

in homicides might show itself in several ways: by an increase in the number of murders committed by organized crime figures themselves, or murders in which organized crime figures were victims; or, by an increase in killings which occur incidentally during organized crime activities; for example, a surge of killings in which the circumstances involved the transportation or manufacture of illegal liquor; or killings in illegal speakeasies or saloons; or killings to secure territory for the distribution of illegal liquor, or homicides in or around mob owned businesses, saloons or houses of prostitution. The control of the sale of alcohol by organized crime did not begin with Prohibition.³¹⁹ And organized crime was involved in many other occupations. The number of cases involving organized crime or gangs should be larger than the number of Prohibition cases.

There is another set of killings identified by a discrete set of variables in this data set which may shed light on these questions and on the discrepancy between the number of organized crime and Prohibition cases reported in the 1929 Illinois Crime Survey for 1926 and 1927 and the smaller number of such cases initially identified in this data set. Related to but distinct from the general category of killings attributable to Prohibition or organized crime are the killings by police and the killings of police. Figure 2 shows the number of killings of police and by police, and the combined total across the data set. Police may have killed or been killed by organized crime figures, or police may have killed or been killed by persons involved in the illegal transportation of liquor during Prohibition.

If there is an increase in homicides in which police are either victims or defendants which tracks the overall increase in homicides in the 1920's, and if these cases involve circumstances of organized crime, or Prohibition, then the police cases may identify in this data set the organized crime murders and Prohibition cases mentioned by commentators and referred to in the 1929 Illinois Crime Survey.³²⁰

³¹⁹ An argument could be made that the general climate of lawlessness, corrupt elections, and the absence of effective law enforcement by corrupt police officers and prosecutors, fostered violence by its tolerance of it, and even encouraged homicides because offenders thought they would not be caught or punished. That secondary effect might be measurable in this data set by identifying homicides during the 1920's where no prosecution was reported. This data set may be able to identify many such cases, although the absence of information on judgments or convictions may be no more than faulty record keeping. This is another area for future research.

³²⁰ The police data set shows for 1926 and 1927 respectively, 41 and 37 cases where police were victims, and 10 and 12 cases where police were the slayers. This is a total of 51 cases in 1926 and 49 cases in 1927, when the two sets of police cases are combined. *See*

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

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

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

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

Figure 2.

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

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

Figure 2

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

