex of the accused.

TABLE 16
DISPOSITION OF PRINCIPALS AND ACCESSORIES
NAMED BY CORONER OR BOOKED BY POLICE
IN MURDER CASES
(1926 and 1927)

	TOTAL ALL CASES		ALL CASES				WHITE MALES				COLORED MALES				INDIAN AND CHINESE MALES				WHITE FEMALES				COLORED FEMALES			
			1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
No Record of Arrest or Prosecution	113	16.12	46	12.89	67	19.53	22	11.46	29	15.51	20	17.26	33	30.56				4	12.50	4	14.28			1	8.33	
Turned Over to Authorities of Other Counties	2	.29			2	.58			2	1.07							1	12.50	3	9.38	3	10.72				
Dead	46	6.56	18	5.04	28	8.16	12	6.25	16	8.56	3	2.59	8	7.41			1	12.50	3	9.38	3	10.72				
Preliminary Hearing:																										
Nolle	21	3.00	11	3.08	10	2.92	2	1.04	7	3.74	6	5.18	1	.93				1	3.13	2	7.14	2	11.76			
Dismissed, want of Prosecution	10	1.43	5	1.40	5	1.46	4	2.08	5	2.67												1	5.88			
Discharged	58	8.27	25	7.00	33	9.62	20	10.42	28	14.97	2	1.73	3	2.77				1	3.13	2	7.14	2	11.76			
Bond Forfeited	3	.43	1	.28	2	.58	1	.52	2	1.07																
Grand Jury:																										
No Billed	88	12.55	49	13.73	39	11.37	24	12.50	19	10.16	15	12.94	8	7.41			2	25.00	9	28.13	9	32.14	1	5.88	1	8.34
Trial Court:																										
Certified to Juvenile Court	6	.86	5	1.40	1	.29					4	3.35	1	.93				1	3.12							
Nolle	7	1.00	4	1.12	3	.88	2	1.04	1	.53	1	.87	2	1.85				1	3.12							
S. O. L.	37	5.28	25	7.00	12	3.50	15	7.81	8	4.28	6	5.18	3	2.77				1	3.12			3	17.65	1	8.33	
Pending	42	5.99	11	3.08	31	9.04	10	5.21	18	9.63			9	8.33				1	3.12	1	3.58			3	25.00	
Tried and Acquitted	114	16.26	70	19.61	44	12.83	36	18.75	20	10.70	23	19.84	10	9.26			4	50.00	6	18.75	4	14.28	5	29.42	6	50.00
Guilty	153	21.82	87	24.37	66	19.24	44	22.92	32	17.11	36	31.06	30	27.78			1	12.50	4	12.50	3	10.72	3	17.65		
TOTALS	701	100.00	357	100.00	343	100.00	192	100.00	187	100.00	116	100.00	108	100.00			8	100.00	32	100.00	28	100.00	17	100.00	12	100.00
Sentenced To:																										
Death	10	1.43	9	2.53	*1	.29	6	3.13	*1	.53	2	1.73						1	3.13							
Joliet	121	17.25	62	17.36	59	17.20	26	13.54	28	14.97	30	25.87	29	26.85			1	12.50	3	9.37	1	3.58	3	17.65		
Pontiac	15	2.14	13	3.64	2	.59	10	5.21	2	1.07	3	2.59														
Insane Asylum	4	.57	2	.56	2	.58	2	1.04	1	.53										1	3.57					
House of Correction	2	.29	1	.28	1	.29					1	.87	1	.93												
Probation	1	.14			1	.29																				
TOTALS	153	21.82	87	24.37	66	19.24	44	22.92	32	17.11	36	31.06	30	27.78			1	12.50	4	12.50	3	10.72	3	17.65	0	0.00
*Appealed and Pending.																										

*Appealed and Pending.

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30. *Same:* Comparing dispositions in 1926 with 1927, we find that
Found in 1926, 24.37 per cent of all persons charged with murder
Guilty. were found guilty of some offense as against 19.24 per cent in 1927. These figures were slightly affected by the fact that in 1926, 3.08 per cent, and in 1927, 9.04 per cent of cases were pending when the survey was completed. That fact, however, should not change the percentage of guilty, because it is unlikely, after the cases were delayed, that there would be any greater percentage of guilty when those cases were finally disposed of than of those cases which were already disposed of.

(a) Guilty, as Related to Color and Sex.

It is interesting to note that 116 colored men as against 192 white men were charged with murder in 1926, and 108 colored to 187 white in 1927. This is out of all proportion to the ratio of population of the respective races, which is 5 per cent colored and 95 per cent white. It should also be noted that of the total number of colored and white men charged in 1926 with murder, 31.06 per cent of colored men were guilty as against 22.92 per cent of white men. In 1927 the disparity was even more pronounced, being 27.78 per cent colored men guilty to 17.11 per cent white; and when it comes to paying the penalty, 13.54 per cent of white men were sentenced to Joliet as against 25.87 per cent colored in 1926, and 14.97 per cent white to 26.85 per cent colored in 1927. Sentences to Pontiac Reformatory, which are sought in preference to the penitentiary at Joliet, show three whites to one colored sentenced to the favored institution. Insanity as a defense to murder is exclusively a white man's plea; no colored man in these years was successful in establishing the defense of insanity.

31. *Same: Arrested, but* Of 380 murders committed in 1926, the
No Charge Filed. culprits were named in 235 cases, and 357 persons were accused as principals or accessories in such cases as compared to 251 cases out of 380 murders in 1927, where the culprits were named and 343 persons accused. In the remainder of the cases the assailants were unknown. One hundred thirteen persons of a total of 701 persons named by the coroner or by the police for murder had no charge filed against them. In some of these cases the coroner's jury named the culprit but he was not apprehended by the police; in others, the name of the culprit was not disclosed to the coroner's jury, which merely returned a verdict of "Murder, apprehend unknown," and the police later booked some person for the offense as was later disclosed by the police records, but no charge was ever filed against that person. It was necessary to include these cases in this record because the coroner's jury found that a murder had been committed. It could not be said such cases were unsolved because either the police or the coroner had named the killer in such cases and therefore they are included in this record of judicial administration.

32. *Same: Disposed of* Ninety-two cases were terminated in the
Without Punishment. court of preliminary hearing without punishment; 88 were no billed in the grand jury; 114 of the remainder were tried and acquitted; 42 were pending at the time the survey was concluded, leaving 153 guilty of some offense, though not

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necessarily of the offense of murder with which they were charged. Eighty-seven of those guilty were for murders committed in 1926, and 66 for murders committed in 1927. The percentage of guilty in 1927 is affected to a greater extent by the number of cases pending in that year, and allowing for this variance the percentage of guilty in 1927 would probably in the end be found approximately the same as in 1926. As to the pending cases in 1926, it is unlikely that the final disposition thereof would show a greater percentage of convictions than of those disposed of, because the longer such cases are pending, the less chance there is to obtain convictions. The percentage of guilty in both years is 21.82 per cent of all cases.

33. *Same: Sentences
Pronounced
on Guilty.*

The concluding section of Table 16, showing the number and character of sentences pronounced upon those who were found guilty, is interesting.

There were nine death sentences pronounced in cases of murder committed in 1926, and one in 1927. The one in 1927 was pending on appeal at the time the survey was concluded, so there were no death sentences executed in 1927 for murders committed in 1927. There were eight death sentences executed in 1926 in Cook County, and although the above record does not disclose it, there were actually three hangings in Cook County in 1927. This record does not disclose that fact for the reason that two of the deaths by hanging in 1927 were for sentences pronounced in 1927, but for murders that occurred in previous years, and one was in execution of a sentence pronounced in 1926 for a murder in a previous year.

The fact that there was only one death sentence pronounced in 1927, and it was appealed from, indicates that there will be few death sentences executed in 1928. In 1910 and 1911 no persons were hanged in this county. In 1912 there were five; in 1913-14, none; in 1915, one; in 1916 and 1917, none; in 1918, four; in 1919, three; in 1920, eight; in 1921, ten; in 1922, one; in 1923, one; in 1924, two; and in 1925, three.

By far the greater number of persons whose sentences were executed for murders committed in 1926 and 1927 were sent to the State Penitentiary at Joliet; 121 or 17.25 per cent of all cases receiving this sentence; 15 or 2.14 per cent were sent to the Boys' Reformatory at Pontiac; 4 were found insane and sent to the state asylum for the criminal insane at Chester; 2 sent to the House of Correction, and 1 given probation.

34. *Same: Disposition
of Charges Growing
Out of Gang Murders.*

Included in Table 16, but not separated from the other cases, are thirteen cases of gang murders in the city of Chicago in 1926, and ten cases in 1927, as well as three cases in the county in 1927, which are excluded from the list of unsolved murders for the reason that in such cases some court action was taken.

The record of thirteen cases in the city in 1926 shows that in one case the named defendant was tried and acquitted. In another, four defendants were named, two of whom were tried and acquitted, and two stricken off the docket by the state's attorney. In another, two defendants named were both discharged in the preliminary hearing. In one case three persons

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were named as principals, who were tried and acquitted, and six named as accessories, all of whom were discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another case three defendants named were tried and acquitted. In another, two defendants were named; one tried and acquitted, one discharged in preliminary hearing. In another, one principal and one accessory were named, the case against the principal being no billed by the grand jury, and that against the accessory being stricken off the docket by the state's attorney. In another case three defendants were named, all of whom were discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another, two defendants were named by the coroner's jury but no prosecution resulted. In another, one defendant was named and was discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another, three defendants were named, all of whom were discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another, one principal and two accessories were named, the case against the principal being no billed by the grand jury and that against one of the accessories nolle prossed by the state's attorney, while the other was killed before the trial. In the last case one person was named and discharged in the preliminary hearing. It has already been stated that of the 29 gang murders in the county area in 1926, all of them were unsolved; no person being named or charged.

Of the ten cases of gang murders out of 37 in the city in 1927, in one case four persons were charged; one of whom was tried and acquitted, two stricken from the docket by the state's attorney, and one discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another, two principals were charged and both cases nolle prossed. In another case one person was named and discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another, two persons were named as accessories, the cases against both of whom were no billed in the grand jury. In another case one person was named and discharged in the preliminary hearing. In another case one person was charged, was tried, and acquitted. In another, two persons were named, tried, and acquitted. In another, three were named, two of whom were tried and acquitted, and the case against the other no billed by the grand jury. In another, six persons were named, two of whom were discharged in the preliminary hearing, while the other cases were stricken from the docket by the state's attorney. In the final case, one person was named and was discharged in the preliminary hearing.

Three cases out of nineteen gang murders in the county area in 1927 resulted in the following dispositions: in one case the person named was shot and killed before trial; in another three were named by the coroner's juries but never arrested; and in the other case one person was named by the coroner's jury but the case was no billed when presented to the grand jury.

Thus the record stands at one hundred per cent no punishment in gang murders in the city and county for 1926 and 1927.

35. *Same: Disposition of
Murder Cases, Summarized.*

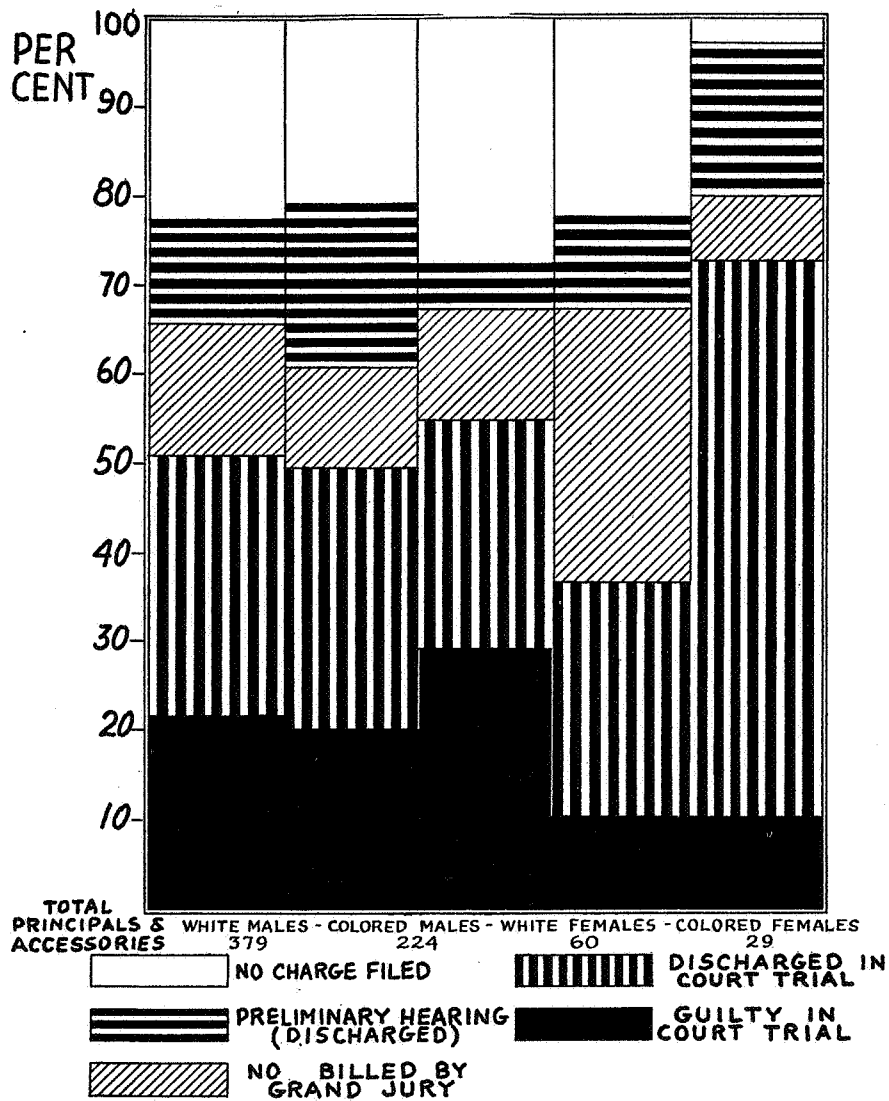
The following chart (Table 17) presents the results of judicial administration in murder cases, as set out in Table 16, in a more graphic form.

Homicide (In Cook County)

TABLE 17.

MURDERS

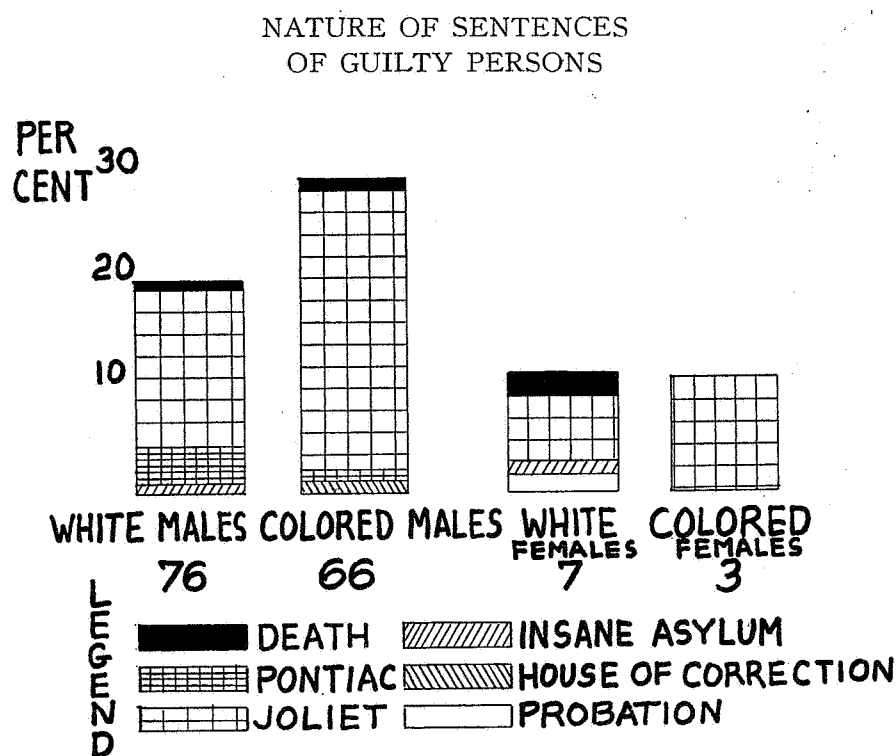
DISPOSITION OF CHARGES AGAINST PRINCIPALS AND ACCESSORIES, 1926-1927



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The above chart indicates the disposition in each class of 701 principals and accessories charged in murder cases, classified as to color and sex. The top section of each bar indicates the percentage of each class which were named by the coroner or booked by the police, but in which no charges were filed. The next indicates the percentage discharged in the preliminary hearing and the next the percentage "no billed" by the grand jury; the next the proportionate number discharged in the trial court; and finally, at the bottom, the proportionate number in each class guilty and sentenced, shown in percentages related to the total number of persons involved. Table 17-A presents an amplified detail of sentences pronounced.

TABLE 17-A.



36. *Same: Disposition in Homicide Cases Other than Murder.*

There remains the disposition of principals and accessories named by the coroner and booked by the police in homicide cases other than murder in 1926 and 1927. The following

Table 18 shows the record of such dispositions.

TABLE 18
DISPOSITION OF PRINCIPALS AND ACCESSORIES
NAMED BY CORONER OR BOOKED BY POLICE
IN OTHER THAN MURDER CASES
1926-1927

	1926-1927																									
	GRAND TOTAL		ALL CASES				MANSLAUGHTER				AUTO MANSLAUGHTER				UNDETERMINED ABORTIONS				UNDETERMINED VIOLENCE				JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE			
			1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927		1926		1927					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
NO RECORD OF ARREST OR PROSECUTION	33	9.45	19	10.44	14	8.38	4	11.11	4	17.39	14	11.97	10	11.62							1	5.00				
DEAD	1	.29			1	.60							1	1.16												
PRELIMINARY HEARING																										
Nolle	15	4.30	2	1.10	13	7.78			1	4.34			4	4.65			1	11.11								
Dismissed, want of Prosecution	4	1.15			4	2.40			1	4.34							2	22.22								
Discharged	41	11.75	9	4.95	32	19.16	1	2.78					2	2.33	1	25.00	6	66.67	4	80.00	2	20.00				
GRAND JURY																										
No Billed	157	44.98	84	46.15	73	43.71	18	50.00	8	34.80	60	51.28	51	59.31	1	25.00					8	80.00				
TRIAL COURT																										
Bond Forfeited	1	.29			1	.60							1	1.16												
Certified to Juvenile Court	2	.57			2	1.20							2	2.33												
Discharged by Court	2	.57	2	1.10			2	5.56																		
Nolle	15	4.30	12	6.59	3	1.80	2	5.55			7	5.98	3	3.49	2	50.00					1	5.00				
S. O. L.	15	4.30	14	7.69	1	.60					13	11.11	1	1.16							1	5.00				
Dismissed, want of Prosecution	8	2.29	6	3.30	2	1.20					6	5.13	2	2.33												
Pending	7	2.01	2	1.10	5	2.99					2	1.71	5	5.81												
Tried and Acquitted	34	9.74	23	12.64	11	6.59	5	13.89	6	26.09	14	11.97	3	3.49							4	20.00				
Guilty	14	4.01	9	4.94	5	2.99	4	11.11	3	13.04	1	.85	1	1.16			1	20.00			3	15.00				
TOTALS	349	100.00	182	100.00	167	100.00	36	100.00	23	100.00	117	100.00	86	100.00	4	100.00	9	100.00	5	100.00	10	100.00				
SENTENCED TO																										
Joliet	12	3.43	9	4.94	3	1.80	4	11.11	2	8.70	1	.85					1	20.00			3	15.00				
Pontiac	1	.29			1	.60							1	1.16												
House of Correction	1	.29			1	.60			1	4.34																
TOTAL	14	4.01	9	4.94	5	3.00	4	11.11	3	13.04	1	.85	1	1.16	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	20.00	0	0.00				

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Comparisons of the number of persons charged with the number of persons killed in such cases are as follows:

	1926		1927	
	Persons Charged	Persons Killed	Persons Charged	Persons Killed
Manslaughter	36	44	23	18
Auto manslaughter	117	127	86	123
Undetermined abortion	4	28	9	30
Undetermined violence	5	56	10	29
Justifiable homicide	20	61	39	73

The above figures will illustrate the reason why we have included in this report cases where the coroner's jury returned verdicts of undetermined abortion, undetermined violence, and justifiable homicides. There was a fair percentage of prosecutions started by the police upon the implied invitation in the verdict in these cases for further efforts on the part of the police department to detect and apprehend, and for the prosecutor to prosecute, any persons who may have been found by the police to have committed an offense in connection with these cases. The results of prosecution even in those cases where the coroner's juries found verdicts of manslaughter and automobile manslaughter are disappointing.

In connection with the automobile manslaughter verdicts, it should be remembered that in a very large percentage of deaths caused by automobiles, the coroner's jury returned a verdict of accidental death, and those cases where a verdict of manslaughter is returned represent the judgment of the coroner's jury that the driver was guilty of culpable negligence, causing the death of the deceased. Out of 117 such cases in 1926, only one person was found guilty, and of 86 such cases in 1927, one person was found guilty; two of such cases in 1926, and five in 1927, were pending at the time the survey was concluded. All of the others went free in the manner indicated in the above table. Of 36 persons named in other manslaughter cases in 1926, and 23 named in 1927, the large majority of which were in cases of deaths by shooting, only four were guilty in 1926 and three in 1927. A much larger percentage was found guilty in cases where the coroner's verdict was justifiable homicide. Out of 20 such cases in 1926, three were found guilty, and of 39 in 1927, one was guilty. No convictions were had in charges filed in 1926 and 1927 where the coroner's verdict was undetermined abortion. Of the five persons charged in cases where the coroner's verdict was undetermined violence, in 1926, one was found guilty, and of the ten such cases in 1927, none were guilty.

Of the fourteen guilty in all classes of homicides, other than murder, for the two year period, twelve went to Joliet, one to Pontiac, and one to the House of Correction. In manslaughter cases the chances are nine to one that there will be no punishment. For all classes of unlawful homicides in Cook County for the two year period in other than murder cases, this record shows that the chances of no punishment are twenty-five to one.

37. *Summary of Findings—* This report covers all homicides in Cook County, including Chicago, in the years 1926 and 1927. Fourteen hundred thirty-eight cases were considered, of which 739 were in 1926 and 699 in 1927. The cases were selected according to verdicts of coroner's juries and

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were divided as follows: murder, manslaughter (including automobile deaths), abortion of undisclosed origin, violent deaths of undetermined motives, and cases, including killings by police officers, in which the coroner's jury found the death to be justified and the defendants were released. In addition to the foregoing cases, 376 instances of homicide were picked up where the police had filed charges of murder or manslaughter against the killers, but the coroner's juries thereafter exonerated the persons held and they were released.

There were 380 verdicts of murder found by coroner's juries in 1926, and exactly the same number in 1927. Three hundred twenty-eight of the murders in 1926 were in the city of Chicago and 52 in Cook County outside of Chicago. In 1927, 333 murders were committed in Chicago and 47 in the county area outside of the city.

(2) Distribution of Murders, City of Chicago, 1927.

Included in the report are maps and tables showing the location of each of 333 murders committed in the city of Chicago in 1927, related to the total of population and character thereof in each district. By far the greater number of violent deaths occur in the Negro and Italian settlements. In the great residential sections of Chicago, containing a total population of over 2,500,000 persons living in contiguous areas, 104 persons were murdered; 65 were murders of violence, including 12 hold-ups and 14 gang killings. In contrast with these figures, in the so-called black belt, consisting mainly of Negroes, with a total population of whites and Negroes not exceeding 250,000, there were 104 murders committed, of which 91 per cent were by violence; and in one police district of small area, containing but 57,500 population, consisting largely of Italians, 35 murders were committed, 8 of which were gang killings and over 90 per cent of which were by violence. In the famous "Loop," the heart of the downtown business district, two murders were recorded; one classified as a gang killing, and the other infanticide, the latter being an instance of a one day old infant being found in a department store.

(3) Modes of Killing.

Of all classes of homicides, 73 per cent in 1926, and 67 per cent in 1927, were by violence, exclusive of deaths by automobiles. Sixty-three per cent of such violent deaths in 1926 and 74 per cent in 1927 were by shooting. The next in the order of importance is by cutting or stabbing.

(4) Automobile Deaths.

Coroner's inquests were held in 1,876 cases of automobile deaths in 1926 and 1927. Thirteen hundred forty-four were found to be accidents, and 236 resulted in open verdicts and no prosecutions were had. In 330 cases, the police arrested the drivers, all of whom were later exonerated by the coroner's juries and released. In 203 cases the drivers were charged with manslaughter, but in 24 of such cases no charges were ever filed and no prosecutions started, leaving 179 cases prosecuted for manslaughter. In 49 cases the coroner's juries ordered the driver held for murder. No convictions for murder were obtained. Two drivers were convicted of man-

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slaughter in the two year period, one of whom was sent to the Joliet Penitentiary, and the other to the Pontiac Reformatory.

(5) Colored and White.

The colored population in Chicago and Cook County is approximately five per cent of the whole, yet the colored race furnished 27.63 per cent of murder victims in 1926 and 28.16 per cent in 1927; and 30.5 per cent of all persons killed by police were colored. More white men were killed by Negroes than Negroes were killed by whites. A much higher percentage of colored murderers are caught than of white murderers. In over fifty per cent of the cases the murderers of white men are never apprehended; in 86.37 per cent of male colored murders, the perpetrators are apprehended; and in 97.73 per cent of colored female murders the killers are caught.

A much higher percentage of colored murderers are convicted than of white, the ratios being 31.06 per cent of colored men convicted as against 22.92 per cent of white men convicted in 1926, and 27.78 per cent colored convicted as against 17.11 per cent white convicted in 1927. Punishment is meted out against colored men murderers in approximately 10 per cent more instances than in cases of white.

Insanity as a defense to murder is exclusively a white man's plea.

(6) Motives.

One hundred eleven murders in 1926 and ninety in 1927 can be appropriately ascribed to professional criminals.

Ninety murders in 1926, and 111 in 1927, were due to altercations and brawls, largely confined to Negroes and induced in most instances by intoxication.

It is regarded as likely that most of the 45 murders in 1926, and the 30 in 1927, due to abortion and infanticide, were committed by habitual offenders. All of the abortion murders were performed either by professional midwives or physicians. The names of the persons charged by the coroner's juries in these cases run through the testimony at coroner's inquests in the majority of cases of undetermined abortion. A large majority of these deaths occurred in hospitals to which the patients were sent after the illegal operation had been performed, and it is one of the most difficult crimes to discover. It is certain that in every one of the infanticide cases the mother of the child could not have been in physical condition to commit the murder herself, and most of these cases may be properly ascribed to persons who for one reason or another were interested in disposing of the bodies of illegitimate children. None of the murderers in these cases were ever apprehended.

Aside from automobile deaths, rated as murders by coroner's juries, the remainder of the cases is made up largely of crimes of passion: jealousy, domestic difficulties, rape, etc.

The deaths of police officers, deputy sheriffs, and watchmen, killed on duty, may well be included in murder by professional criminals, although the evidence in these cases as to the actual identity of the murderer is not sufficient to include them in that class.

Murders by morons were three in number, the murder being committed

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in pursuit of unnatural sex desire. Eleven deaths were caused by violently insane persons. Two persons were poisoned, the motive being to enable the murderer to collect the insurance on the deceased. Two innocent bystanders were killed, and one girl thrown from an automobile by her escort. Ten murderers in 1926, and 21 in 1927 committed suicide. There were more than four times as many wives killed by husbands as there were husbands killed by wives.

(7) Gang Murders.

There were 74 gang killings in Cook County in 1926 and 56 in 1927, a reduction of approximately 25 per cent. Gangsters committed 27.3 per cent of all gun murders. There were nearly as many gang killings in the area outside of the city of Chicago in 1926 and 1927 as all other murders combined in that area; the record being 48 gang murders and 51 others. The percentage of gang murders in the city of Chicago, related to all murders, was 13.5 per cent in 1926 and 11 per cent in 1927. Fifty-three per cent of gang murder victims in 1926 and 65 per cent in 1927 were Italians. Approximately ten per cent of murder victims in each of the years 1926 and 1927 were victims of hold-ups largely ascribed to members of gangs.

Wholesale bootlegging and gambling are directly responsible for practically all Cook County gang murders. Gang murders are less in evidence when bootlegging and gambling are syndicated with political protection. The personal security of citizens of Chicago and visitors to the city, who stay out of the proscribed areas as indicated in the foregoing report, are little endangered by the activities of gangs, the record showing that gang murder victims are themselves gangsters.

No one has ever been convicted or punished for gang murders in Cook County in 1926 and 1927.

(8) The Coroner.

Coroner's juries are selected by politically appointed deputies and many of the jurymen are "regulars," wholly under the domination of the deputies appointing them. The verdicts of coroner's juries directed by politically appointed deputies are treated as final in the vast majority of cases. A verdict of exoneration by the coroner's jury is usually accepted as final by the police.

Except at an occasional inquest of unusual publicity value, the state's attorney of Cook County has no representative at coroner's inquests.

(9) Judicial Administration.

Ten hundred and fifty persons were charged in 1,438 cases of homicide committed in Cook County in 1926 and 1927; 701 persons were charged with murder in 780 murders committed; and 36.05 per cent of all murders during 1926 and 1927 were unsolved by the police.

Dispositions of persons charged as principals and accessories in murder cases show 21.82 per cent convicted, of which ten received the death penalty, nine in 1926 and one in 1927. An appeal had been taken and was pending at the time the survey closed from the single death sentence pronounced in 1927. The record shows 79.08 per cent of all convicted persons were sent to

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Joliet Penitentiary; 9.80 per cent, to the Pontiac Reformatory; 2.62 per cent, to the Asylum for Criminal Insane at Chester; 1.30 per cent, to the House of Correction; and 0.66 per cent were admitted to probation.

The disposition of principals and accessories in homicide cases other than murder and including manslaughter shows 4.01 per cent convicted; of which 85.70 per cent were sent to Joliet Penitentiary; 7.15 per cent, to Pontiac Reformatory; and 7.15 per cent, to the House of Correction.

In manslaughter cases other than automobile deaths, seven out of fifty-nine persons charged were convicted. In automobile manslaughter cases, two of 203 persons charged were convicted.

Eighty-nine persons were killed by the police in 1926 and 1927, all of which killings were held to be justifiable homicide, and no prosecutions were started.

In 134 cases of death by violence in which coroner's juries found verdicts of justifiable homicide, 59 persons were prosecuted notwithstanding the coroner's verdicts, resulting in four convictions and sentences to the Joliet Penitentiary.

(10) Comments on Special Features.

The situation in Cook County with respect to automobile killings is a most interesting one.

With practically every car on the road covered by insurance, which wholly or in great measure relieves the driver from the threat of a money judgment against him if he drives his car recklessly and kills another with it, the only restraining influence left upon reckless drivers is that of fear of criminal prosecution in death cases. The prospect of being punished for culpable negligence need deter no reckless driver in this county.

Intoxicated drivers of automobiles are becoming increasingly numerous as anyone who constantly drives an automobile can testify. Such a person is as dangerous, and more so, than a drink-crazed man running amuck with a gun. His car is a lethal weapon, more deadly than any other, to persons within its range. There are many sober drivers also who apparently have little regard for human life. This record shows practically complete failure upon the part of the authorities to protect the lives of persons who are at the mercy of these criminals. In the face of safety measures being constantly stressed by all manner of citizen agencies and the press, this type of homicide is increasing, and so far as the deterring influence of punitive measures successfully invoked are concerned, further increases may reasonably be expected.

As has been shown in other reports of the survey, the practice is prevalent of compromising with criminals by dismissing criminal cases upon restitution being made in robbery and theft cases. This also applies to criminal charges growing out of automobile killings. The settlement of civil liability and dismissal of criminal charges is of frequent occurrence. This is probably the largest single factor in the general results of unsuccessful prosecutions in these cases.

Probably the most outstanding feature of the whole homicide record, as disclosed in the preceding pages, is the part played by the gangsters. Murders have been greatly increased by the members of rival gangs killing each

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other, but there is no evidence that the personal security of citizens is to any serious extent endangered by gang wars. It must be conceded, however, that the growing power and boldness of these outlaws, coupled with the fact that they seem to be above the law, is a matter of the utmost significance.

That feeling of security of person and property through protection by the law enforcing agencies, which is so necessary to the peace of mind and well being of the people of any community, is not promoted by the spectacle of a large force of gunmen hired by professional criminals engaged in lawless enterprises of great magnitude making and enforcing their own laws at the point of the gun. The fact that they discipline their own forces and suppress competition by murder, mayhem, and intimidation, without intervention by the authorities, is of vastly greater significance than the increase in the murder rate due to gang killings. The gang is more powerful than the police. The natural result of this condition is that the law of force should be extended to legitimate lines of business as a substitute for the law of the land. Over ninety legitimate business enterprises are dominated by gangsters.¹

In the last analysis this will lead to a state of affairs which no civilized community can endure. At the doors of those who have contributed to this condition must be laid the blame for the damage to Chicago's good name. While the gangsters have not done the people of Chicago any dis-service by killing each other, yet they and those who are allied with them have committed a much graver offense than the murder of any number of gangsters, when they robbed Chicago of its good name and lowered its standing among the cities of America.

The restoration of the prestige and good reputation of this great city will depend upon the ability of its people to restore the supremacy of the law. Any successful steps taken in this direction presupposes good faith and honest purpose upon the part of the police, the prosecutor, and the courts.

The number of unsolved murders, including gang killings, points conclusively to the necessity for better detective work in the police department.

The meager results which are obtained in the way of convictions in homicide cases is conclusive evidence of the weakness in the prosecutor's office as well as of the police in gathering and presenting the evidence. It is respectfully suggested that a becoming effort by the police as a murder prevention agency would result in suppressing public gambling and wholesale liquor manufacturing and rum running, which would deprive these gangs of their main sources of revenue, and when that is done, there being nothing left to fight for, little will remain of the gang problem. In order to be profitable both of these enterprises must be conducted in the most flagrant and notorious manner. So conducted, they are as obvious to the police as to anyone else; therefore it should not be difficult to suppress them if there existed the desire to do so.

38. *Recommendations.* 1. The number of unsolved murders in 1926 and 1927 points directly to the necessity for more efficient methods in the detection of crime.

2. If public gambling and wholesale liquor manufacturing and dis-

¹ See Chapter XXIII of Organized Crime.

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tribution were suppressed, thus depriving organized gangs of their principal sources of revenue, the gang murder problem would be solved.

3. The state's attorney should be represented at every coroner's inquest where death is probably due to crime.

4. The coroner's office should be reorganized with politics in the background.

5. The administration of justice in homicide cases is definitely crippled by the practice of police and state's attorney of accepting as final the verdicts of exoneration returned by the coroner's juries. Such verdicts are merely advisory and should constitute no excuse for failure to present the case to the grand jury notwithstanding such verdicts, where the facts point to the guilt of the killer.

6. The practice of the coroner and his deputies of carrying regular jurors of a class who seek the service for the insignificant compensation of one dollar per hearing should be discontinued and jurors should be selected in each case as provided by law, from citizens "of the neighborhood where the body is found or lying." The present practice gives too much opportunity for deputies to influence verdicts.

7. It is essential that greater diligence be exercised by police and prosecutors in apprehending and vigorously prosecuting automobile drivers guilty of culpable negligence resulting in death. In no other way is the growing death list due to negligent and drunken motorists likely to be curbed.

8. Coroner's jury verdicts of murder in deaths by automobile serve no purpose except to improperly increase the advertised number of murders in Cook County and thereby create a false impression with respect to the actual murder rate, and it is recommended that the practice be discontinued.

9. If more care and supervision were given to the maternity cases in charge of midwives and to lying-in establishments, there would probably be fewer cases of infanticide.

10. The predominance of shooting in all forms of homicide points to the necessity for a more stringent enforcement of the laws against carrying concealed weapons, and for legislation similar to that recently enacted in New York and other states, increasing the penalties for this offense and regulating the transportation, sale, and possession of firearms.

11. The small number of convictions obtained and punishments assessed in murder and manslaughter cases indicates a serious weakness in prosecution, which can only be corrected by more vigorous methods of securing evidence and presenting the cases in court.