

**One Hundred Years of Homicide in Savannah:
1896 to 1903 & 1986 to 1993**

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Foreword

Vance McLaughlin brings us an important book spanning nearly a century of homicide in Savannah, Georgia. McLaughlin revisits homicides at the beginning and end of the twentieth century. Like an archeologist, he has drawn the circumstances and details of crimes, offenders and victims from the actual original homicide records.

McLaughlin enthusiastically culls the surviving records to bring his reader all the extant facts. He shares with us his adventures in unearthing the long buried facts and shedding light on a century of violence. The rich results of McLaughlin's research light the reader's path through a fascinating landscape where forgotten homicides assume new life, and the reader can reach his own conclusions about the murky world of fin de siecle killing in Georgia's port city.

This new research is important because our detailed knowledge of American homicide is quite limited, something that may surprise many. The FBI did not begin reporting counts of murders until the early 1930's, and records of individual level murders only commenced with the FBI's Supplemental Homicide Reports. Public health departments would sporadically publish annual counts in some detail, but these early accounts are aggregated together and do not provide critical details, including ages of victims and weapons employed by their killers.

McLaughlin has provided everything to satisfy the contemporary and future scholar. Now, the researcher will have answers to important questions when previously he had only limited access to largely unworked data consigned to police archives.

Without this work, present and future scholars would have been denied the possibility of asking questions of this detailed and priceless data which was lost to unacceptable standards of summarization or was compressed and sacrificed to the demands of publishers concerned about costs.

The reader has a great opportunity to benefit from Dr. McLaughlin's diligence and skillful research. The criminal justice historian, the genealogist, the public health researcher, even the merely curious, have a rewarding opportunity to immerse themselves in this timely and readable effort. Dr. McLaughlin's research shows how first rate scholarship can create a foundation for new analyses of social problems.

McLaughlin's historical research is important for many reasons. He is able to use his knowledge of the local criminal justice system to find information which would elude most researchers. Indeed, McLaughlin's latest work sheds light on this one truth: To understand America's unique heritage of violence, we must study it carefully and thoroughly, and with complete attention to local circumstances.

The careful study of homicide in one city is the way to begin to understand the larger picture to which each city, and each homicide contributes. Work like McLaughlin's demands patience, commitment, and a steadiness of effort which we can only partially appreciate. We are fortunate to have such dedicated scholars and books like this among us.

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Introduction

This manuscript represents the culmination of a research project that I started after **Police and the Use of Force: The Savannah Study** was published. This examination of how police used force, coupled with prior training in homicide investigation, piqued my interest in murder. In 1991, Savannah had one of the highest homicide rates of any American city with over 100,000 citizens. I began to wonder if homicide rates had fluctuated in the city over time, and if so, why?

On a chance visit to the Georgia Historical Society, located in Savannah, I found some bound copies of the Report to the Mayor. In these reports, I found some data on homicides that occurred from 1896 to 1903 in Savannah.

I decided to examine this eight-year period of time and compare it with my eight years of experience, 1986 to 1993. I wondered how much homicide had changed in 90 years. I did not realize that I would spend the next five years collecting data. This was an exploratory study and each new data source sometimes led to further discoveries.

The challenge when all the data sources were exhausted was to organize the information in a meaningful way. Thousands of scholarly articles and books have been written on the subject of homicide. Therefore, a literature review for this study had to be restricted. I decided to concentrate on similar studies.

This book provides a comparison of homicides between two eras in one city. It is hoped that others interested in such research can utilize my findings.

The book has been organized in the following way. There are three appendices at the end of the book. Appendix A presents a literature review of twenty-two similar studies that examined certain geographical areas and homicide over a specific time period. Appendix B examines the research sources and methodology used in this study. Appendix C lists a synopsis of the cases not mentioned in the book chapters.

The first chapter illustrates the initial quantitative findings of the study. The next four chapters examine homicides where civilians are the perpetrators and victims. I identified the top two types of homicide in each era, where possible. Chapter 2 examines all those homicides committed by juveniles. In Georgia, "juveniles" are considered youth 17 years old or younger. Chapter 3 examines the homicides' circumstances of same race and same sex adult civilian perpetrator. Chapter 4 examines adult civilian perpetrator homicides on victims of the opposite sex. Chapter 5 examines different race and same sex homicides committed by adult civilians, and those homicides committed by unknown perpetrators.

Chapter 6 focuses on homicides where the perpetrator was involved in law enforcement. Chapter 7 concentrates on capital punishment and how its imposition has changed in 90 years. Chapter 8 analyzes the three factors that were often found during the literature review -- race, alcohol, and guns -- and how they related to Savannah homicides. Chapter 9 examines other factors and causes of homicide. Chapter 10 offers a commentary on the phenomenon of homicide.

I have included a synopsis of each homicide that occurred because I feel

that these descriptions add insights that numerical computations miss. Numbers cannot convey the fact that each homicide involves the taking of a person's life. A snapshot of each homicide allows an understanding of each incident. Variables not analyzed may also be identified based on the reader's interests.

This manuscript was completed in 2004 but was never published. Excerpts from the book have been presented as papers at the Homicide Research Working Group.

Chapter 1
Savannah Homicides in Context

Introduction

There have been numerous studies of homicide on single cities and counties (see Appendix A for a Literature Review of several of these). Some have emphasized contemporary homicide, even to the point of using a single city for a major contribution to the general study of homicide (e.g., Wolfgang, 1958), while others have done so simply as a contribution to homicide by describing its nature in a single jurisdiction (e.g., Wilbanks, 1984). Other studies have focused on homicide in the past (e.g., Monkkonen, 1995). A handful (e.g., Lane, 1999) has looked at both homicides in a city's distant past and near present. Each adds to our understanding of how and why homicide occurs in the United States.

While the brilliant analyses of a Wolfgang clearly make contributions to the scientific study of homicide, a more common scientific purpose is to approach a general understanding of a phenomenon, homicide, by having several similar studies to see what results are common to all. To such an approach, the study of Savannah can contribute. For both the contemporary and historical understanding of homicide, Savannah's study adds what was missing from most of the previous studies. It represents a relatively small city which is located in the Deep South. Both historically and contemporaneously, Savannah has faced different problems when compared to larger, and often northern, cities and counties that were more frequently studied.

The practice of slavery lasted much longer in the South than in the northern

states. Blacks were slaves until the end of the Civil War in Savannah. Blacks gained their freedom when the Union Army occupied the city. There was very little thought or effort put into easing the transition from bondage to freedom for those newly enfranchised citizens. The southern states were economically devastated from fighting a losing war. The North did not send an aid package to rebuild and much antipathy remained.

While Savannah had much in common with other cities in southern Georgia, it also was different. Many of its male citizens had been killed or wounded as Confederate soldiers, but it was untouched by actual combat. It surrendered to Sherman without firing a shot. An example of Savannah's uniqueness is the fact that one of the first Jewish enclaves in America occurred here. There are Jewish families who trace their ancestors back to the founders of the colony and many have distant relatives who served in the Revolutionary War. There were no other southern Georgia cities that had a measurable Jewish population. Nonetheless, the recurring themes and factors in homicide in Savannah are similar to those in other studies, including homogeneity in homicide, risk factors such as alcohol and drug use and abuse, and jealousy in opposite-sex killings. Concomitantly, there are some telling differences that have occurred over time. White-on-white homicide has decreased over the course of a century while black-on-black homicide has risen; guns, while more regulated now than a century ago, are used more frequently in homicides; and we now have a greater knowledge of the killers' families, especially in the case of murderous juveniles. Capital punishment was carried out a century ago with dispatch, while no legal executions took place in the latter era, with twice the number of homicides. The killings of citizens by police are one-third of what they were a century ago, with

the current population doubled.

This study is descriptive versus analytical. There are not enough cases or continuity of data between the two eras to concentrate on analysis. On the other hand, a synopsis of every homicide not mentioned in the text can be found in Appendix C. This allows the reader to get a "feeling" of the total homicide phenomenon in the two eras. If we begin with the belief that homicides don't just occur by chance, it is possible that the total circumstances people encounter (culture, laws, values, ad infinitum) have some impact.

Initial Findings

The initial findings will provide the reader with a perspective concerning the occurrence of homicides in Savannah. The eight- year periods will be focused on, but additional years will be included where appropriate.

Census

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 were formulated from the decennial United States Census. Table 1.1 examines the population characteristics of Savannah from 1890 to 1990.

Table 1.1. Savannah Population Characteristics: 1890 to 1990

YEAR	WHITE		BLACK		TOTAL
	male	female	male	female	
1890	10,236	9,975	10,493	12,485	43,189 a
1900	13,134	12,975	12,746	15,344	54,244 b
1910	15,833	15,951	15,218	18,028	65,064 c
1920	21,912	22,118	18,566	20,613	83,252 d
1930	22,280	23,889	17,315	21,581	85,024 e
1940	25,124	27,576	19,276	23,961	95,996 f
1950	33,830	37,458	22,300	26,050	119,638 g
1960	46,630	49,357	24,517	28,741	149,245 g
1970	31,142	33,508	24,320	28,791	118,349 h
1980	33,559	36,660	31,815	37,426	141,390 i
1990	31,026	33,420	38,947	33,213	137,560 j

Note: a=15 of those counted as Black are Chinese; b=45 of those counted as Black are other race males; c=34 of those counted as Black are Chinese; d=43 of those counted as Black are other races; e=59 of those counted as Black are other races; f=38 males and 21 females of other races are counted in the total population; g=there are no numbers of other races available; h=588 of the total are other races; i=1930 of the total are other races; j=954 of the total are other races. I would like to thank William L. Turner, Jr., Reference Librarian at the Bureau of Census Library, for helping me obtain the above information.

Table 1.1 illustrates that in 1900, of the total population, whites were 48% of the population (males and females 24% each) and blacks were 51% of the population (males 23% and females 28%). In 1990, whites were 47% of the population (males 23% and females 24%) and blacks were 52% of the population (males 28% and females 24%). The population breakdown by race is almost equal for both 1900 and 1990. Table 1.2 breaks down the census for 1900 and 1990 by race, sex, and age.

Table 1.2. Age Breakdown of Savannah Population: 1900 & 1990

	black male		black female		white male		white female	
	1900	1990	1900	1990	1900	1990	1900	1990
<5	1180	3581	1219	3364	1278	2099	1292	1960
5 - 9	1233	3357	1377	3226	1337	1824	1398	1714
10-14	1090	3250	1265	3161	1149	1523	1243	1585
15-19	1039	2911	1634	2955	1106	2043	1264	1882
20-24	1637	2707	2544	2991	1467	3180	1454	2683
25-29	1665	2812	2025	3190	1455	3279	1328	2821
30-34	1274	2528	1831	3024	1258	2864	1144	2673
35-44	2034	3910	2036	5043	1941	4369	1621	4391
45-54	990	2453	1041	3290	1088	3072	1120	3258
55-64	346	2096	487	2973	608	2720	678	3408
65+	168	2891	277	4867	377	4053	500	7045
unknown	90		108		70		23	
TOTAL	12746	32496	15344	38084	13134	31036	12975	33420

Table 1.2 charts any changes in the make-up of the population in 1900 and 1990 by race, sex, and age. If some of the cells are collapsed, the following can be seen for citizens aged 10-34: black males-1900(53%) & 1990(44%); white males- 1900(49%) & 1990(42%); black females-1900(61%) & 1990 (40%); white females-1900(50%) & 1990(35%). Based on the census, for each group, 10- 34 year olds comprised more of the population in 1900 than in 1990.

Savannah Homicides: 1896 to 1903 & 1986 to 1993

Table 1.3 represents all the homicides committed in Savannah from 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993 segmented by type of perpetrator.

Table 1.3. Total Homicides Occurring in Savannah: 1896 to 1903
& 1986 to 1993

Type of Homicide Committed	1896 to 1903	1986 to 1993
juvenile perpetrator	6	21
adult perpetrator	91	201
unknown perpetrator	4	19
law enforcement on citizen	12	4
citizen on law enforcement	1	1
military on enlisted	1	0
capital punishment	8	0
Total	123	246

Table 1.4 provides a breakdown of all civilian homicides in Savannah for the two eight-year eras, including race and sex of the perpetrators and unknowns. The next two tables break Table 1.4 down further. Table 1.5 illustrates juvenile perpetrators. Two of these homicides represent one juvenile killing two victims during the same crime. Table 1.6 adult perpetrators by race and sex.

Table 1.4. Civilian Perpetrators of Homicide in Savannah by Race and Sex, including Unknowns: 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993

	black male	white male	black female	white female	unknown	TOTAL
1896-1903	64	24	8	1	4	101
1986-1993	184	18	21	0	20	243

Table 1.5. Juvenile Perpetrators of Homicide in Savannah by Race and Sex: 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993

	black male	white male	black female	white female	TOTAL
1896-1903	4	1	1	0	6
1986-1993	21	0	0	0	21

Table 1.6. Adult Perpetrators of Homicide in Savannah by Race and Sex: 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993

	black male	white male	black female	white female	TOTAL
1896-1903	60	23	7	1	91
1986-1993	164	18	21	0	203

Table 1.7 contains the race and sex of all perpetrators and victims in homicides committed by adults, including unknown perpetrators.

Table 1.7. Adult Civilian Homicide Victims and Perpetrators, Including Unknowns, by Race and Sex in Savannah: 1896 to 1903 &

1986 to 1993

Victims					
Perpetrators	black male	white male	black female	white female	TOTAL
BM-1896 to 1903	40	6	14	0	60
BM-1986 to 1993	120	9	26	6	161
WM-1896 to 1903	7	14	0	2	23
WM-1986 to 1993	7	7	0	3	17
BF-1896 to 1903	2	0	5	0	7
BF-1986 to 1993	15	0	6	0	21
WF-1896 to 1903	0	1	0	0	1
WF-1986 to 1993	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown-1896 to 1903	3	1	0	0	4
Unknown-1986 to 1993	10	2	6	1	19
TOTAL	204	40	57	12	313

Note: Two 1986 to 1993 cases excluded: Black Male perpetrator and Oriental Male Victim and White Male perpetrator and Hispanic Male Victim.

Race of perpetrator and victim was known in 97 of 101 civilian-versus-civilian homicide cases from 1896 to 1903 and in 222 of 241 civilian-versus-civilian homicide cases from 1986 to 1993.

Finally, homicides will be illustrated based on per 100,000 of the population. Table 1.8 illustrates my data for the years 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993. The other data were calculated from the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), which was not established during the three eight-year periods from 1906 to 1933.

Table 1.8. Homicides per 100,000 Population in Savannah During Eight Year Periods

Eight year period	Total homicides	Population	Rate
1896 to 1903	101	54,244	23
1906 to 1913	unknown		
1916 to 1923	unknown		
1926 to 1933	unknown		
1936 to 1943	129	95,996	17
1946 to 1953	150	119,638	16
1956 to 1963	103	149,245	9
1966 to 1973	202	118,349	21
1976 to 1983	233	141,390	21
1986 to 1993	243	137,560	22

Two years from 1931 to 1993 taken from UCR were anomalies. In 1944, 45 homicides were reported giving a rate of 45 per 100,000. In 1991, 59 homicides were reported giving a rate of 43 per 100,000. These were not adjusted.

Conclusion

The thirteen tables in this chapter present an overview of the census, homicide rates, and breakdowns based on race and sex. Four points based on the data can be made:

1. The number of black male homicide perpetrators based on black male population is about equal in both eras.
2. The number of white male homicide perpetrators based on white male population is one-third in the era of 1986 to 1993 as in the era of 1896 to 1993.

3. In both eras the number of black female homicide victims is about twice that of the number of black female perpetrators.

4. White males were more likely to be killed by white males in the earlier era and by black males in the latter era.

Chapter 2 Juvenile Offenders

Introduction

A great deal of attention has been focused on violence involving youth as perpetrators and victims. This interest has been sparked by a measurable increase in violence that peaked in the early 1990s. This chapter examines juveniles (those under 17 years old) who have been charged with homicide in Savannah during the two eight-year eras. The first era, 1896 to 1903, had six youthful offenders charged with homicide out of 101 civilian murders. The second era, 1986 to 1993, had 20 youthful offenders charged with homicide, or related acts, out of 243 civilian murders. One of these offenders killed two victims during the same incident.

The small number of juvenile homicides does not allow statistical analysis. In addition, the type and amount of data available is vastly different between the two eras. Therefore, any conclusions must be based primarily on informed logic. It is felt by most researchers, who have examined juvenile homicide, that a small number of juveniles have become more violent in the last fifteen years.

A synopsis of each incident will be provided followed by some concluding remarks for each era. These synopses complete in this chapter and representative in succeeding chapters, with the remainder in Appendix C, means that 369 cases of homicide are briefed. This has been done for three reasons. First, it gives the reader an opportunity to get a feel for the variations in homicides and make some of their own inferences. Second, it allows the reader to develop a fuller understanding of the information in

the tables. And third, it provides a means for other researchers to re-analyze the information which would not otherwise be readily available to laypersons. The homicides that occurred in the modern era will be presented in more detail because additional data was available (see Appendix B).

The Two Eras' Juvenile Homicide Cases

1896 to 1903

The following six cases represent 6% of the civilian homicides occurring in Savannah from 1896 to 1903. Descriptions of each incident were found in the local newspaper, The Savannah Morning News (SMN). This information was verified through the reports of the Chief Medical Officer, death certificates, and registrations (see Appendix B for Data Collection).

case A94¹.

A 13-year-old black female, who lived above a "free and easy" (which would now be an establishment that provided liquor and dancing), got into a fight with the mistress of a 22-year-old black male. After the teenager had gone up to her room on the second floor, the man tried to attack her. She pulled a small knife and stabbed him once right over the heart. The knife only went in two or three inches. The coroner's jury ruled the killing justifiable (SMN, 3/17/96).

case A4.

According to the 15-year-old perpetrator, he had been verbally accosted by the victim, another 15-year-old black male, two days before for wearing a Liberal Club star representing certain political beliefs. After having words, they parted. On the night of the incident, the perpetrator was walking along a street; the victim and an accomplice ran up from behind him, each striking him on the head. When the victim pulled a revolver on him, the perpetrator pulled a small knife and stabbed him in the shoulder in

¹Homicides occurring in the earlier era have the prefix "A" before the number assigned, while the latter era has the letter "B" before the assigned number.

self-defense. The victim walked away, and the perpetrator did not think he was seriously hurt. Unfortunately, the single knife stab, though neither wide nor deep, severed the sub-clavicle artery and the victim died at a hospital (SMN, 1/30/97).

At the trial, although two white males had confirmed the victim's aggression, the perpetrator was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter in the commission of an unlawful act, with mercy recommended to the court. He received a sentence of two years (SMN, 3/25/97).

case A80.

A number of boys of both races were near the city limits, shooting at targets. A 14-year-old black male was walking down a railroad track and a white boy fired at him and hit him in the abdomen. A black male observed this and offered aid to the victim. He was able to identify the perpetrator. When the police arrived, the boys had dispersed (SMN, 9/25/99). The coroner's jury was not able to reach a conclusion based on the evidence, and the suspect was released on his recognizance (SMN, 9/27/99).

case A26.

The perpetrator, "around 18 years old," got into a physical confrontation with the son of a 36-year-old black male, who separated them. When the perpetrator cursed him and threw rocks at him, the victim grabbed him. The teenager broke away and drew a .32 caliber revolver. He shot twice, the second bullet hitting right above the heart. A group of people chased the perpetrator as he ran away. Once caught, the perpetrator said that someone else had verbally abused the man but the victim thought it was him and hit him and tried to choke him, so he had shot in self-defense (SMN, 5/27/01).

Witnesses in court testified that the teenager had goaded the victim verbally and with rocks, to come toward him. He then shot him. The perpetrator dressed as a young child for his court appearances, wearing short trousers and no shoes, hoping to be considered a juvenile rather than an adult -- taking advantage of the fact that documentation of births, especially among the poor, were erratic in the Reconstruction South. The jury deliberated four hours and came in with a verdict of first-degree murder. The jury was divided initially. Two thirds of them felt he was guilty of murder but did not want the death penalty imposed. The other third felt he was guilty of voluntary manslaughter. They compromised with a murder verdict but with a recommendation for mercy. The judge complied with this request and sentenced the perpetrator to "be put to work at hard labor in the penitentiary for his natural life" (SMN, 6/25/01).

case A61.

A 14-year-old white male challenged a 12-year-old black male to fight. First they fought with their fists and fell to the ground. The black youth got up and began to walk away, as they both picked up bricks. The white youth threw first and missed, and the black youth then threw his. It hit the white boy in the side of the head. He got up, but died later from a fractured skull. The coroner's jury ruled the killing a justifiable homicide (SMN, 10/27/01).

case A34.

This was a case of fratricide between two black males, 16 and 19. In a "free and easy," the 19-year-old had been beating on his brother all day long. As they both drank, the beatings became worse. The older brother grabbed a bottle and chased the other up the stairs with the intention of hitting him on the head. But the 16-year-old turned around and stabbed his older brother twice with his knife, once fatally (SMN, 6/17/02). The grand jury indicted him for murder, but, at trial, the jury came in with a verdict of justifiable homicide (SMN, 8/13/02).

Summary

The juvenile homicides from the era of 1896-1903 are very different from those occurring in Savannah and in the rest of the United States, during the current era. The six earlier cases generally involve mutual combat rather than assaultive or felony-related killings, while the current era generally involves guns and a clear intention to kill. At the turn of the last century the more common weapon used by juveniles was a knife, and death occurred more by chance than from any intent to kill.

In none of the six cases was more than one person charged for the crime. In only case A4, a second person who was with the victim allegedly made contact with the suspect before the homicide. Of the six homicides four of the perpetrators were black males, one was a white male, and one was a black female. Three of the homicides occurred with a knife, two with a gun, and

one with a brick.

Three of the homicides were ruled justifiable. One of the perpetrators was never prosecuted, and two received sentences. One case (A80) was close to being an accident and in two cases A94 and A4, the resulting homicide had a "bad luck" aspect. The single knife wounds made with small weapons caused death because of their placement rather than design. In the one incident that culminated in a life sentence, a juvenile killed an adult after goading him into making an attack.

1986 to 1993

The 21 cases from the modern era represent 8% of the civilian homicides occurring in Savannah from 1986 to 1993. (Again, see Appendix B for the sources for these cases. In-depth information was not available on perpetrators born in 1973 or earlier.) Among the most telling facts was the evidence of dysfunction evidenced in most, although by no means all, of the families of the killers and their fairly extensive, albeit youthful, experiences with the criminal justice system.

In this era, if a juvenile was adjudicated in juvenile court and found guilty, he received one standard sentence. The usual charges were some degree of homicide, using a weapon during the commission of a crime, and carrying a pistol without a license. Conviction brought a sentence of five years, with 18 months to serve, followed by 12 months of intensive supervision.

case B31.

A 16-year-old black male was exchanging punches with a 33-year-old black male victim as they came out of the juvenile's residence in public housing.

The juvenile said that the victim was bothering his mother because she would not go out with him. The juvenile picked up a metal pipe, and the victim told him "he had two swings" before he blew his brains out. The juvenile left, and obtained a .38 revolver from an acquaintance. He returned 30 minutes after the initial incident, and shot at the victim from the front three times, striking him with each shot. A face wound severed the spinal cord, causing death. The perpetrator was to be tried as an adult, but after some legal maneuvering, was found guilty as a juvenile.

case B49.

A group of black youngsters were playing basketball on a court in public housing. Two of them, a 16 year old and a 13 year old, started to wrestle. The 13-year-old won and, as they stood up, the older boy threw a kick at his groin. The younger boy said the fight was over. The older boy suggested that he had a gun. The 13 year old said he was leaving because he did not want to get shot. The perpetrator then said he was just kidding and the victim could search him. As the victim started to do that, the perpetrator pulled out a .32 caliber revolver and pointed it at the victim's head. The victim told him not to do that, and the suspect said it was loaded as he pulled the trigger. The victim was hit once in the right temple at close range causing massive brain damage. The perpetrator had bought the gun for \$22, and had an adult purchase ammunition for him. He was found guilty as a juvenile.

The killer came to the attention of the juvenile court when he was 14, and, before the murder, he had been to court three times for assault and auto theft. His mother, who never married, had five children by two men, first giving birth at the age of 15. At the time of the homicide he lived with his grandmother. When released from the juvenile facility after serving his 18 months, his aunt took custody of him, and he returned to his life of petty crime.

case B53.

A 16-year-old black male killed a 38-year-old black male whom he claimed had stolen some money he made selling drugs, by hitting him and putting a .45 caliber pistol up to his head. The youngster retaliated with a .270 caliber Remington pump rifle obtained from a friend. One out of the three shots fired at the victim landed in the victim's abdomen, and the victim died from internal bleeding. The juvenile was tried as an adult and received a sentence of 20 years for voluntary manslaughter. He had first come to the attention of the juvenile court when he was 13 and had been a continuing problem.

case B61.

Two black male drug dealers, 16 and 17, retaliated against a 22-year-old black male victim, who had ripped them off earlier that night. The victim had taken a \$20 piece of crack from the two dealers and gave them a dollar for it. When they realized what had happened they said they would "burn the nigger." When the 22-year-old came out of a crashed stolen car, the suspects came out of nearby bushes firing. The victim was shot a number of times with a sawed off .12 gauge pump shotgun and a .22 magnum revolver.

The younger killer first came to the attention of the court when he was 13, and continued to be a problem. He was going to be sent to a juvenile facility, but his mother said she was moving to Jacksonville and taking him out of state. He was not to come back to Savannah unless the court gave him permission. His mother had six children, the first when she was 16. None of the children had been enrolled in school for a year before the homicide. The father had constant trouble with the police and had a habit of giving false names. The perpetrator was living at a different address from the mother and father when arrested.

case B164.

A 15-year-old black male killed a 22-year-old white male. When the police arrived at the scene, they first thought it was a traffic accident. The victim was slumped forward on the steering wheel of his car. He had an unloaded .25 caliber pistol in his hand, and had been shot once with a .38 revolver. The victim had told two friends, after they had been drinking at a club, that he was going to score some drugs. He was asked to leave the club because he got into a fight. It seemed that the victim tried to trade the gun for drugs. During the deal, either he tried to steal some drugs or the perpetrator tried to rip him off. The victim ran and was shot while running. He got into his car, drove a short way, and died behind the wheel.

The killer had first come to the attention of the court when he was 13. He fired a gun at a group of people and had a number of other charges filed against him. His single mother had two other children; each had a different last name, which were older than the perpetrator. His father had been absent for seven years. The perpetrator lived with his mother at the time of the homicide. A year and a half after being released from the juvenile facility for murder, he was convicted as an adult for aggravated assault and possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

case B70.

The police found a 27-year-old black male lying on the walkway near the back steps of a house with a toy pistol cradled in his hand. The victim would not say who had shot him, but he had been hit once in the abdomen by a .38 caliber revolver. On the operating table, the hospital workers found two pieces of fake crack in a plastic bag in his shorts. It seemed that the perpetrator was a 14-year-old black male who was with two adults, his 17-year-old brother and a 19-year-old friend. He gave a confusing story of how the victim had robbed him the night before of money that he had been saving to buy a car. When he found the victim, he was going to shoot him in the leg to teach him a lesson but he missed his target and hit him in the abdomen. When the victim ran, he shot at him again.

The killer had come to the attention of the court twice when he was 13. His father was unknown, but he lived with his mother who was on public assistance, and had five other children. In less than a year after being released for the homicide, he was charged with two counts of aggravated assault and using a weapon during the commission of a crime. He was tried as an adult, although only 16.

case B150.

A 16-year-old black male was with three other black males in a car. They picked up a 34-year-old black prostitute (that the autopsy revealed to have AIDS). When she was in the car, they told her they would give her \$20 to have sex with all of them. They tossed her clothes out of the window. She asked to get out of the car to relieve herself in the bushes. As she squatted down to urinate, the perpetrator shot at her twice with a .38 revolver. She was hit once in the chest, the bullet penetrating her heart. The perpetrator told the other boys when he got back to the car, "one less bitch you got to worry about," a lyric from the rap group NWA. The police learned who the suspect was two months after the incident when one of the boys in the car had been arrested for auto theft, and wanted to make a deal. It appeared that they had picked up prostitutes twice, used their services, and then dumped them out without compensating them. This was the first time one had been killed. The grand jury failed to return a true bill, so the killer was never prosecuted.

The suspected killer first came to the attention of the court when he was 14 and had been expelled from school because he brought a BB gun into the building. His parents had been married for 30 years, and they had five older children, the last of the five being eight years older than the perpetrator. All of the other children were doing well in their lives. The mother said "he gets in trouble because he spends time with older boys."

case B167.

Two black males, 14 and 16, killed a 37-year-old white male. The two juveniles had told friends that they were going to rob some "crackers" after they watched fireworks. The boys had robbed another man before they committed the homicide. When they confronted the second victim, he gave them a ring, two dollars, and a necklace. When he would not give them more money, he was shot in the head with a .38 revolver.

The older boy had pulled the trigger and was tried as an adult. He received a life sentence. He had an extensive criminal record which started at 12. His mother and father have the same last name and three other children with that name. The perpetrator has a different last name, his mother having been impregnated by another man while separated from her husband. The mother's husband always treated him differently from the other children and said that "he is hard-headed and whatever happens to him serves him right."

The 14-year-old was found guilty as an adult and given 20 years. He suffered from narcolepsy. The only child of an unwed mother, he first came to the attention of the court when he was 11. His mother was on public assistance.

cases B84 & B85.

Two black males, aged 21 and 30, had been dealing drugs all day. A 15-year-old black youth had been seen in the back of their vehicle earlier that day. The older drug dealer was found on the ground outside the car having been shot once in the roof of the mouth. The 21 year old was found slumped over the steering wheel of the car. A bullet had entered the right side of his head and exited the front. The 15 year old made a deal with the prosecutor to give information implicating others in drug related homicides (which he never did) in exchange for a juvenile rather than adult adjudication of murder.

His extensive criminal record began at age 11. He lived with his unwed mother in public housing; she was on welfare and had one other young child.

case B89.

A 16-year-old black male was selling crack on the street. According to him, another black male, aged 27, stopped for a \$20 piece of crack. Instead of paying for it, he ran. The dealer pulled his .9mm pistol and shot at him five times hitting him twice. The victim got into his car and crashed it. The victim had a large amount of cocaine in his blood. The perpetrator threw the gun into the Savannah River. He was charged as an adult and given life for murder plus five years for the possession of a firearm during the

commission of a crime. He had no prior juvenile record in Georgia.

case B93.

A 45-year-old black male and his girlfriend were driving around trying to buy crack. He stopped the car, and a number of dealers came over. He flashed a hundred-dollar bill in front of them. Two of them tried to rip him off, and a 16-year-old black male shot him once with a .32 caliber revolver. The bullet entered his chest and hit his heart. The victim, who crashed his car after being shot, had a large amount of cocaine in his system. The youth was tried as an adult and received a total sentence of 25 years; 20 for voluntary manslaughter, and five for using a firearm in the commission of a crime.

The perpetrator was first brought to juvenile court at the age of 13 and had committed numerous offenses, including shooting a 30-year-old black male on a bus with a .32 revolver. He was adjudicated on this as a juvenile after he had committed the homicide but before he was tried as an adult. His parents were divorced when he was eight years old, and his father moved to New Jersey with his younger siblings. His mother was on public assistance and he lived most of the time with his grandmother.

case B169.

Two black males, 16 and 18 (and thus an adult), killed a 41-year-old white male. The victim worked at a bar and package shop. The perpetrators cased the building and waited for the victim to come out. The juvenile perpetrator engaged him in conversation and then pulled out a .25 caliber pistol and shot twice. The victim died of internal trauma. Both suspects fled. Ten days later the suspects robbed a sandwich shop in a nearby jurisdiction. A man was shot and killed with the same gun. The Savannah Police executed a search warrant at the juvenile's residence and they found the newspaper article concerning the earlier homicide tacked to his bedroom wall. Both received a life sentence for felony murder in adult court.

The perpetrator was first involved in judicial proceedings when he was 14. His mother was separated from her husband and was living on public assistance with two older children. The killer's real father was unknown and his grandmother was his legal guardian.

case B170.

Two black males, 15 and 18, killed a 48-year-old white male. The suspects met in a public housing project and decided to find someone to rob. The victim worked for a potato chip distributor and had just finished filling a rack in a store. He was carrying his empty boxes to the dumpster. The suspects approached him and the juvenile told him to "give it up." The

victim refused. The juvenile perpetrator pulled out a .38 caliber revolver and shot him once in the chest. He died of massive internal bleeding. The adult was sentenced to 10 years for aggravated assault and the juvenile, tried in adult court, got life for murder.

The juvenile killer first came to the attention of the court when he was caught shoplifting. At 13, he was caught selling cocaine, and he continued to be involved with the legal system until the homicide. His parents were never married and his father gave no financial support to him but did see him sporadically. He had five siblings, three with different last names, and the mother was now married to a man with an altogether different last name. The mother had her first child at 17, and worked as a licensed practical nurse. One of the killer's older siblings was incarcerated for auto theft.

case B171.

A 14-year-old black male was walking down the street with some other black males when they saw a 25-year-old white male who looked like a good target to rob. The 14-year-old left the group and attempted to rob the victim. The victim said he had no money, and the perpetrator shot him once with a .25 caliber pistol. He died of massive internal bleeding. The victim tested positive for marijuana. The killer entered a guilty plea as an adult and got a sentence of 20 years for voluntary manslaughter and five years for using a gun in the commission of a felony. Fifteen of these years were probated.

The killer was first involved with the court system when he was 13 when he shot a black male in the leg. His parents were not married, and he never knew his father. He lived with his mother, who was 17 when he was born, and her four younger children by her husband. She lived on the social security that she received when her husband was murdered, two weeks before her son committed the homicide. They had been separated for five years. The killer was two grades below where he should have been in school.

case B175.

A 14-year-old black male came to the attention of the police when he was threatening a customer at a gas station. He told the police that he had just killed someone. They followed him and found the victim, a 13-year-old white male, under a highway overpass. He had been hit twice in the head with a piece of concrete. Both boys had just escaped from Georgia Regional, a youth facility. The suspect told the police spontaneously that he "had killed the fucker." He said, "I planned the shit, I told him if he continued to call me names I would kill him, so I did!" He then spat in the officer's face. He was tried as an adult and given 15 years for voluntary

manslaughter, with 10 to be served.

The only parent listed in any file was "the State of Georgia." When he was in the second grade he beat a first grader with a rock and continued throwing him into a ditch of water. When the victim's mother talked to the perpetrator's father, he responded "boys will be boys." The perpetrator later tried to drown another child. The parents gave him up to the state. The perpetrator first came to the attention of the juvenile court when he was nine. He was ungovernable and would continually escape from any institution in which he was placed.

case B121.

Two black males, aged 15 and 17, entered a gas station owned by a 58-year-old black male. One boy told the owner's wife, who was working there, that he wanted a soda from the machine and handed her a \$1 bill. As she turned to make change, her husband walked in and saw that both boys had guns. Both perpetrators shot at him as he ran. The bullets fired by the 15 year old from .22 caliber revolver hit him twice, with one round causing massive bleeding. Both boys had been smoking marijuana before the crime. The "adult" assailant received life plus five years and the juvenile killer was tried as an adult. He got a sentence of life for murder, 20 years for armed robbery, and five years for using a firearm.

The 15 year old came to the attention of the court when he was 14, generally for stealing cars. His parents were married and his father was employed as a machinist.

case B159.

A 16-year-old black male raped and smothered his 44-year-old foster mother. His foster father worked out of town during the week and came home on the weekends. The youth then dragged her nude body behind a car and was trying to dig a grave. The suspect pled guilty in adult court and received 20 years for voluntary manslaughter.

He first came to the attention of the court when he was 12, after he and other boys cornered and fondled two girls. His parents had terminated their parental rights when he was eight. He had Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder and was sent to the Department of Human Resources.

case B127.

A 16-year-old black male drug dealer and some other black males had entered the another drug dealer's apartment. The group threatened the 13-year-old

drug dealer with a shotgun. They had a long-standing history of violence toward each other. The 13-year-old boy said he would kill the older boy if he "messed with him" again. The 16 year old and an accomplice later approached the 13 year old on the street from different directions. According to the 13 year old, the 16 year old told him not to move and reached as if for a gun. The 13 year old shot him once, fatally, with a stolen .38 Charter Arms revolver. He was tried as a juvenile and received the standard sentence.

He had frequently come to the attention of the court, starting when he was 11. His mother and father never married. His father was in prison, and his mother was on public assistance. His legal guardian was his grandmother with whom he lived.

case B129.

In an unreported incident, one 16-year-old black male beat and cut another 16 year old black male a month earlier. The injured boy and three other black males saw the assailant walking in front of a high school. One said, "there goes that little pussy nigger right there." They chased him and the injured boy pulled a .32 caliber revolver, with its serial number removed, and shot him once in the chest. After the shooting, he told one of the boys with him, "if you do the crime, you got to do the time." He was tried as an adult and received life for felony murder.

He was first involved with the court system when he was 13. His parents had married but were divorced by the time the killer was four. At 14, he tried to live with his father in Florida, but his father sent him back. He was a "B" student until he dropped out in ninth grade. He was the only juvenile perpetrator in the eight-year period whom anyone could remember having shown remorse for killing another human being.

case B132.

According to a 21-year-old black male, he and a 15 year old were out trying to purchase marijuana. The juvenile kept patting his gun and saying he was going to get some money. They approached a 39-year-old black male and the juvenile told him to "give it up." The victim reached for his wallet containing \$220, and tried to reach for the gun at the same time. The perpetrator shot him twice with a .9mm pistol. Both perpetrators fled but were shortly captured. The adult received a sentence of five years to serve for armed robbery. The juvenile was tried as an adult and got a sentence of 17½ years to serve for voluntary manslaughter.

The juvenile first came to the attention of the court at the age of 14 for auto theft and graduated to violent crime. His parents were divorced, and he lived in public housing with his mother and three younger siblings.

Summary

Twenty-one cases involved black male juveniles as the perpetrator. Thirteen were convicted as adults, six as juveniles, and in one case the grand jury did not indict. The one young man who killed two adults in one incident was one of the six tried as a juvenile. In four of the cases the juvenile had an adult accomplice. In one case two juveniles were involved. Only in two cases examined from 1986 to 1993 did an adult have a juvenile accomplice. This means that if a juvenile and an adult committed a homicide together, the juvenile was twice as likely to pull the trigger. This may be because the juvenile had status "for carrying a gun, being tough enough to kill, etc.," that an older man was attracted to him. It may also have been that the adult hoped that the shooter, if caught, might be tried as a juvenile.

None of the homicides was ruled justifiable. Drugs were directly involved in eight of the incidents. In three of the incidents the victim was a drug dealer. In one incident two victims were drug dealers. In one incident both the perpetrator and the victim were drug dealers. In three of the incidents, the perpetrator was a drug dealer. One incident involved the killing of a man because he turned in a drug dealer. There is no way to know how many of the other killings may have been tangentially related to drugs.

Eighteen of the twenty-one homicides were caused by gunshots and one each with a beer bottle, piece of concrete and asphyxiation.

One recurring theme that ran through the written records was that the female adult in the perpetrator's life (mother, grandmother, aunt) was overly

indulgent. Such comments as "overly protective, lies for the juvenile, doesn't set limits," were often found. No official record of any physical abuse was found. This does not mean it did not happen in some cases. Those professionals that work with juveniles seemed to target the lack of concern and/or control of the chief adult caretaker. Many of these females had a large number of children early in life, few coping skills, little education and no support (financial or psychological) from the father which created severe handicaps in raising a male child.

According to Bandura (1997):

Children with a high sense of efficacy for aggressive means favor hostile goals expressed in retaliative actions, whereas those of high perceived efficacy for prosocial means pursue friendly goals aimed at resolving interpersonal problems amicably. This is another example where efficacy beliefs mediate the effects of attribution on behavior. Children with a high sense of efficacy for aggressive means are quick to use them without needing provocation (p. 174).

It may be that most of these juveniles had been over-indulged in negative areas but had seen or been victims of violence and learned that this is the way to accomplish their goals.

Table 2.1 includes information taken from the Georgia criminal histories of the juvenile perpetrators which includes misdemeanor and felony charges. It also includes the type of adjudication, outcome, and if there was any record of the perpetrator committing crimes when he was released from custody.

Table 2.1. Georgia Criminal Histories of Juvenile Homicide Perpetrators from 1986 to 1993

Case #	Crimes Before Homicide	Lone Perpetrator or Actual Killer	Tried as Juvenile or Adult and Outcome of Process	Crimes After Homicide
B31	M=0, F=0	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=2, F=1
B49	M=3, F=2	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=7, F=2
B53	M=5, F=2	lone perpetrator	adult-VM-20 years	not available
B61	M=2, F=4	killer	adult-VM-20 years	not available
B164	M=2, F=2	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=0, F=0
B70	M=3, F=4	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=0, F=0
B150	M=4, F=3	lone perpetrator	adult-no billed by grand jury	M=2, F=5
B167	M=3, F=15	killer	adult-murder-life	not available
B84/85	M=6, F=9	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=3, F=1
B89	M=0, F=0	lone perpetrator	adult-murder-life	not available
B93	M=4, F=4	lone perpetrator	adult-VM-25 years	not available
B169	M=4, F=5	killer	adult-murder-life	not available
B170	M=2, F=2	lone perpetrator	adult-murder-life	not available
B171	M=1, F=4	lone perpetrator	adult-VM-20 years	not available
B175	M=0, F=12	lone perpetrator	adult-VM-15 years	not available
B121	M=3, F=5	killer	adult-murder-life	not available
B159	M=2, F=2	lone perpetrator	adult-VM-20 years	not available
B127	M=4, F=1	lone perpetrator	juvenile-guilty	M=0, F=0
B129	M=0, F=2	lone perpetrator	adult-murder-life	not available
B132	M=2, F=4	killer	adult-VM-17 ½ years	not available
Total	M=50, F=81	15 lone perpetrators and 5 killers	14 tried as adults and 6 tried as juveniles	M=14, F=6

Note: M=Misdemeanors, F=Felonies, and VM=Voluntary Manslaughter

Ratio of Perpetrators	1 in 532	1 in 324	1 in 2899	0	1 in 2255	0	0	0
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Table 2.3 illustrates the race and sex of both victim and offender for both eras.

Table 2.3. Juvenile Perpetrators and Their Victims by Race and Sex: 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993 in Savannah

Perpetrators	Victims						total
	Black Male		White Male		Black Female		
	1896-1903	1986-1993	1896-1903	1986-1993	1896-1903	1986-1993	
Black Male	3	13	1	6	0	2	25
White Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Black Female	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
total	5	13	1	6	0	2	27

The most documented difference between the two eras is the context in which the homicides were committed. Of homicides committed by juveniles in the earlier era, only two resulted in a criminal conviction. In only one of those was a firearm used, with a clear understanding on the part of the shooter that death could result from his action.

In the modern era 19 of the perpetrators were convicted of a crime and one was no-billed. Eight of these homicides were drug-related (B-53,61,64,70,84/85,89,93, and 127). Of the six armed robberies (B-167,169,170,171,121, and 132), all involved black male perpetrators, with five victims being white males. Fourteen of the 20 homicides had a drugs and/or money motivation.

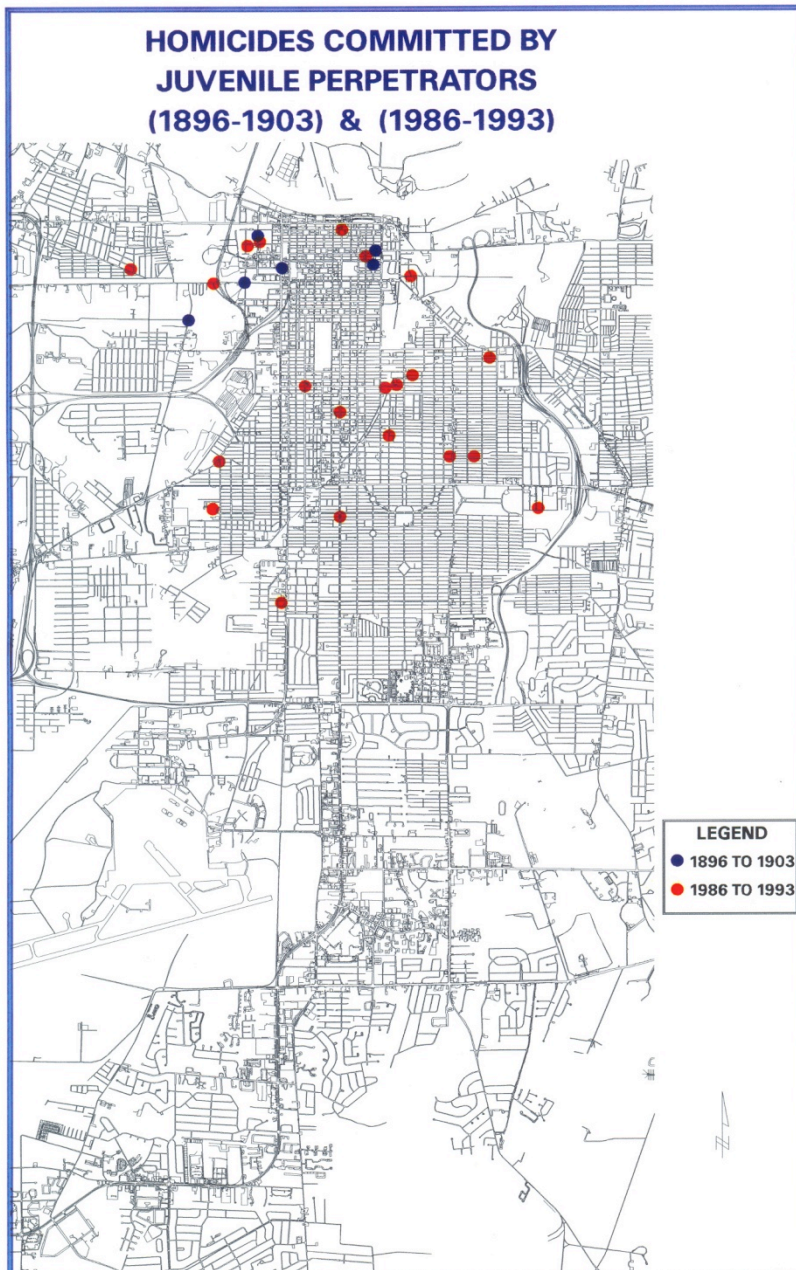
Five of the perpetrators lived in public housing at the time of the

homicide. Three lived in Hitch Village (B-31,70, and 84/85), one in Fred Wessels (B53), and one in Yamacraw (B132). Three of the mothers of perpetrators were on public assistance (B-167,93, and 175) and one lived on social security (B171). One of the perpetrators lived in the county (B169), and one was a ward of the state, last residing at Georgia Regional Hospital(B175).

The mind-set of the modern juvenile murderers in the above instances was that they were willing to kill for commerce. Drugs represent money, and five victims died in robberies either when they had no money or would not give their money up. It is impossible to know how many of the perpetrators were involved in the drug culture. Only one of those involved in the robbery-murders had been adjudicated for possession with intent to sell drugs prior the homicide.

The blue circles in the map below shows the locations of homicides committed by juveniles from 1896 to 1903 and the red circles show the locations of homicides committed by juveniles from 1986 to 1993. It should be kept in mind that the city limits in the earlier era stopped about in the middle of the depicted map from the top down.

Map 2.1. Map of Locations of Homicides Committed by Juveniles in Savannah: 1896 to 1903 & 1986 to 1993



Conclusion

Why has there been an increase in juvenile perpetrators in Savannah in the modern era? There were virtually no laws governing firearms in Georgia, except for carrying a concealed weapon in the earlier era. In the modern era no juvenile is allowed to possess any type of firearm on the streets of Savannah or a handgun anywhere. In the earlier era, underage drinking at bars seemed not to be a concern to the public and drugs were legal. In the modern era, juveniles cannot consume alcohol and certain categories of drugs are banned. Emergency medical care has been improved with more wounded victims living than in the past. It is widely accepted that 1896 to 1903 was a time of greater oppression of blacks than in the years of 1986 to 1993 in the South. In the earlier era blacks could not serve on juries or work as police officers. Jim Crow laws had been passed that overtly reminded blacks of their lesser place in society. There were no government programs such as AFDC, welfare, or public housing in the earlier era.

If, in the modern era, weapons have been legally restricted, alcohol and drugs banned, medical care improved and financial aid given to the poor, what countervailing changes have taken place to exacerbate the environment for homicide, especially among black male juveniles?

The illegal drug trade is the most likely catalyst to the type of murders that were committed by juveniles in Savannah from 1986 to 1993. In the earlier era, drugs were not illegal and their consumption was not associated with other crimes. In the modern era a dealer in illicit drugs feels he needs a gun within easy reach and classifies this as a business necessity.

Chaiken (2000) found in her study in the three most violent areas of Washington, D.C. that drug dealers carried weapons more frequently than other categories of offenders. Dealing drugs (primarily crack) is fraught with danger, the least of which is from the police. A drug dealer may have a potential customer rob him and take his drugs and/or money. He may have a customer take the drugs and run. He may have the customer claim that he was sold phoney crack (fluke) and begin an argument. The drug dealer may have a rival dealer or someone to whom he owes money launch a lethal attack on him. It is safe to say that the average drug dealer in Savannah is much more at risk of being a victim of a lethal attack than a Savannah police officer. The gun can also serve as part of the persona. Just as a physician has a stethoscope and an accountant a hand-held calculator, the purveyor of illicit substances has a "piece." Secondly, both seller and buyer may be under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the transaction. When this is added to the paranoia surrounding drug deals (e.g., arrest by police, lack of trust, rip-off, getting robbed), it makes for hasty reactions. Thirdly, guns, money and drugs are often kept in pockets which are inside a jacket, in the back of the pants, or around the belt. When someone reaches for something late at night in a drug transaction situation, a misinterpretation of cues can occur. According to Huesmann (1998):

Evidence suggests that humans attend to environmental cues differentially and interpret the cues differently as a function of predisposing neurophysiological factors, their emotional arousal, the kinds of cognitive schemas they have acquired, and which schemas are activated. More aggressive individuals tend to focus on fewer cues that are more frequently symptomatic of hostility, tend to interpret ambiguous cues more readily as symptomatic of hostility, and tend to believe that the world is more hostile (p. 101).

When you combine the lifestyle of most of our modern perpetrators with the

drug trade, the lethality of interpersonal disputes increases. Most of the juveniles came from homes with no father and with mothers who were irresponsible in a myriad of ways. Several of these perpetrators did not even live with either of their parents. In a sense, they were "on their own" as juveniles. According to "Turning the Corner on Father Absence in Black America" (1999):

Even in the face of concerted and persistent discrimination, including economic discrimination, and the harsh inequalities of Jim Crow, many Black families maintained two-parent households well into the 1960s, when rates of out-of-wedlock births began to escalate dramatically. In 1960, 22% of all Black babies were born to unmarried mothers. By 1996, that figure had jumped to 70% (p. 10).

Of the earlier era, Perdue(1973)said:

Although encouraged by missionaries and bureau agents to accept the responsibilities of family life, blacks found it difficult to break habits ingrained by years of slavery. Consequently, illegitimacy and desertion rates were high. In Savannah, women headed approximately one-fourth of the Negro families in both 1870 and 1880. About one-third of the families had only one parent present. The limited availability of housing in Savannah placed severe restrictions on the development of normal relationships. In 1870, there was an average of more than three non-family inhabitants per family dwelling. Despite these problems, the Negro family of Savannah had become more stable by 1890. The number of non-working wives and one-family dwellings had increased. There was also an increase in male heads of families (p. 94).

It seems that family life for blacks was more stable in the earlier era.

This is one area of concern that it is difficult to measure specifically.

It is ironic that, in the middle of the time between both these eras, Arado (1932) wrote the following when talking about two black male juveniles arrested for murder during a robbery:

The defendants were typically abandoned negro boys. They were probably forsaken in their early youth

and made to shift for themselves, whither they might travel. Finding it difficult to secure work, or unwilling to do manual labor--all that they were capable of doing--their weak minds conceived the idea of obtaining easy money by means of robbery. With a dollar in sight they take desperate chances to obtain it. They carry guns as necessary means to accomplish their object. Young and impulsive, the situation arises during the commission of a hold-up when they discharge a fatal bullet. The sudden, unexpected approach of a stranger, unforeseen resistance, unconsciousness of impending capture, causes them to commit a killing they would never do if everything ran smoothly (p. 469).

This was long before the drug epidemic that affected the modern era.

These modern juvenile killers had no money, status, or future--except as "pint-sized gangstas." They basically were functioning sociopaths before they pulled the trigger. It would be difficult to think of any program that could have been devised for these juveniles better than their lives to create such pathology. One of the major drug dealers in Savannah wanted to recruit "young bloods" only if they had a body on them (killed someone). This showed that they had a proper orientation toward the drug trade, and the homicide could also be held over them if they ever wanted to change employment.

There is one other important point that must be explored. This is what I refer to as the "magic moment." This is the point at which the perpetrator has a gun pointed at his victim and makes the decision to pull the trigger. The normal person, when put in this situation, might find it difficult to actually drop the hammer on another human being. Grossman (1995) reports that during the Second World War 80% of American troops, when in combat, would not fire their rifles at the enemy. This was such a surprising and shocking bit of information that the military has continually changed its training to produce soldiers who will shoot at the enemy. By the time

Vietnam occurred, 90 to 95% of our soldiers would shoot at the enemy. Kleck and Gertz (1995) report that approximately 2.5 million Americans confront potential targets every year and use firearms to have them desist from whatever wrong they are doing usually without firing a shot. Those of us who are involved in firearms training always wonder how many officers will actually be able to fire their weapons in situations where they should. In the United States, police officers may only use deadly force if their lives or someone else's life is in jeopardy, or if the suspect has committed a violent crime and still has the means to commit further violence. Even under these strict shooting guidelines, it is felt that many officers will not shoot.

Most human beings seem to have some built-in mechanism that inhibits them from killing other human beings in combat situations and killers must be selected and trained. And yet, it would seem that many of these juvenile perpetrators of homicide have no inhibition toward killing unarmed victims offering no physical threat to them. They have reached this decision long before they have pulled the trigger. They seem to feel that it is inevitable that they will kill someone, because it is part of their "gangsta" lifestyle. Only one of the juvenile perpetrators showed any remorse to anyone over the homicide he committed. The others seemed to be human sharks, swimming through an ocean without light, ready to strike out at anything that got in the way. As discussed earlier, some combination of poverty, lack of parental control or concern, and the atmosphere of pervasive violence in which they were raised, has forged these juveniles into sociopaths at an early age.

Myers and Scott (1998) studied 18 male youths, 14 to 17 years old, who had committed homicides in Florida. These homicides occurred either while involved in criminal activities or during interpersonal conflict. They said:

This study supports the position of juvenile homicide offenders having greater neuropsychiatric impairment, specifically episodic psychotic symptomatology, than violent conduct-disordered peers who have not killed others. A history of psychotic symptoms, in particular paranoid ideation, was found in the great majority of these young murderers, and was the most robust finding distinguishing them from the inpatient sample (p. 170).

Unanswered questions are how much of their pathology is genetic, environmental or situational, and what are the interaction among these pathologies?

Rose and McLain (1998) examined black homicide in six large cities that had once been industrial meccas. They found a change in the type of homicide during this period of time. They found younger perpetrators and victims. They said:

Location is simply a surrogate for a stage in the economy's developmental sequence and the manner in which identifiable subpopulations adapt to changing sets of circumstances. Thus, we labeled the subculture that originated in the rural South, largely involving primary relationships, as a *subculture of defensive violence*. Yet, in the latter third of the 20th century, we find that young adult Blacks have been exposed to a different worldview. This alternative worldview, initially manifested in manufacturing-belt cities, has now begun to spread across the landscape at varying speeds. This different worldview has led to the evolution of another subculture in which the resort to violence is commonplace. We have labeled this the *subculture of materialist aggression*.

Savannah could never have been called a major industrial center, but it

certainly has become more service oriented in the last 20 years. The difference in the type of homicides between the two eras seems to be consistent with the above findings. Brewer, et al. (1998) studied juvenile homicide in Houston from 1990 to 1994. They found some change in juvenile homicide since the mid-1980s. Juveniles, compared to adult killers, were more likely to kill during a felony, especially robbery and their victims were more often of another race. This was true for Savannah in the latter era studied. They also found they were more likely to use long guns than adults, which was not true in Savannah.

In 1999, I talked with two of the top administrators for drug enforcement in Chatham County. I stated the premise that many of my juvenile offenders seemed to be involved in drug-related homicide. I wondered what effect the legalization of drugs would have. The one that answered said, "It wouldn't matter. These kids would then kill you over a game of marbles." This may not be total hyperbole.

Chapter 3
Why Do Most Victims Resemble Their Killers?

Introduction

The next three chapters examine homicides in Savannah committed by adults or unknown assailants on other citizens. This chapter includes only those homicides that were committed by adult civilian perpetrators on those of the same race and sex. This includes three categories: black males, white males, and black females. There were no cases involving white females. Chapter 4 includes those homicides that were committed by adult civilian perpetrators on those of the opposite sex. Chapter 5 examines different race/same sex homicides committed by adult civilians and all homicides with unknown perpetrators.

In this chapter, of the total number of cases in both eras where the race and sex of the perpetrator and victim were identified, 160 involved black males, 21 involved white males, and 11 involved black females. This totals 192 cases or 66% of the total of 290 civilian adult perpetrator homicides where the race and sex of suspects are known. A synopsis of selected cases from each major category of homicide will be presented.

Black Adult Male Homicide on Black Male Victim:
Jealousy/Gambling to Drug-Involvement/Jealousy

1896 to 1903

There were 40 cases of black adult male homicide on black male victim where the race and sex of the perpetrator was known. This represents 44% of all adult perpetrator homicides committed in this era where race and sex of the perpetrator was known.

Six (15%) involved male jealousy and six (15%) involved gambling. This means that 30% of these homicides were motivated by conflicts in these two areas.

The six cases involving male jealousy are:

case A6.

King had been living with Rosa Robinson until a few days before the incident. The suspect, Spalding, moved in with her and gave her a quarter that she put in a handkerchief with some other coins. King met her on the street and stole the handkerchief. She went home and told Spalding. He grabbed a butcher knife and hid it under his coat. He found King and told him that he wanted the quarter or would kill him. King refused. Spalding hit him in the chest and then stabbed him in the heart (SMN, 12/30/97).

case A10.

Green was in his house with his woman and Low's woman. The two women got in a fight and Green held Low's woman while his woman beat her savagely with a stick. Low's woman left and got Low who came back. Low and Green fought; Low quickly pulled a knife and slashed Green several times in the chest, killing him (SMN, 12/27/98).

case A14.

John Jackson had finished dining with Mary Bryan when July Hall came to her door. He demanded entrance, which she refused. He broke down the door and picked up a chair, advancing toward Jackson. Jackson picked up a piece of firewood and struck Hall several times. He says he fled to consult his white friends before going with his employer to turn himself in. Mary Bryan said she only knew the victim by sight and would say nothing more (SMN, 6/3/99).

case A16.

Stella Williams had a child by Moses Williams four years previous to the homicide. Moses kept in contact with the child and often took him for walks. Stella was living with Moultrie when Moses sent a woman to get the child for him. Stella refused. Moses went to the house and demanded the child. When he went into the house Moultrie shot him three times with a revolver. Moultrie argued self-defense and said that Moses advanced on him with a knife. The only knife found was a folded knife in Moses's pocket (SMN, 7/3/99). Moultrie got life imprisonment (SMN, 1/24/00). A new trial was ordered by the Georgia Supreme Court and Moultrie pled to voluntary manslaughter and was given 10 years (SMN, 2/7/01).

case A20.

Brown was in a room with Viola Sauls. Tyndall came in and said that Viola was his woman. Tyndall pulled a knife and stabbed Brown several times, killing him (SMN, 4/16/00). Viola said that she had been living with Tyndall up to the day of the killing, and had told him to leave. He came back and knocked on the door; she would not let him in the front, but he came in the back. When he saw Brown, he became enraged (SMN, 4/17/00). He was convicted of murder and given life.

case A30.

Rivers was a piano player at the "Red Light" saloon. A number of men were paying attention to Emma Green, who was his "close" friend. He slapped her because she was paying so much attention to some English sailors. A male named Green shot Rivers once through his heart with a revolver (SMN, 10/20/01). Green was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter and given 10 years (SMN, 3/25/02).

The six cases involving gambling are:

case A2.

Graham and Wilson were involved in a game of skin² with three other men. Graham beat Wilson out of 42 cents and Wilson tried to threaten Graham. Graham shook his fist at him and told him that he would beat hell out of him. He left and got his double barrel muzzle-loading shotgun. He thrust the barrels through the open window and the players fled. Graham ran around to the door, but saw Wilson try to come out the window he had just been at. He shot Wilson in the left side of the head, exposing the brain (SMN, 9/26/96). Graham was hanged (SMN, 4/9/98).

case A8.

A group of blacks were playing cards after being paid by the railroad. Ike Johnson was a gambler and was used to fleecing the railroad men. Green Davis felt he had been cheated and rushed out of the gambling tent and got an ax. He ran back in, but somehow Johnson got the ax away from him and hit him from behind with the broad side of the ax. It fractured his skull (SMN, 3/27/98).

case A11.

Anderson, who may have been actually named Mungin, was from South Carolina. He had been drinking, and attempted to force his way into a gambling shanty. A dispute broke out between Anderson and White. White, the brother of the woman who kept the shanty, stabbed him three times with a knife, then dragged him outside, and told him he "couldn't die on the stoop." The

² Skin was a card game that was popular in the South.

coroner's jury charged White with murder (SMN, 2/13/99, 2/14/99, 3/2/99).

case A27.

Spann and Mathews met on the street early in the evening. They had an argument over 10 cents that stemmed from a game of skin. Later that evening, Spann took a revolver and went to Mathews's home. The window was open and he shot through it four times, hitting Mathews once in the left breast (SMN, 5/11/01). Spann became very agitated when he learned of the death of the victim (SMN, 6/21/01), Spann pled guilty to voluntary manslaughter, and was given 20 years (SMN, 7/16/01).

case A35.

Four blacks were playing skin. Holmes left the game with 25 cents that Washington felt was his. He followed Holmes out on the street and shot him twice. According to Washington, the victim had cursed him and kicked him in the mouth before he shot (SMN, 11/17/02). He was convicted of manslaughter, and given 15 years (SMN, 6/16/03).

case A40.

A group of blacks were in a house playing skin. Singleton got into an argument with O'Neill over 20 cents. O'Neill used a marker, lost and would not pay. Richardson asked Singleton if he had his gun. He said yes. Richardson said to him that he should get his money or shoot. O'Neill ran to escape and Singleton fired once and hit Quarterman, who was in the doorway (SMN, 9/6/03, 9/7/03). Singleton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and got 20 years; Richardson was convicted of being an accessory to voluntary manslaughter, and got two years (SMN, 1/3/04).

1986 to 1993

There were 120 cases of black adult male homicide on black male victims where the race and sex of the perpetrator was known. This represents 60% of all adult perpetrator homicides committed in this era where race and sex of the perpetrator was known.

Thirty-seven (31%) were drug-related and 15 (13%) involved male jealousy.

This means that 43% of these homicides were motivated by conflicts in these two areas.

Six examples of homicides involving drugs will be related:

case B22.

A man was visiting his cousin who had put a pistol on the table because he heard something outside. The cousin left the room to look and when he got back the pistol was gone. The visitor pulled the gun out, apologized, and then shot and wounded his cousin. Another man rushed into the room and was shot and killed. The suspect went through his cousin's pockets, robbed him and then fled. The suspect got into an accident, abandoned his car and was sniffing coke in South Carolina when arrested.

case B52.

A man's girlfriend had warned him about using drugs and selling fluke (fake crack). He had been in several fights that day and in one beat a black male with a tire iron. Two black males found the victim and one killed him with two shotgun blasts. The other black male shot him once in the leg with a handgun. The killer was found guilty of murder.

case B86.

The victim was found face down in a housing project. He had gone up to three young drug dealers and asked to examine a piece of rock.³ He palmed it and gave them back some fluke. They caught up with him and one suspect hit him a number of times and the second hit him hard the last time. The victim died of a brain hemorrhage. Both pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B94.

Two girls found a body in a trash dump in the woods. The victim had been dead about two weeks. He was identified as a teenaged man staying at the Hampton Inn. The woman who rented the room to him felt he was involved in drug trafficking. Two days after he was killed, UPS intercepted a package to Miami with \$16,000 in it. The victim was from Florida, and the sender used his last name. A piece of rock was found in his underpants. He had died from gunshot wounds to the head. Nobody was ever arrested for this crime.

case B122.

A witness said that two men and a woman talked about getting some cocaine. One man gave the other some money to get drugs. The victim returned to the outside of the house and put the drugs in the other's hand. The man returned a piece of crack but the recipient complained, saying "Man, what's that, that 'little pee wee'?" The other replied, "Man, you already kept \$10, don't worry, I'm going to give you a piece of this." The drug buyer said, "I did not take any of your money." The response was, "Come on, we

³ Rock is slang for a piece of crack which is made up of cocaine.

can't do it out here," so they went into the house. Five or 10 minutes later, two shots were fired. The suspect told a friend that the buyer had shorted him twice and he could not allow it a third time.

case B131.

A man was found lying on his back on a section of ground between sidewalk and curb. Witnesses said the victim went to his house with a friend, who stayed in the house. The victim came out of his house 20 minutes later and was fired on from his residence. The next day a witness told police that she heard the victim arguing with his cousin over drugs, and his cousin said he would kill him. Another witness said the victim had ripped off someone over drugs the day he was shot. An unknown black male did the shooting.

Drug-related homicides were defined as something more than being under the influence of an illegal narcotic. Some hard evidence had to exist that the subject and/or victim had to be either a buyer or seller. The thirty-seven homicides identified as drug-related is a very conservative figure. The Savannah Police Department classified more of the homicides as drug-related because many of them had certain variables that were identified with drug dealing.

Five of the male jealousy homicides will be used as illustrative:

case B13.

A man went into a bar with two other black males. Another man saw his ex-girlfriend and also went into the bar, where he had words with her and told her that she should give him some respect, even if they no longer were together. She told him to kiss her ass and started to swing at him. Her new boyfriend tried to break it up but, according to the ex-boyfriend, the new boyfriend had said he was going to beat his ass and fuck him up. The old beau shot the victim six times, and was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

case B23.

A woman, the ex-wife of one man, and girlfriend of the other, said that the current boyfriend was arguing with the ex about returning her daughters to the home. She had convinced her boyfriend to go home when the suspect pulled a shotgun out of his trunk and said, "I am going to show you I ain't no punk ass nigger!" The victim turned around and was shot. The suspect pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B56.

A man visited his girlfriend, took off his pants and went to sleep across her bed. Another man came to the door and the woman asked him to leave. He said he just wanted the cookies he had left there a couple of days before. She got the cookies and when she cracked the door open to hand them to him, he pushed his way in. She called for her boyfriend to help her and as he came out, the intruder said he would kill him. He stabbed the boyfriend twice. He was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter.

case B65.

A man's girlfriend, with her small baby, was living with a family. A cousin of the family was visiting from out of town. The boyfriend arrived on his bicycle and was angry and jealous. He shot the cousin. He was found guilty of murder.

case B106.

A man had been at his sister-in-law's cookout where he saw his estranged wife. They left separately and each went nightclubbing. The man and a friend saw another man driving a car owned by him and his wife. The two men confronted him, and he responded by pointing a revolver at them. As the two men fled, he shot the estranged husband three times. The suspect was found not guilty.

Summary

Jealousy was involved in 15% of the earlier homicides as compared to 13% of the latter. The crime is basically unchanged. Gambling homicides were replaced by drug-related killings. A major difference is that gambling was legal in the earlier era, while drug dealing is illegal in the latter era. Many of the modern offenders carry handguns because of their involvement in the drug trade. It is part of their persona, just as police carry handguns.

White Adult Male Homicide on White Male Victim: Barroom Fights/Jealousy to a Variety of Causes

1896 to 1903

There were 14 cases of white adult male homicides on white male victims where the race and sex of the perpetrator was known. This represents 15% of all adult perpetrator homicides where race and sex was known.

Six (43%) involved fights that began in a place that served alcohol while three (21%) involved jealousy. This means that 64% of these homicides were motivated by conflicts in these two areas.

The following six homicides involved fights that began in a drinking establishment.

case A67.

Patrick Scully was in Crum's grocery when Nicholas Moworu came in. Scully referred to him as a dago. Moworu replied that he was, like Scully, an American. Scully grabbed him by the lapel and punched him several times. They grappled into the street where Scully kicked him and knocked off his hat. Scully left and when Moworu got up, he pulled a knife and followed Scully. Moworu stabbed Scully with a four-inch folding knife into his left groin. Peritonitis set in and he died. Moworu admitted to being drunk (SMN, 12/18/87, 12/19/97). The coroner's jury charged Moworu with murder (SMN, 12/20/97). Moworu was found not guilty in court (SMN, 1/15/98).

case A69.

William Fallon had been thrown out of a bar by the owner, James McGuire, earlier that day. Fallon owed McGuire 40 cents. Fallon came back in and walked up to where McGuire was seated and said here is the 10 cents I owe you. McGuire said that was fine but he still owed him 30 cents. Fallon then pulled his revolver and started shooting (SMN, 12/10/98). McGuire died six weeks later (SMN, 1/27/99). Fallon was acquitted because the coroner ruled that his death was caused by McGuire's excessive drinking, exposing him to the illness that ultimately killed him (SMN, 6/16/99).

case A71.

Thomas Davis and James Fleming were bartenders in the Desoto bar. They had an argument the night before concerning their working hours. Davis had told Fleming he showed the "white feather" in having Powers, their boss, settle the dispute. Fleming came to the bar to relieve Davis. Davis picked up a knife and was leaning over the bar. Fleming drew his revolver and shot Davis repeatedly. The coroner's jury charged Fleming with voluntary manslaughter but released him on bond (SMN, 9/21/00).

case A76.

W.H. Doric said that he had been having problems with Jack Deegan, a large man and known brawler, for several days. He had to run to escape Deegan and a companion who attempted to assault him. Doric, a bartender, was starting his shift when Deegan reached across the bar and grabbed him with one hand as he cocked his other hand to hit him. Doric pulled a .38 caliber revolver and shot at him three times striking him once. The other two shots wounded two patrons. Deegan died a month later of blood poisoning. (SMN, 12/27/01,

1/21/02). The murder trial resulted in a hung jury and Doric was released on bail (SMN, 2/24/02).

cases A77 & A78.

This shoot-out occurred in the Doss gambling house. All participants had been drinking. An argument ensued in which personal insults were used. Two people were killed, Thomas Reynolds and James Doss. Reynolds was hit once with a .44 caliber bullet. Two shots were fired at Doss, one of which lodged in his spine causing paralysis. It was concluded that they killed each other (SMN, 12/24/03).

The following three crimes involved male jealousy:

case A65.

Henry Voight and George Groover had been drinking beer in a restaurant. Groover was jealous over a woman that Voight was seeing. Groover attacked Voight and inflicted three knife wounds, killing him (SMN, 10/8/96). The jury convicted Groover of voluntary manslaughter and gave him 15 years in prison (SMN, 1/12/97).

case A68.

Patrick O'Neill and Henry Sweat had words at O'Neill's house over O'Neill's wife. O'Neill left and Sweat followed him and stabbed him in the stomach in front of his children. The detectives found Sweat and Mrs. O'Neill in a room together. She was drunk and abused the officers during the arrest. A witness said that Sweat told him he had been on intimate terms with Mrs. O'Neill before he went into the army but could not see her now (SMN, 10/8/98, 10/13/98). Sweat was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang (SMN, 6/20/99) but the sentence was commuted to life by the governor (SMN, 7/20/99).

case A72.

This incident involved two men who were well thought of in the city of Savannah. Jerry Shea was a senior detective on the police department, and John Hart had an excellent record in the military. Lizzie Johnson, a singer and actress, had played them both against each other. With Shea present, Hart asked an officer to arrest Shea, for no apparent reason. An argument ensued, revolvers were drawn, and Shea received a fatal shot in the left breast. The coroner's jury was totally confused but charged Hart with manslaughter. Shea's brothers took out a murder warrant, so that Hart could not get bail (SMN, 11/20/00). The case ended when the grand jury found no true bill and set him free (SMN, 11/21/00).

1986 to 1993

There were seven homicides involving an adult white male perpetrator and a white male victim. All will be discussed because there are so few. Two

(29%) involved drugs.

case B204.

A man at a lounge reportedly ordered a drink and was playing with the waitresses. Another man, whom he had never seen before, came up and hit him in the mouth. He responded by hitting him back and, when the initial assailant hit the floor, kicking him in the head with his cowboy boots. The victim died 15 days later from a blood clot on the brain. The suspect pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B205.

A man was found in a sitting position behind the wheel of a car with a gunshot wound to his right temple, and a pellet pistol on the seat beside him. He had talked to his common-law wife earlier and said that he was going back on the street to get \$20 he had been beaten out of. But when he found the man, he was shot. The suspect then went to his male lover's house. The lover admitted that he had driven the suspect to a place where he had gotten the gun. He pled to involuntary manslaughter and theft by taking.

case B206.

A man had recently married another man's former girlfriend. The ex-boyfriend had been living with her up until a few weeks before. The ex-beau and the bride's brother were swimming in her apartment pool when the husband told the brother to come in for dinner. The ex-beau asked if he was invited. The husband said to ask his wife, who told the ex-boyfriend to get out and leave her alone. He asked for the keys to a truck she had in her possession. She gave them to him and he left. He came back with a gun, found the victim on a pay phone, and shot him. There had been a peace bond on the ex-boyfriend, who was found guilty of murder.

case B207.

When a man was found dead in a room at a motel, the suspect said that he and the victim had been working as laborers on the new jail, and had a drinking party. The victim had told him to leave, and they got into a fight. When the victim went down, the suspect kicked him in the neck and body. The suspect pled to involuntary manslaughter.

case B208.

While at a bar for a couple of hours, a man had been talking with another male patron about his life. He had just given the bartender his credit card to pay, when another man walked up from behind and shot him just behind his left ear. The suspect gave the police a bizarre story about the mob trying to kill him. A waitress said she had seen the victim and suspect together a week before. No known motive was established. He was convicted of murder.

case B209.

Two months after an informant had turned a drug dealer in to the police, he was beaten to death. Three young white male adult suspects were identified. According to the victim's wife, who was with him, suspect #1 said, "Why did you turn our drug dealer in? Now our drugs are higher." They then attacked the victim and beat him with hands, feet, and a beer bottle. Suspect #1 was convicted of reckless conduct and pointing a gun. Suspect #2 was convicted of murder and aggravated assault. Suspect #3 was convicted of aggravated assault.

case B210.

Everyone involved was at the homeless camp behind Scotty's. One man got into an argument with his girlfriend, and kicked her down near a fire. When she called out for help, another man took a four-foot metal bar and hit the assailant, killing him. The argument had started when the victim told the girl to go out and panhandle for money and she was too drunk to do it. The suspect was convicted of involuntary manslaughter.

It may safely be said that alcohol consumption was a commonality in these homicides.

Summary

In the earlier era, grocery stores and restaurants served hard liquor. Jealousy was not involved in any of the homicides in the latter era. It does seem that fights occurring after drinking in public establishments in the earlier era gave way to fights occurring after drinking in different environments in the latter era. Cases were difficult to classify in this section because the only commonality for many of the homicides was heavy drinking, which is not a cause as much as a condition. It may be the environment in which the drinking was done, at least in the earlier era, was conducive to violence. A number of studies concerning alcohol and homicides are cited in Chapter 8.

Black Female Adult Homicide on Black Female Victim: A Variety of Reasons

1896 to 1903

There were five cases of adult black female homicide on black females in

this era. This represents 5% of all adult perpetrator homicides committed in this era where race and sex of the perpetrator was known. The only commonality between two of the homicides is that black females urged the killer to fight.

case A89.

Rachel Cohen and Laura Cuspard were discussing a financial transaction, using rough language. Four other black females were present. Cuspard expressed a few epithets, directed at the crowd. Rosa Platt, who took Cohen's side, pulled a knife and stabbed Cuspard once in the left breast killing her (SMN, 7/23/96). She was arrested by the police (SMN, 7/26/96).

case A90.

Ella Bryan and Mamie Goodwin had an argument at a dance the night before. The two women met on the street and continued the argument. Mamie Goodwin was encouraged by other women to attack Ella Bryan. She slashed Bryan once in the left breast below the heart. Goodwin said she had been attacked and showed a cut on the leg, a gash on the left side of her head, and complained of other injuries. An inquest was scheduled (SMN, 12/17/98, 12/18/98).

case A91.

A foster mother, Emma Anderson, beat her 10-month-old infant, Marguerite Anderson, to discipline her. The foster mother was drinking and beat the baby with a strap nailed to a stick. A doctor testified at trial that the baby suffered from a disease that made her bones fragile, and her death could have occurred from falling off a chair. The solicitor general dropped the case (SMN, 1/18/01, 6/28/01).

case A92.

Malinda Maxwell attacked Matilda Montgomery with a knife. A white man saw Montgomery with a chair, but only after the attack began. Maxwell had been drinking and slashed Montgomery six times with a knife (SMN, 9/15/01, 9/17/01). She was convicted of murder and given life at hard labor (SMN, 10/8/01).

case A93.

Jim Delily was the object of the affections of two women, Nellie Jenkins and Bertha Jones. Jenkins had taunted Jones for a week and finally Jones felt she had to defend herself. Jones stabbed Jenkins several times, in the breast and neck, with a knife (SMN, 6/9/02). Jones was convicted of voluntary manslaughter, with a recommendation for extreme mercy. She received eight years in prison (SMN, 8/6/02).

1986 to 1993

There were six homicide cases involving adult black female perpetrators with black female victims in this era. This represents 3% of all adult perpetrator homicides where the race and sex of the perpetrator was identified.

case B198.

A woman came home and found another woman in bed with her 15-year-old sister. She told the woman she would tell her brother, and the woman responded by stabbing her 36 times. The woman and her girlfriend hid the body in a closet in a trash bag, and then dragged it outside into the alley. The killer was found guilty of murder, and her girlfriend was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

case B199.

Five black females were at a bar drinking. One of these women got into an argument with another black female in the restroom, and was hit. The injured woman went back and told the others, one of whom saw the assailant leaving, caught up with her outside the bar, and stabbed her. The victim walked away, not realizing she had been stabbed with a steak knife. She collapsed after a few steps. The killer pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B200.

A woman had been working, helping another woman to care for her husband. When she told the wife she was quitting, the wife called the woman's supervisor and asked for a replacement. When the supervisor arrived, the woman denied that she wanted to quit. The supervisor told her that she had already hired someone. The woman said that the supervisor was "getting her fired" and shot her. The supervisor died five weeks later. The woman had lived with the supervisor's family for a year and made a statement that she and the supervisor were lovers. She was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

case B201.

A woman who had been drinking got into an argument with her neighbors in their the apartment courtyard. She went to her apartment, got her revolver, came back to the courtyard and shot up in the air, hitting the victim, who was sitting on a chair on a balcony. She had a past incident of firing her revolver in the courtyard. She pled to involuntary manslaughter.

case B202.

A gay woman who had left college because of an affair with a basketball coach was found dead by the white female she lived with. When police reconstructed the scene, they conjectured that the victim knew the suspect, another black woman. The suspect stated she visited the victim but did not plan to murder although she brought a knife with her. When the victim fled,

she was stabbed in the back, went down on her hands and knees, and was stabbed some more. A total of 15 stab wounds were found on the body. No arrests were made although the suspect was found in a stolen car with blood on her.

case B203.

The victim was a one year old who, an autopsy revealed, had suffered blows to the head and died three hours after receiving those blows. It was impossible to prove if the babysitter, the mother, or other children killed the child. But the mother had not taken care of the child properly in the past, and was suspected in the killing.

Summary

Half of the incidents involved gay women (B199, B200, and B202). The type of injuries the victims sustained suggests a past intimacy with the victim. Jealousy may have been a factor.

Conclusion

There were 59 (65%) same race/same sex homicides in the 91 homicides with known perpetrators which occurred from 1896 to 1903. From 1986 to 1993, 133 (66%) of the 201 killings were same race/sex homicides. It seems that two-thirds of the adult perpetrator homicides, where race and sex of the suspect and victim are known occurred in both eras. It is conjectured that people tend to spend time with those of similar backgrounds. They also are involved in social, private and business settings where disagreements occur. Within this context, those who are already leading dysfunctional lives and are prone to violence, may act out in a violent manner.

There was an extreme difference in the individual rates involving adult perpetrators. The black male on black male rate remained about the same based on the change in black male population. The white male on white male rate was reduced by two-thirds based on the change in white male population. The black female on black female rate was reduced by one half based on the

change in black female population. It may be that in ninety years, fewer white males are interacting with each other in ways that would lead to homicide. Possibly, their economic standards have been raised, to the point where conflicts are commonly settled without violence. The reduction of black female on black female homicide is encouraging although no reason is readily apparent. The non-changing rate of black male on black male homicide is troubling. If 1986 to 1993 had not included the crack epidemic, this rate may have also been lower.

Chapter 4 Battle of the Sexes

Introduction

A total of 69 homicides took place in both eras between those of the opposite sex, where race and sex were identified. This represents 24% of the 290 homicides in this category. Black males killed 40 black and six white females. Black females killed 17 black males. White males killed five white females. White females killed one white male. Nineteen opposite sex homicides occurred from 1896 to 1903 and 52 occurred from 1986 to 1993.

Black Adult Male Homicide on Black Female Victim: Jealousy

1896 to 1903

There were 14 cases in which a black male adult killed a black female victim from 1896 to 1903. In 7(50%) of the killings, male jealousy was clearly present. All 7 of those cases will be presented.

case A44.

Desverges and Palmer, a black woman, left a free & easy, where they had been drinking with another woman. Once outside Deverges cut her 16 times with a knife. Palmer was a "common woman," but Desverges thought he had a special claim on her and was enraged when she received the attention of other men (SMN, 5/4/97). He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to 15 years in prison (SMN, 5/15/97).

case A45.

James Wayne hit his wife, Emma Wayne, in the back of her head, possibly with a large brick. He was jealous of his wife's attentions toward another man. After he had killed her and thrown her in a canal, he went to the police to report his wife missing. When she was found, her arms and legs were tied with ropes and she was wrapped in some old bed clothing. The body had been weighted down. The suspect had blood on his shirt and pants and told a friend earlier that his wife's body would probably be found in a canal. He told a woman that he and his wife had split up (SMN, 5/19/97). He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and received 15 years in prison (SMN, 6/17/97).

case A48.

Before Frank Iverson shot Rebecca Ryals, he left a suicide note. In the note he said, "love was the cause of it all." He had left town to find work. When he returned to Savannah he found that she was living with another man. He tried to break down her door, and the boyfriend fled, but Ryals did not. He shot her twice with a revolver, then shot himself twice, but did not die. The defense argued insanity and stated that he accidentally shot the girl and then tried to take his own life. The suicide note was problematic. He was convicted of murder and given life imprisonment (SMN, 6/13/99).

case A52.

Delia Green, 14, had accepted Coony Houston's attention for several months. When he claimed she was "his girl," she denied it. In a fit of jealousy, he shot one time with his .38 revolver and killed her (SMN, 12/25/00). The grand jury indicted him for murder (SMN, 2/8/01). A famous song "Delia's Gone" was based on this incident (Garst, 2000).

case A53.

Sherman Richards went up to Hager Robinson's room and demanded that she tell him if she wanted another man. He struck her and then shot her once with a .44 caliber revolver. He emptied his revolver at pursuing police, but missed (SMN, 9/18/01). He was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang (SMN, 10/14/01), but received a new trial. At the second trial his defense argued that he was drunk, and when he pointed the gun at the woman to scare her, it accidentally went off. He was found guilty and given a life sentence (SMN, 8/1/02).

case A56.

Susie Rogers and Abe Cohen had been living together for two years, when Cohen took a job in Florida. He received word that she was unfaithful. He came back and they argued. She left their home and went to a place on Olive Street. He followed and asked her to come home. She said she did not have a home. He shot at her five times with a revolver. Cohen's only excuse was jealousy. He said he had left his wife for her and she should treat him as good as the wife he had left (SMN, 7/4/02). He was found guilty of murder and hanged (SMN, 7/11/03).

case A57.

Willie Calvin felt that his paramour, Annie Pierce, was unfaithful. They had been living together for two years and had constant fights. She would flee into the night but return the next morning after he was gone, keep house, and prepare his supper. Calvin cut her throat with one stroke of razor severing her neck from ear to ear (SMN, 9/9/02). Calvin was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang (SMN, 12/10/02).

1986 to 1993

There were 26 cases of adult black male homicide on black females from 1986 to 1993. Eleven (42%) of those involved a victim that had been or was currently on intimate terms with the perpetrator. It was impossible to determine which of these had jealousy as the main motive.

case B134.

The police arrived at the scene of a domestic argument, where a couple was living as man and wife. Both were drunk and the woman was lying down on the bed. She had a swollen left eye and an abrasion on her leg. Officers told her how to obtain a warrant and EMS said she had no serious injuries. Later that night she was brought to the emergency room where a CT-scan revealed her brain was hemorrhaging. The suspect said that she had hit him with a brick and that "Vietnam" thing came over him. The grand jury dismissed charges against the suspect.

case B135.

A couple lived in the top part of the house, but a man living downstairs became involved with the woman. While the couple was drinking at a nightclub, he said she took some money from him and smoked some rock. The couple also got into an argument over her new boyfriend and she broke a glass over his nose. When they returned home, he hit her several times he would kill her. He got his shotgun, and shot her on the front porch. He was convicted of felony murder.

case B142.

A woman was found by police lying strangled in a bed, in an upright position, with her dress pulled up and no panties. The suspect, who was legally blind, gave a number of different stories. First, they were having a sexual encounter and she lost consciousness. Second, they were about to engage in sex, when he caught her stealing money out of his pocket and he struggled with her until she was unconscious. Witnesses said they had argued earlier in a bar. The grand jury returned no true bill.

case B146.

A 19-year veteran officer with the Savannah Police Department shot his wife four times and then killed himself. The victim had filed for divorce and gotten a protection order. She was a supervisor for the Department of Corrections. Earlier that day, the officer had pulled a gun on her in a restaurant.

case B147.

A woman's body was found in a cemetery. She had been killed elsewhere with a knife, 8 to 16 hours earlier. Her boyfriend was the main suspect. He had beaten the victim and threatened her life before. A witness saw him the night of the murder, in his car, with what appeared to be a body covered in

a white sheet. The witness also saw blood on the suspect. An informant said that the victim had told her that the suspect made her commit prostitution, and had threatened to kill her if she stopped. The suspect was found not guilty of murder.

case B149.

A woman was found in the middle of her front room with three gunshot wounds. Her mother received a telephone call from the suspect who said, "I have prayed on it and thought about it, please come and get the girls and you'll read about it in the news tomorrow." When the police went where he had told the victim's mother he was, the 3 year old daughter of the victim said that the suspect had killed mommy. He was found in the back room with a bullet through his head. It was ruled a suicide.

case B151.

A witness said she was talking to a woman at the woman's house when a man knocked on the door. The woman opened it slightly and said she did not want to talk to him. He pushed his way in and started stabbing the victim with a butcher knife. Two black males in the house were able to subdue him and he said, "Turn me loose, I have money tied up in this, you ain't got nothing to do with this!" It seems that man and the woman had been living together for six months, until the man packed up and moved out two weeks before. He pled to murder.

case B152.

A man beat a woman and choked her. He was then put out of her house and a cousin stayed with the woman. The man's mother came to the door, and warned them that her son had a gun. He had taken it from his brother's room and threatened to shoot anyone who tried to stop him. Fifteen seconds later, the suspect kicked down the door, told the woman he loved her, and shot her three times. When the police found the suspect, he had already traded the gun for some crack. He pled to murder.

case B153.

A woman's stabbed body was found by her boyfriend of the last six months on the bedroom floor, face up, near the foot of the bed. Her wrists were bound with electrical cord and her ankles were bound with a strap cut from a purse. A person told the police that they had seen the suspect, the victim's ex-boyfriend, the morning after the murder with blood on him. The suspect said he had gone over to her house and told her about his new girlfriend. She had dug her nails into his arm and slapped him. He stabbed her and then bound her. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B156.

A man and his common-law wife both worked as armed security guards for a firm, even though the male was a convicted felon. They had been out to a nightclub and he later shot her on the porch of their residence. He gave a number of stories that could not be corroborated. He pled guilty.

case B160.

A woman was washing the floor in front of her children when her man came in and wanted \$20 for beer. She would not give it to him, so he grabbed her and threw her into a wall. She threw a bottle at him and he pulled a pocket knife and stabbed her in the back. They were not married but she had children by him. He was found guilty of murder.

Summary

In both eras, jealousy during intimate relationships was the most common motivator in the homicide. In the latter era, 12 of the 14 female victims in this category were currently, or had been, on intimate terms with the perpetrators. Seven of these killings fall into the context of male jealousy killings. The perpetrators feel completely devastated by the loss of their female companions. Unlike the male on male jealousy killings, they do not kill the interlopers, but kill the betrayer. It should be noted that four of these 12 perpetrators (33% of the total) were actually hanged.

In the modern era, of the fifteen remaining homicides in this category, a number involved family or other close relationships. Victims included a perpetrator's mother, sister, and aunt. Two of the perpetrators killed female children left in their care by women they were dating.

Staples (1986) said:

Contributing to spousal abuse in lower class black families is the normative association that some physical violence against the wife is natural or necessary....A major class difference, without regard to race, is that physical domination by a spouse is seen as an intolerable behavior pattern by many middle class wives (p.144).

He found that drunken behavior, jealousy and disputes over money lead to many of these violent martial conflicts. It would seem in the later era that this lethal violence had spilled over onto family members.

Black Adult Female Homicide on Black Male Victim:
Bad Women to Intimate Relations

Of the 29 total homicides that were perpetrated by adult females in both eras, black females were perpetrators in 28.

1896 to 1903

There were two cases of a black female adult killing a black male in this era.

case A95.

Signora Mitchell killed James Mitchell (no relation) by shooting him with a revolver. The first story told by the male witnesses in the house was that James had been playing skin and losing, and became enraged. Signora went to her room where the victim attacked her with his knife, and she fired three shots at him, the fatal one hitting him in the abdomen. A witness outside of the house heard James accuse Signora of using a horse deck (marked cards), and said he would tear them up if he lost again. There was no knife at the scene. Signora had been on the chain gang before serving a term for attempted murder (SMN, 5/29/96). The outside witness more effectively placed the suspect in a bad light before the jury (SMN, 5/30/96). On June 26, 1900, she was found guilty of murder and given life.

case A96.

Queen Martin had been involved in a number of crimes over a 10-year period, including murder. She had been drinking with Joe Hayward, the man who supported her. They had been going from dive to dive and he wanted to go home with her. She wanted to continue drinking. She said he hit her once on the head, then a second time. She then stabbed him with a slender-bladed knife straight into the heart (SMN, 12/27/98). She was given 20 years for voluntary manslaughter.

Both homicides involved women with a history of violence.

1986 to 1993

There were 15 cases of an adult black female killing a black male in this era. These synopses were taken from police case files. Two involved married couples and seven cases had perpetrators and decedents with varying levels of intimacy. These nine cases will be presented.

case B185.

A woman said she had recently broken up with a man and was staying at a girlfriend's house because he had threatened her over the phone. She said that when she went downstairs, he was outside a screen door and came in, attacking her. She grabbed a kitchen knife and stabbed him three times. She pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B186.

A man and woman had been involved for a year. The man had told his sister that the woman had hit him with a beer can. She had told the sister that the victim had hit her on the lip. Three days later, according to the suspect, the couple had gone to his house after going to a club. He took off his suit and wanted to have sex with her. She refused, and he started to hit her. She picked up a baseball bat and fractured his skull. She pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B187.

A woman let her brother drive her car to a wedding. It broke down and her brother left it where it was. The woman's husband fixed the car but his wife was unaware of this. She could not find the car, and when she returned home, her brother and her husband were on the sofa. The husband was babysitting four children. She yelled at him and he struck her. Her brother did nothing, claiming it was none of his business. The husband told her they would have a shootout. The woman went to another car and got a handgun while her husband went to the bedroom and got a gun. He disarmed her but she locked herself in a room. He said he would kill her. He struck her when she came out and she yelled for everyone to leave. The husband had two guns, a loaded .9mm and an unloaded rifle. She got her gun from where he had put it down, and shot him twice. She pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B190.

A woman said she had spent the majority of the day drinking with her girlfriend. When her boyfriend came home from work, he argued with her and then took a nap. She said that when he woke up, he pushed her over a coffee table and pulled a knife. They tussled for the knife, and she stabbed him. Charges were dismissed.

case B192.

A woman, her boyfriend and her daughter were inside her residence. An ex-boyfriend drove his vehicle into the front yard and the woman immediately called police. The ex-boyfriend began kicking in the front door and the current boyfriend ran to the back bedroom and hid. The daughter jumped on the ex-beau as he came in and he punched her off. The woman locked herself in the middle bedroom but the ex-boyfriend forced his way in. She had a gun, and as they struggled, she shot him four times. No charges were filed.

case B193.

A married couple had a long history of violence with knives. While they were drinking beer with friends at their apartment, the man asked his wife if she had anything else to drink. An argument ensued and she told the victim to leave. She got a large cardboard box for his things but her husband said he was not going anywhere. One of the men heard noises and saw the couple fight for a knife. He got the knife and put it on the kitchen counter. A moment later they were in the kitchen, again fighting for the steak knife. The wife stabbed her husband twice. She was found not guilty.

case B195.

A person drove a man to his girlfriend's apartment, where the man and his girlfriend got into a fight. The man punched his girlfriend in the nose and she stabbed him with a kitchen knife. He was driven to a hospital by a friend where he died.

case B196.

A couple had been dating off and on. The woman was talking to another man and her boyfriend got jealous. They got into an argument on the street and she stabbed the victim in the chest. She said that he had hit her with a brick earlier that evening. She pled to involuntary manslaughter.

case B197.

A couple who had lived together for a year were always fighting. The other three residents of the house did not even come out of their rooms when the last fight began. The woman said the man had accused her of having sex with younger men. She said he cut her on her left thumb and she stabbed him in the chest. One resident said she heard the woman say, "If you jump on me or hit me, I'm gone stab you." The grand jury returned no bill.

Summary

There was a marked increase in black female homicide on black male victim in the latter era. Staples (1986) says:

An unusual characteristic of black spousal violence is the incidence of black female aggression.... Upon further investigation of these family homicides, it appears that the high rates of murder for black women can be explained by acts of self-preservation when attacked by their spouses (p. 145).

He suggests that the low status of black males and their lack of financial power may lead them to use physical force to control situations. It is

unclear from the data if black women were more likely to accept domestic abuse in the earlier era without responding lethally when compared to the latter era. It is impossible to know if physical discord has increased or stayed the same.

Black Adult Male Homicide on White Female Victim:
No Incidents to Sexual Assault

1986 to 1993

There were six cases of adult black males killing white females in this era. Three involved sexual attacks (B177, B180, and B181).

case B176.

A woman and her boyfriend drove in search of the man who ripped them off in a drug deal. When they found the man, he pointed a gun at her, and she grabbed the barrel. He shot her five times while she was in the car. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B177.

A woman's two children, ages 6 and 7, heard her talking to a man. He put the children into the woman's bed and told them to go to sleep. He also told them he would kill them if they awoke. When the children found their mother's body, she had been raped and stabbed. He was given life for a rape that he committed a day before he killed the victim.

case B178.

Two black males dropped a woman off at the hospital. She had been stabbed three times. One of the men said he was trying to sleep in the bedroom when he heard the woman laughing with three other black males. He got up and saw her lying on a bed with a black male's hand on her crotch. He was angry because she was always messing with other men but would not mess with him or talk to him. He was found guilty of murder, but insane.

case B179.

A woman walked in on two men as they were torturing her boyfriend, a black male. He was also killed in the incident. One of the men suffocated her with a pillow to shut her up. When found, her wrists were bound with the belt from the robe she was wearing, her ankles bound with duct tape, and she had been stabbed repeatedly after she was dead. The two suspects were never caught. Eventually, a man serving two life sentences at Leavenworth with no parole, dying of AIDS, confessed to this crime, noting that the other killer was deceased.

case B180.

A woman who was working at Spanky's Restaurant on River Street was asked by a kitchen worker to give him a ride home. She was not seen alive again. She was found floating beside her car in the Springfield Canal. She had been strangled. The kitchen worker/suspect was never arrested, but was convicted of a similar crime later.

case B181.

A daughter found the body of her 82-year-old mother nude from the waist down. She had been raped and her car was missing. Two weeks later, a suspect was arrested on traffic charges and said to the officer "I'm going to beat your ass like they beat the old lady on Brogdon Street." The suspect's shoes matched the bloody footprints at the house. He had beaten the victim to death. He was convicted of murder and rape.

Summary

There were no black male homicides of white females in the earlier era. Interaction between these two groups was severely limited in the earlier era. In the modern era, there was no clear pattern that emerged in these homicides.

White Adult Male Homicide on White Female Victim: Insanity to a Variety of Reasons

1896 to 1903

There were two cases of adult white males killing white females in this era.

case A87.

A physician, William Aiken, had become increasingly mentally unbalanced. He had two failed suicide attempts. His doctor sent him away for "rest and relaxation" hoping to lessen his malady. He came back and was paranoid that his wife was going to commit him to an insane asylum. He shot her with a revolver in her right temple as she slept. He then killed himself (SMN, 2/28/01).

case A88.

Lewis Ashby forced his way into the rooming house where his estranged wife, Mattie, was boarding. He had a history of spouse abuse. She told him to leave or she would summon the police. He went downstairs and drank half a flask of whiskey and took some morphine. He went back upstairs and found her sitting on a trunk. He took his revolver and fired, reloaded and fired

again, striking her with four of possibly nine shots (SMN, 9/21/01). It was thought he was feigning insanity during the trial, but he tried to kill himself while in jail. He was sentenced to life imprisonment but sent to the state farm in Milledgeville, where the infirm were located. It was thought by his attorney that he would end up in an asylum (SMN, 10/4/01, 10/18/01, 2/18/02).

1986 to 1993

There were three cases of adult white males killing white females in this era.

case B218.

A 71-year-old woman was found in the her dining room with bruises on her arms and face. Her right earlobe and left thumb were bitten off. Her 79-year-old husband said he was lying on the cot in the dining room when his wife kept walking by him and hitting him with a stick. They got into a fight and he said "she died hard" and tried to get away. He was unfit to stand trial.

case B219.

An orthodontist estranged from his wife met her with two of her friends in front a hotel. The two friends went inside but the woman sensed something was wrong. As she started to flee, the man shot her twice in the back. He then went over and shot her in the forehead. He walked six feet away and committed suicide. The victim had told friends that he had threatened to kill her before, and that he probably would kill her and then kill himself. Their divorce was to be final in less than a month. The victim had a pistol in her purse.

case B220.

The victim's nude body was found stabbed to death, lying on her back in the bed in her apartment. The two suspects told a female informant that they would be making a lot of money breaking into people's homes, killing them and stealing cars. When she did not believe them, one suspect showed how his arm was bruised when the victim hit him. They both pled to murder.

Summary

There were a total of five white male on white female homicides in the sixteen years examined. Four of the perpetrators were husbands. Three of these had severe mental problems and the other took his own life immediately following the homicide. In cases A88 and B219, the women knew they were meeting their husbands in potentially lethal situations outside the home. In cases A87, the victim was aware of her husband's severe mental problems.

In case B218, the victim seemed to be a mentally incompetent as her husband.

White Adult Female Homicide on White Male Victim

1896 to 1903

case A97.

Nan Cozier killed Frank Hemingway, with whom she was intimate, because she could not get a permanent commitment from him. She shot him while he slept in her room. She then committed suicide by shooting herself in the head. Her suicide note read, "He says he loves me and cannot live without me, and still won't be true, and I can't stand his deceit. He is all I live for." Before she came to Savannah, she had killed a woman in Kansas City, but had been exonerated for that offense (SMN, 10/9/01).

Summary

There was only one case of a white woman killing a white man in the sixteen years examined. Immediately after the killing, she committed suicide.

Conclusion

This chapter contained a total of 51 cases where adult males killed females. Sixteen occurred from 1896 to 1903 and 35 occurred from 1986 to 1993. In five of these homicides the adult male committed suicide after the murder. Aderibigbe (1997) found in his literature review of didactic death a common finding. Males who are living with a woman, who have a history of assaultive behavior toward these women, are the most likely perpetrators. A woman who is ending a heterosexual relationship with the man may unwittingly supply the trigger. Aderibigbe examined six of the larger cities in the United States and found that 42% to 57% of the homicide/suicides were spousal or consortial. In addition, his literature review suggests the majority of perpetrators are depressed to the point of paranoia.

Intimate partner homicide has increased in Savannah between the two eras.

Rosenfeld (1997), examining a different time frame in St. Louis, found that homicides between intimates actually decreased. Rosenfeld examined police data from 1970 to 1995. He also stated that nationwide, this decrease was especially significant in the African American population. He conjectures that the change in relationships, less marriage and shorter periods of cohabitation between intimates, may have led to this decline. He warns that this decline may be counterbalanced by an increase in homicides by youth growing up outside of families. Reidel & Best (1998) studied intimate partner homicide in California from 1987 to 1996. They compared this to some of the findings of Wolfgang in his 1948 to 1952 Philadelphia study. They found some things had not changed. They found African American intimate partners still had much higher rates of homicide, and that married couples usually killed in private residences, after arguments or because of a third party, and that women stabbed instead of shot. Reidel and Best found additionally that women in common-law relationships were more violent than either in marriage or boyfriend-girlfriend situations. Dawson and Gartner (1998) feel that the intensity of the relationship between couples differ. Reciprocal obligations and individual expectations, both emotional and financial, vary based on the degree of intimacy of those involved. They found that lethal violence, as related to femicides, was associated with different risk factors in the relationships.

Chapter 5-Opposites and Unknowns: Fatal Attraction

Introduction

In both eras, females of different races did not kill each other. In combining the homicides that occurred in both eras where the race of the perpetrator and the victim was identified, 15 black males killed white males, and 14 white males killed black males. Where the perpetrator was unknown in both eras, the victims were 13 black males, six black females, three white males and one white female.

Black Male Perpetrator on White Male Victim: Perpetrator Felt Cheated to Drug Dealing/Robbery

1896 to 1903

There were six cases of adult black males killing white males in this era.

case A58.

This incident began one day when John Charlton had a physical altercation with the owner of a grocery/saloon, Cord Kracken. Charlton came back drunk, that evening, demanding a 10-cent whiskey. Kracken gave it to him and then Charlton demanded 15 cents change, saying that he had given Kracken a quarter. Harry McLeod, a food inspector, was visiting with Kracken. Charlton pulled a revolver and started shooting at Kracken but hit Harry McLeod with one shot from the revolver, which entered his neck. The suspect told police he did not care who he shot (SMN, 9/10/98). Charlton was convicted of murder and hanged (SMN, 3/11/99).

case A59.

Constantine Skidis was hit and killed with a rock outside his grocery store. It was thought that Joe Maynor was the perpetrator because of an altercation they had the previous day (SMN, 11/12/00). In fact, it was an unknown black who threw the rock (SMN, 11/19/00).

case A60.

John Wollender and two companions were sailors from a British ship. They

engaged Slyman Banes to show them the sights of Yamacraw. When Wollender found entertainment he gave Banes 23 cents, which Banes objected to. An argument ensued and Banes drew a revolver, firing one shot and killing Wollender. The jury was out just 20 minutes before recommending the death penalty. The judge accepted the verdict, not the punishment, because the case was based on circumstantial evidence. He gave Banes life imprisonment (SMN, 11/18/00, 11/19/00, 12/9/00).

case A62.

According to white witnesses, this case involved a black man who was walking down a street and shoved a white man, Barney Smith. Smith was going to shoot the black, but he drew first and shot Smith (SMN, 12/25/02). The police ascertained that the dead white man had fired first and emptied his revolver at the black man, missing him (SMN, 12/26/02).

case A63.

The initial assault took place at the rear of T.R. Smith's grocery, where Ed Green worked. Green had an argument with Smith over money that was owed to him. Smith gave him \$1.50, and said he would give him the rest on Sunday. Green wanted it all and left. When Smith left the store at closing, Green hit him four times with either a piece of lightwood or a brick, crushing his skull (SMN, 5/11/03, 5/12/03, 5/14/03). Green was found guilty of murder and given life imprisonment (SMN, 6/22/03).

case A64.

An unknown black man fired a fatal shot, hitting August Pratt in the abdomen, at 2 a.m., in front of the house of a "notorious" black woman (SMN, 11/9/03).

Three (50%) of the adult black male perpetrators were never identified. The other three were tried, one receiving the death penalty and two getting life in prison. It is of interest that two of the incidents (A58 and A63) seemed to begin with a dispute over money when the perpetrator felt he had been cheated.

1986 to 1993

There were nine cases of adult black males killing white males in this era. Six cases of black juveniles killing white males were discussed in Chapter 2.

case B161.

The victim, a college professor of English and Philosophy, did not show up for work. The police found him lying face down on the floor of his bedroom. His hands were tied behind his back, his feet were bound and a sweater was tied over his mouth with a belt. The victim had died of asphyxiation. A VCR, stereo, and station wagon were missing. According to the suspects, the gay victim tried to pick them up. The suspects gave a number of different stories, with the last being that the victim offered to give them \$500 not to kill him, but the money was in the bank. They punched him and then tied and gagged him because they thought he would call the police. They then took his belongings. One suspect pled to and the other was convicted of murder.

case B162.

A number of black males were standing around a laundromat after it closed. A man told them he was "fixing to kill this white guy." He began to walk down the road and two shots were heard. As he ran back, a witness said, "Did you shoot someone for real?" He answered, "Yeah," as he ran by. The victim was shot once in the back. The suspect pled to voluntary manslaughter and possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

case B163.

A man was found on the street with several head injuries and possible broken ribs. His new pickup was found nearby. Earlier he had purchased some fluke from a crack dealer and came back for revenge. The drug dealer admitted striking the victim but felt someone must have finished him off, because he did not hit him that hard. He pled to involuntary manslaughter.

case B165.

Two brothers went to buy drugs. The brother who was driving the car got into an argument with the dealer over the quantity and cost of the drugs. The dealer opened the driver's side of the car, hit the victim in the head and said, "Give up all your money, cracker." When the dealer went toward the passenger side of the car, the victim yelled for help and started to run. The dealer shot him. He was convicted of felony murder and of possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

case B166.

When two white men left a liquor store and went to move a motorcycle, they saw two black men urinating against the building. One of the white men told them to stop. One of the black men said no problem and went to his car, got a gun and started shooting, killing one and wounding the other. The suspect said he thought they were motorcycle members and that one of them had hit him in the face. He was found not guilty of murder.

case B168.

A convicted child molester had made a police report a few months earlier about confronting a black male juvenile in the park for defacing city property. The juvenile threatened him with a 2 by 4 and told him he would kill him and his dog. The suspect had been told he had to kill a white man to get into the Jivens' drug gang so he shot the ex-con and his dog. The

suspect was killed in a homicide before he could be arrested.

case B172.

Two black men were riding around drinking gin and smoking marijuana when they saw a white man and his live-in girlfriend at a pay phone. One of them demanded money from the man, and the man looked at him like he was crazy. So he shot the man, and then shot the woman in the back when she tried to flee. The killer was found guilty of murder and his partner pled to voluntary manslaughter.

case B173.

A cab driver said he picked up a man in front of the Hyatt Hotel, who had them stop by an ATM and then told the driver he was looking for drugs and a woman. The passenger had the driver pull up beside two black males and told the men he wanted crack. One of them said, "Give me your money," and tried to grab it. The other pulled a handgun and shot several times. The cab driver drove out of the area and called police. Two crumpled \$20 bills were found in the back seat along with the dead passenger. One of the blacks was found not guilty and the other was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

case B174.

A highly delusional black man told police that someone pounded on his door threatening to kill him. He reported that he ran out of the house and down the street, asking for people to call the police. He then went to a vacant house but jumped out the window when he heard a noise. He then ran into a white man's house where, he said, the man came at him with a knife, so he stabbed the man eight times with a butcher knife. He was first thought incompetent to stand trial but was later convicted of murder, possession of a firearm in commission of a crime, and aggravated assault.

Three of the nine homicides involved drug deals that went bad (B162, B163, and B173), and three involved robbery (B161, B162, and B172).

Summary

In the earlier era, there is a hint that some conflicts could have occurred when a black male felt or was cheated by a white male over money. The black male may have had little recourse but to accept the situation. In the modern era, white males may have been seen as good prospects for robbery or they were involved as customers in drug transactions.

White Male Homicide on Black Male Victim:
Justifiable/No Prosecution to Justifiable/Hate

1896 to 1903

There were seven cases of a white male adult killing a black male in this era.

case A79.

Private Robert Bagwell said that a James Jenkins approached him and another soldier, and said he wanted to talk to him in the lane behind Gidea's pool room. Bagwell walked back there with him and a second black. Jenkins reportedly pulled a knife on him, in an attempt to take his money. Bagwell pulled his revolver and started firing, hitting Jenkins three times. The other black fled. The coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide (SMN, 2/2/99, 2/6/99).

case A81.

John Read passed a group of black men which included William Stewart. Read came back to the group after he had been drinking and ordered Stewart to apologize for an alleged insult. Stewart said that he didn't say anything. Read called him a liar and Stewart said that he was the liar. Read pulled a revolver and told Stewart to get down on his knees and apologize. Stewart said he didn't mind doing that but as he got up, Read shot him once in the left side of the abdomen. At trial, Read's lawyer argued that Stewart had assaulted Read before insulting him. He said Stewart had kicked him in the groin and that another black man had hit him in the face. Read then saw Stewart reach into his back pocket and thinking there was a gun, drew and fired (SMN, 6/15/00, 6/18/00). The jury found Read guilty of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced him to 15 years (SMN, 7/25/00). The 15-year sentence was later reduced.

case A82.

Hubert Stelljes shot Alfred Wilson twice in the stomach in front of the grocery store owned by Stelljes's brother. Stelljes would only say it was self-defense. A number of black witnesses said they saw Wilson ejected from the store. Wilson said he wanted to kill the suspect and put his hand in his back pocket as the suspect fired. The victim was a "trustee" at the police department, having been arrested two weeks before on a charge of cursing and fighting in the street (SMN, 10/2/00). An inquest was held by the coroner and a verdict of justifiable homicide was returned (SMN, 10/4/00).

case A83.

George Tuten considered George Childs an insolent black. They both worked at Rourke's Machine Shop where the homicide occurred. Tuten had told Childs

that blacks were not supposed to use a certain emery wheel. Tuten saw Childs using the wheel and, according to a witness, said "Damn you, nigger, didn't I tell you to get away from there and let the white man sharpen his tools." Tuten said that Childs hit him first with a cleaver and Tuten then went and got a revolver and defended himself. Three white witnesses said that Childs hit Tuten first but that Tuten was already armed when it happened. A black witness said that Tuten fired first, before Childs got the cleaver. Tuten fired five shots and hit Childs twice. The newspaper felt it was justifiable homicide (SMN, 6/26/02, 6/27/02). This case never came to trial.

case A84.

James Sullivan lived at the Central Hotel, where he was in the habit of scaring the black porter, Stewart, by pointing an unloaded gun at him. One night he did this when the gun was loaded and Stewart was shot once in the forehead with a .32 caliber bullet. The court recorder was convinced that it was an accident but felt that Sullivan might be guilty of an unlawful act and bound him over on a charge of involuntary manslaughter (SMN, 4/28/03, 5/1/03, 5/2/03).

case A85.

George Jackson held a grudge against his former employer, Moses Eichholz. Jackson came into a bar, saw Eichholz, and started a fight. Eichholz told him to leave, but he came back in and said, "I'm as fast as anybody," as he advanced. Eichholz drew his revolver and fired three shots, hitting Jackson twice in the head and once in the back. Jackson had killed a man and had numerous assaults on his record. After the coroner's jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide, every member of the jury shook hands with Eichholz (SMN, 5/14/03).

case A86.

William Small, who had been drinking, not only offered an insult to a white man, but brushed against him. The white man, who had also been drinking, did not draw his knife until the black was almost on him and then stabbed him once in the shoulder with a knife (SMN, 9/28/03, 10/5/03, 10/6/03).

1986 to 1993

There were seven cases of adult white male homicide on black males in this era, an era where the justifiable homicides were somewhat more apt to be justifiable.

case B211.

The victim was found lying between a drug store and suspect's home. Two .22 caliber casings were found near the victim. The suspect called his brother, who was an attorney, and was told not to make any statements. The suspect's vehicle had been previously broken into and had a window broken out. The window was covered with plastic and there was a hole in it. The door was

open and the car had been ransacked. The only witness said she heard someone yell, "Lay down," a couple of times. She then heard two gunshots and someone yell, "Call the police." In court, the suspect said the victim attacked him. He was found not guilty of involuntary manslaughter.

case B212.

A white cab driver was dispatched in his cab to pick up a fare. Two black males got in. When the cab driver was hit from behind, he reached for his revolver, turned and fired three times into the backseat. The black males fled. He notified his dispatcher and drove to the hospital with a severe contusion on the right side of his head. The victim was taken to the hospital where he died. No charges were filed.

case B213.

A white man killed two people by sending them a pipe bomb in the mail. Killed were a judge in Alabama and a black attorney in Savannah. The suspect was found guilty of murder and 70 other crimes in federal court. The state of Alabama expressed interest in trying him for the other murder with the expectation of giving him the death penalty.

case B214.

While a white man was putting newspapers in a vending machine, a black man demanded all his money, and was given four dollars. The robber then told him to give him the bag of coins in the newspaper truck, pointing a pistol at him. When the robber grabbed the money and turned to leave, his victim told him to stop. The robber turned with his gun and was shot five times. The grand jury found this to be justifiable homicide.

case B215.

Five minutes after two white males in a pick-up truck shot a black male in the left arm, another black man, coming out of his girlfriend's house and walking toward his vehicle, was shot through the left hand into his abdomen. No specific suspects were identified.

case B216.

Three white men from the U.S. Army drove by a black man who was walking down the street and shot him down with a high powered rifle. They then stopped a police officer and asked where a certain nightclub was. One of them also asked the officer if he had heard about a shooting. A black minister, who had witnessed the crime, and the police found the suspects at the nightclub. The one who had asked the officer about the shooting had told a sergeant earlier that day that he was going to kill a black man. All three were convicted of murder and possession of a firearm during the commission of a crime.

case B217.

A military officer, in bed with his girlfriend, heard a noise at the window like someone was breaking in. He said that he yelled twice, "Don't come in,

I have a gun." The suspect fired and killed the victim. The window was later found to have pry marks on it from a tire iron that was found 18 feet away, suggesting that two burglars may have been involved. The grand jury returned no bill.

Four of the perpetrators were viewed as victims of crime at the time of the homicides (B211, B212, B214, and B217). Three of the homicides dealt with stranger versus stranger situations where "hate" was a motivation (B213, B215, and B216).

Summary

In the earlier era, only one of the homicides resulted in a successful prosecution. It seemed in certain cases that little provocation was needed to take a black male's life. In the modern era, four of the perpetrators were viewed as the victims (B211, B212, B214, and B217). At the opposite end of the motivation spectrum, three involved "hate" (B213, B215, and B216).

Unknown Perpetrator Homicide on Black Male Victim: Variety of Reasons to Drugs

The race and sex of perpetrators were unknown in the following homicides.

1896 to 1903

There were three cases of black males being killed by unknown assailants in this era.

case A98.

Daniel Small was shot in the temple in the yard of the Floyd Cotton Pickery. A trail of blood went to the office where he had been trying to dial the phone when he died. He had been working as a watchman for 12 years and was on duty when he was murdered (SMN, 12/26/00).

case A99.

William H. Lambert, 12, was killed with one blow from a brick that fractured his skull (SMN, 5/17/03).

case A100.

Seabrook Harris was shot through the heart. Harris and some black men were taking two black females to a dive. The only theory police could arrive at is that some jealous man shot him (SMN, 12/27/03).

1986 to 1993

There were ten cases of black males killed by unknown assailants in this era.

case B222.

The victim was found approximately one week after he had been shot and killed. He was lying in the woods, wrapped and bound in a red bedspread. His legs and hands had been tied with an extension cord. Jockey shorts were stuffed in his mouth. In an incident that happened two months earlier, three black males were angry over a bad drug deal. They bound another black male and placed him in a bathtub. They said they would kill him in the morning. He escaped. This may have been the way this victim was killed.

case B223.

A man's common-law wife said that he told her he was going out with some men from out of town. He went outside and she heard a shot. He had been shot once in the head and was found lying dead on the curb.

case B224.

The victim was found in his bedroom. His gun was by his body. Drugs were found under the carpet and in other parts of the house. He had been shot 12 times with two different guns. It appeared that two suspects emptied their revolvers into him. It was conjectured that he owed a major drug dealer money and the dealer thought he was going to talk to the police.

case B225.

The victim was found in the street shot through the femoral artery.

case B226.

The victim was shot over drugs. A five-dollar bill was found under his body. He was drunk and had been shot once in the head.

case B227.

The victim was a drug dealer. A friend of his was killed a couple of weeks

before and he was scheduled to talk to the police on the day he was killed. He was shot twice in the head, although the second shot was superfluous. case B228.

The victim was shot over drugs.

case B229.

The victim was shot over drugs.

case B230.

The victim was playing pool when his beeper went off. He went outside and was hit twice on the forehead, probably with a gun, and then shot through the head. He was shot over drugs.

case B241.

The victim was found lying on the floor in the front of the door of his apartment. His wife said she was asleep in the back room. There were three bullets in the doorframe and one went through the front door. He and his wife had only been married two months and he was working as a correctional guard. When police investigated his work records, a number of accusations from prisoners stated he was selling drugs inside and outside of prison. He was under the influence of cocaine at the time of death and had 4.3 grams of crack and some marijuana on his person.

Summary

The three victims in the earlier era had no commonality in their deaths.

The ten victims in the latter era were all drug-related. There were so many homicides during this era that involved black males that all that was left to document some involving unknown perpetrators was one sentence.

Unknown Perpetrator Homicide on Black Female Victim: No Incidents to Sexual Assault

There were no black females killed by unknown perpetrators in the earlier era.

1986 to 1993

There were six black female victims who had unknown assailants in this era.

case B231.

The victim was killed in a garage-type apartment with a good lock and burglar alarm system. There was no forced entry. She was lying on her back, nude from the breasts down. Her face was covered with a brown jacket. Sperm was present in her vagina. She had been hit once on the head with a steam iron. The apartment belonged to her cousin, with whom she was staying. He said that the only thing missing was a VCR and a tape she recorded. She had been seeing a married man.

case B232.

The victim was found at the end of Lynes Drive lying face down. The only clothing found was a pair of blue underpants that had been pulled part way down. The victim was a prostitute with a drug problem. She was known for trying to steal money from customers. She had been strangled with a scarf that was still around her neck.

case B233.

The victim's body was found under a burned out building, nude from the waist down, except for a sock and shoe on the right foot. She was lying among used condoms and other debris. The victim was a crack-using prostitute whore who was almost eight months pregnant. She had been cut three times with a knife.

case B234.

The 61-year-old victim was found in her home. She had been hit with a hammer but had died of asphyxiation.

case B235.

The victim was found in a field behind a church. A black bra was pulled up over one breast and her panties were down below her left knee. No semen was in the body. A gay transvestite crack dealer identified her. She had been seen with a man earlier that evening. He was questioned and released. It was thought that the victim owed money for drugs.

case B236.

The victim was found under a vacant and dilapidated house, in an advanced state of decomposition. The skin around the eyes and head had been destroyed by maggots. The victim had a pair of panties stuffed in her mouth. She had died of asphyxiation.

Summary

Half of the victims were drug using prostitutes. Prostitution is a high risk occupation, especially for those women who are trading sex for crack.

It is possible that their customers may have stolen their money and/or drugs and when they resisted, killed them.

Unknown Perpetrator Homicide on White Male Victim:
One Incident to Two Incidents

1896 to 1903

There was one case of a white male being killed by an unknown assailant in this era.

case A101.

Samuel Baker was robbed and killed around midnight a short distance from the police barracks. He was a bookkeeper for John Lyons & Company and had turned over \$800 that day to his employer. It is conjectured that the murderer thought he still had the money when he was robbed. His watch was taken and his pockets were turned out (SMN,11/18/01).

1986 to 1993

There were two incidents found in police case files involving white male victims and unknown assailants in this era.

case B237.

The victim, an employee of a video store, was found dead in the back of the store. He had been shotgunned to death. A large amount of money was left in the cash drawer. The victim had been shot in the front of the store but tried to get to the alarm system in the back. It is conjectured that this may have been a murder for hire. The victim was going to change his will the next day.

case B238.

The homeless victim was killed on the street with a gun.

Summary

Case A101 is still discussed in Savannah (Dais, 2001). A relative of the victim "conjectured" that a police officer was the perpetrator but died before revealing any of the details. The detective who investigated B237 was never able to talk with the victim's wife. She stated that she was still too upset from the incident to discuss after a year had passed.

Unknown Perpetrator Homicide on White Female Victim:
No Incident to One Incident

1986 to 1993

case B239.

The victim was shot outside her home. There was no apparent motive. It may have been robbery or jealousy.

Summary

As in all the homicide categories, cases involving white females allow for little conjecture because they are so few.

Conclusion

Of the 101 civilian versus civilian homicides in the earlier era, four(4%) had unknown assailants. Of the 241 civilian versus civilian homicides in the latter era, 19(8%) had unknown assailants. There may be a number of reasons for the doubling of the rate of unknown homicides in the modern era. First, there was actually a higher rate of those perpetrators not identified by name in the earlier era than in the latter era. The term unknown in this study means when the race and sex of the perpetrator is not confirmed. Second, in the earlier era, the mobility of perpetrators was severely limited. Few could afford train or steamship fare. The major mode of transportation was by horse or on foot. In addition, there were no paved roads in Savannah. The combination of these two factors made escape far less easy. Third, in the modern era, the police have investigative techniques and technology that enhance their ability to identify people. The countervailing factor is that in the drug and prostitute homicides, there may be very little interaction between strangers, no witnesses and little evidence.

Chapter 6-Law Enforcement Related Homicides

Introduction

Government related homicides include those caused by individuals with law enforcement status, and capital punishment. They have been assigned to their own chapters for subjective reasons which will be discussed. The legal taking of human life by the government of the United States should never be taken for granted. Most importantly, these homicides were excluded from the other homicides to allow civilian versus civilian homicides to be examined in earlier chapters. Capital punishment will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Law enforcement-related homicides consist of two categories. The first entails police or those who have police power, who kill citizens when the officers are perceived by the citizen to be acting in their law enforcement role. The second category is when a law enforcement officer is killed while working in his official capacity.

In the 1990s, the media focused on three widely separated events involving police use of force. The first was a non-lethal case of use of force when the Los Angeles Police stopped Rodney King for speeding. The other two events involved the death of citizens at the hands of federal law enforcement officers at Waco and Ruby Ridge. Law enforcement officers' responsibilities include protecting the community from dangerous and assaultive individuals. They must put themselves in harm's way to protect the community, which means they may, in rare circumstances, use lethal force. The use of force by law enforcement should always be scrutinized

because the citizenry must have confidence in those who are entrusted with such power.

This chapter examines law enforcement-related homicides in Savannah for the periods of 1896-1903 and 1986-1993. This analysis constitutes its own chapter for three reasons. First, most of the rest of the book examines citizen versus citizen homicides, and the inclusion of law enforcement-related homicides and capital punishment would skew the data. Second, as stated above, law enforcement homicides continue to be an extremely sensitive and controversial topic warranting separate examination. Lethal force by law enforcement officers affects the trust the community has in the police. (Friedrich, 1980; Geller, 1982). Last, the analysis of the two periods in question present significant differences that impinges directly on our current understanding of law enforcement killings.

When a police officer is killed in the line of duty by a citizen, society views this as second only to the assassination of an elected official as to seriousness. It is a challenge to the entire system when its street-level representative is murdered while enforcing the law or keeping the peace. There was only one case in each era of a police officer being killed in the line of duty.

An additional unique situation involved an on-duty military officer who killed a soldier within the Savannah city limits. The military originally took jurisdiction as the company moved out to fight in the Spanish-American War. When they returned home the military dropped charges, giving jurisdiction back to the city.

Law Enforcement Homicides

The police use of deadly force occurs in all modern societies. Chiefly, governments empower their police to maintain or to restore order. According to Van Maanen (1980),

Police kill people. It is not a part of their job descriptions, a part of their routine procedures, a part of their administratively urged activities, or a part of their socially esteemed and appreciated tasks. Ordinarily, they do not kill with malice and forethought as a part of some organization defined mission. When they do kill, it is usually without grand logic or preformulated strategy, but as an individualized response to an immediate, particular, and always peculiar situation. (p. 146)

1896 to 1903

When the eight legal hangings are excluded from the 123 homicides, 115 remain. From 1896 to 1903, only white males were permitted to be in law enforcement in Savannah. Blacks were allowed to be constables who served court papers. Of the 115 homicide cases identified in this study in which the race of the victim and perpetrator were known, 16 cases involved white male perpetrators and black male victims. In seven of these cases police officers, acting in the line of duty, killed seven black males. In one additional case, a white constable assisted a man recently dismissed from the police department in trying to make an arrest where a black male was killed. In sum, police were involved in half of the cases from 1896 to 1903 involving the death of black males at the hands of white males. In addition, police killed two white males and one white male was killed by a fireman. Firemen had arrest powers in serious circumstances, and are thus included in this study. The fireman was in uniform and citizens believed that he had an "official presence". Last, one black female died under

questionable circumstances while being questioned by a police officer. Each of these cases will be discussed in detail. When the lone military homicide is dropped, 101 cases remain of civilian versus civilian homicide.

officer and black male victim.

case 1-Preston Brooks.

On November 9, 1896, Maurice F. Sullivan, a recently-fired police officer, had been with Constable Simon O'Neill when he pulled Preston Brooks out of a "free and easy," an establishment that served alcohol and where patrons could dance. Sullivan started an argument with Brooks, who he believed had gotten him fired from the police department a year ago. Sullivan said that he "had treated him like a white man and he had gone back on him." Brooks protested his innocence, but Sullivan and O'Neill still were determined to arrest him. Brooks knew they had no warrant and resisted. The white men beat him over the head and then left. A witness convinced Brooks to go to the police department with him and file charges against his assailants. As they walked to the police department, O'Neill and Sullivan came upon them. Brooks now had a stick and hit O'Neill on the head, whereupon Sullivan fired four or five shots with his revolver at Brooks. One of these pierced Brooks's heart and he died in the street (SMN, 11/10/96).⁴

On November 10, 1896, the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Sullivan, and charged O'Neill as an accessory. All the witnesses were black (SMN, 11/11/96). On January 22, 1897, the jury found the defendants guilty of manslaughter. The defense attorney had argued self-defense, but to no avail. Each was given a sentence of 15 years in the state penitentiary (SMN, 1/23/97). On May 30, 1897, Judge Falligant denied their petition for a new trial (SMN, 6/1/97). It was discovered in the Georgia Archives that both of those convicted applied for clemency. Sullivan's clemency was granted on January 26, 1902 and his sentence was commuted to six years. O'Neal served six years and on January 9, 1903, was restored to full citizenship.

case 2-William Smith.

William Smith apparently had severe mental problems. Earlier on November

⁴The Savannah Tribune, the city's black newspaper, adamantly claimed that Brooks was first beaten with iron knuckles by one of the men and had reported it at the police station. The police advised Brooks to have the officer assigned to that geographic area arrest them. When he went back to look for the officer, O'Neill and Sullivan found him, searched him for weapons, and then started to beat him again. Brooks then broke lose and was shot (11/14/96).

12, 1896, he had met Albert Clarence, another black, near the Florida, Central, and Peninsular railroad yard. Smith showed him two new pairs of shoes and then, without reason, started hitting him over the head with a piece of iron. Smith then fled.

Clarence later saw Smith in the city and gave chase. One policeman saw the chase and was told by a bystander that Smith had stolen a lady's pocketbook. A number of officers chased him to his mother's house. From the balcony of this small house, Smith shouted he would kill the police if they came near. The police held their fire because his mother and another black woman had their arms around him, dragging him back into the house.

Officer W.E. Bradley reported that when he opened one of the doors, Smith came at him with an axe. Bradley fired once and the door slammed shut. Bradley opened the door again and Smith attacked again. Bradley fired two more shots. Smith was dragged out on the porch, and it was found he had been hit twice, one bullet entered the mouth and the other the left lung (SMN, 11/13/96). William Smith died on the 18th. The coroner's jury examined the case on the next day and returned a verdict of justifiable homicide (SMN, 11/20/96).

The Savannah Tribune commented on this case in the paper, directly under its summation of the Brooks case. The editor felt that Smith was a dimwitted man and, when he defied arrest, he was shot down (11/14/96).

case 3-Levi Rutledge.

Clarence Fields, a black man, contacted the police on Christmas Day, December 25, 1896, stating that Levi Rutledge had threatened his life. Three officers went to Rutledge's home to place him under arrest. He tried to shoot it out with the police. Officer Guilfoyle shot and killed him. Many of the blacks who were friends of Rutledge were upset with Fields, believing he caused Rutledge's death. One of these, John Roe, was arrested on December 27, 1896, and charged with threatening to shoot Fields (SMN, 12/26/96; 12/28/96).

Shortly after the death of Rutledge, the coroner's jury came in with a verdict of justifiable homicide. Unexpectedly, the prosecutor nonetheless prosecuted Officer Guilfoyle for murder. On August 9, 1897, the jury took just 10 minutes to acquit the officer (SMN, 8/9/97).

case 4-William Hunter.

William Hunter, an escaped convict from Alabama, had been given 20 years at hard labor for burglary and attempted murder. He was contracted out and had been working at the Pratt coal mines near Birmingham when he escaped. The Governor of Alabama offered a reward of \$500 for his capture.

A "spotter," a black in the Savannah community who supplemented his income by identifying criminals, recognized Hunter, and reported him to Deputy Sheriff Edward O'Conner on January 25, 1898. Finding Hunter, Deputy O'Conner tried to sneak up on him and hoped to grab the suspect's hip pockets, where a weapon would likely be hidden. Before he could do this,

Hunter pulled a new .38 caliber revolver from his coat pocket, firing two shots at the deputy from two feet away. Both shots missed as O'Conner found cover behind an electric light pole. O'Conner then fired four quick shots, one bullet striking Hunter's in the head, immediately killing him (SMN, 1/26/98).

case 5-Joe Hamilton.

Detective J.J. Garrity was inside the Alex R. Fawcett & Company store on July 23, 1898, staking it out because of a series of recent burglaries. Joe Hamilton and another black man broke in through the top of the store. Hamilton crawled inside while the other black stayed outside. When he was fully inside, Garrity advised him he was under arrest. Hamilton threw something at Garrity and Garrity fired twice in the darkness hitting Hamilton once in the left side. The other black escaped (SMN, 7/24/98). Hamilton died the day after he was shot (SMN, 7/25/98).

case 6-Scipio Fripp.

Scipio Fripp was drunk and had fired his pistol for fun on Christmas Eve of 1902. When Officer Bryant started to arrest him Fripp turned and swore, shooting the officer in the thigh. Bryant responded by shooting Fripp in the temple and abdomen. A witness confirmed the officer's story (SMN, 12/25/02). When he recovered from his wound, Officer Bryant gave testimony to the recorder and was exonerated (SMN, 12/26/02).

case 7-William Blending.

On January 17, 1903, Wyily Davis had been arrested for theft on a complaint from Isaiah Reece, another black. The next day, Reece went with Officer C.M. Malphus to arrest William Blending, who was also involved. Malphus wasn't expecting trouble when he entered the house with Reece. Blending was with three blacks and asked a girl to hand him his coat. As Malphus intercepted the coat and checked it for weapons, he glanced down. Blending hit him between the eyes with a stick of firewood. The officer staggered but was able to block a second blow with his left hand. If it had not been for the intervention of Reece, the officer feels he would have been killed. As Reece then grappled with Blending, Malphus drew his revolver and began firing at Blending so as not to hit Reece. He fired four shots, two hitting Blending in the abdomen.

According to the coroner, because of the presence of a witness, an inquest into the shooting was necessary. The results of the inquest were never reported (SMN, 1/19/03; 1/20/03).

case 8-Rafe Harvey.

On November 15, 1903, a number of officers were trying to find Rafe Harvey after he had robbed a woman. Officer Davis was with Detective Murphy when the arrest was made. When Harvey pulled away from the officers, Davis recognized him as a black who had beaten him and escaped a few months earlier. Davis fired one shot as Harvey ran. Other officers, along with civilian John Goolsby, a Seaboard engineer, joined in the chase. Officer Hartley and Goolsby found Harvey in a room. Officer Hartley was unarmed

because he had loaned his revolver to a civilian who was involved in the chase. Harvey beat them both with an iron bar and fled.

Patrolman Miller continued the chase when he saw Hartley light a match to signal the other pursuers. Harvey jumped him and Miller could feel the immense power of the man. Although Miller fired two shots, hitting Harvey in the shoulder and abdomen, the assailant continued his attack. Other officers arrived and at least a dozen blows fell on Harvey's head, splattering blood on the officers. Harvey finally succumbed to the blows (SMN,11/16/03). Harvey died on November 28, 1903 (SMN,11/29/03).

officer/fireman and white male victim.

In 3 of the 12 cases in which white male shot white male, a police officer/firefighter did the shooting.

case 1-John W. Wyness.

The incident started at John Cottingham's saloon on December 2, 1896. Joseph A. Counihan met a number of people there including John W. Wyness. Counihan tried to make a bet on a dog fight and then he and Wyness put on some "jersey gloves" and boxed a little. Jersey gloves were boxing gloves that contained more padding than gloves that were actually used in a boxing match. They left the bar and it started raining, so they went to Taylor's bar. Counihan and Wyness were talking about their respective boxing abilities. The bookkeeper for the company of which Wyness was manager, Joseph Hallinan, was with him. Wyness and Coulihan first decided to fight, and then decided against it. Officer Patrick Kearney came into the bar, and asked Counihan what happened. Counihan said that Wyness said he could whip him. Kearney said that nobody could say that to his friend and get away with it. He asked Hallinan if he was with Wyness and he said yes. Kearney struck him and Hallinan then heard a shot. Wyness had been hit with a .38 caliber bullet to the chest (SMN, 12/3/96 & 12/8/96).

Wyness died on December 7, 1896. Patrick Kearney was fired from the police department on December 8, 1896 (SMN, 12/9/96). The incident was complicated because a dispute arose between the coroner and the recorder over who had jurisdiction to conduct the investigation. Officer Patrick Kearney and his accomplice, Joseph A. Counihan, were arrested three times and released twice. On February 12, 1897 Patrick Kearney was convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment (SMN, 12/13/97).

Two other law enforcement officers were disciplined because of their involvement in this case. Detective Godbold had supplied the round of ammunition that Kearney had put in his revolver to replace the empty cartridge. Godbold had told the chief of police the truth when he realized Wyness's wounds became serious. Officer Smith made comments to civilians that reflected badly on the police department. Each was fined \$25 (SMN, 12/9/96; 12/17/96).

case 2-Adam Thornburg.

Adam Thornburg was working behind the bar in his saloon on December 3, 1896,

when two firemen entered. The two uniformed firemen, Pitts and Collini, were drunk. They demanded more liquor, but Thornburg refused to sell them any. Collini tried to go behind the bar, and Thornburg pushed him back. Pitts shot Thornburg five times with a .32 caliber revolver. Both men were promptly arrested (SMN, 12/4/96).

The fire chief claimed both men had been suspended from the force at the time of the shooting. Collini had been suspended for being drunk on duty and Pitts for some difficulty he had with a citizen (SMN, 12/5/96).

Pitts was charged with murder, and tried for the first time on January 16, 1897. The defense attorney argued self-defense. The jury was out for 65 hours. It ended in a mistrial (SMN, 1/17/97). The second trial ended on February 8, 1897, with a verdict of voluntary manslaughter with no recommendation. Pitts received 15 years in prison. No new trial was requested (SMN, 4/9/97).

case 3-Fred Olsen.

On December 4, 1901, Fred Olsen, a Norwegian seaman, and another seaman were drunk. Patrolman R.F. Dooley heard them using profane language. When Dooley approached them they became rowdy so he attempted to arrest them. When they resisted, Dooley took out his club which Olsen promptly grabbed. Olsen struck Dooley over the head. Dooley fell and as he was getting up, Olsen struck him again. As he got up a second time, Dooley pulled his revolver and fired once. The .38 caliber bullet entered just below Olsen's heart. The other seaman ran. When he was caught, police found him carrying a revolver and a pair of brass knuckles (SMN, 12/5/01). Olsen died on December 6, 1901. A day later, the coroner's jury found the killing to be justified homicide (SMN, 12/8/01).

officer and black female victim.

case 1-Sarah Dixon.

On November 5, 1902, Sarah Dixon was quarreling with Lottie Holzendorf. Policeman Hicks attempted to arrest Dixon but she ran into her house. After Hicks pursued and eventually placed the woman in custody, she was sent to the Georgia Infirmary because of her injuries sustained during the arrest. She then was sent home and died on November 29, 1902. Her son-in-law took out a warrant for manslaughter against Officer Hicks. He was arrested but posted bond. The department immediately suspended Hicks from the police force and the case was rushed to Superior Court.

According to Hicks, the woman invited him into her home and then became agitated when he told her she was under arrest. She jumped out of a window, a distance of several feet, and fled. Hicks jumped out of the same window and caught her. She fought with him all the way to the police box. He threw her to the ground and called for assistance. Hicks stated that at no time did he strike her. He saw blood on her foot and assumed that occurred when she jumped out of the window. She had a broken ankle, fractured ribs and a wound in the back (SMN, 11/30/02). The grand jury returned no bill on December 5, 1902 (SMN, 12/6/02).

Summary

In the eight cases involving law enforcement officers and a black male suspect, seven cases entailed an arrest. In the cases of Smith, Rutledge, Hunter, Fripp, Blending, and Harvey, each was shot after reportedly attacking the police officer. In the Hamilton case, Hamilton supposedly threw something at the officer during the burglary. In these cases the officers were exonerated. In the Brooks case, an ex-police officer and a constable were involved in the killing. Both were sentenced to 15 years.

Of the three cases involving a law enforcement officer/fireman and a white male victim, one resulted in an arrest. Olsen attacked the officer with his own club and the officer fired to protect himself. The officer was exonerated of wrongdoing. In the Wyness case the police officer was given life imprisonment. In the Thornburg case the firefighter received 15 years.

In the three non-arrest situations, Brooks, Wyness, and Thornburg, all began in a "free and easy" and the perpetrators had been drinking alcohol.

In the one case in which the officer was charged by a family member for beating a black female to death, authorities believed she was injured either by trying to escape, by the restraint of the officer, or a combination of both. The coroner's jury maintained that her resistance brought about her death.

military homicide.

One homicide occurred in this era that was committed by a military officer while on duty acting in a police capacity. This has not been included in the above "law enforcement" section but belongs in this chapter.

According to Lieutenant Frank Z. Curry, in his capacity as a provost guard, he was checking passes of enlisted men on the evening of January 10, 1899. When he got to the Pink Light Saloon he asked Private Leo Reed, another white male, for his pass. Reed, who did not have a pass, ran out through the door in the front of the saloon. According to Curry, he ran out after him and shouted "halt," which went unheeded. He took out his issued Colt revolver and shot Reed in the back. The local coroner felt this was an "unprovoked and cowardly" shooting, but he had no jurisdiction in the case because the military put Curry under arrest and held him for court martial.

Lieutenant Curry had an excellent reputation among his men, except when he was drinking. Curry was drunk that evening and after shooting Reed from a few feet away, lowered his gun and turned himself in to the Provost Marshall (SMN, 1/11/99). The official charge against Lieutenant Curry was manslaughter and though under arrest, he was allowed to accompany his command to Cuba with the court-martial date not set (SMN, 1/12/99).

Three months later the local Solicitor General Osborne received a message from the War Department that they were not going to try Curry and were turning the case over to him in order that "there be no delay in bringing him to trial." A deputy sheriff went to Augusta to retrieve the prisoner (SMN, 4/8/99). Curry's attorney, Captain Pottle, stated that his client was not intoxicated at the time of the shooting and did what was right and expected of him (SMN, 4/9/99).

On May 25, 1899, the grand jury returned no true bill. A number of reasons are postulated. First, the fact that the military took over the case meant that little local investigation was done. Second, many of the witnesses were scattered all over the United States after the end of the war. Third, Curry would have to be tried according to military law which meant he may have been justified. If he was a local officer, he would have had no right under the circumstances to shoot and a conviction would have been probable (SMN, 5/26/99).

1986 to 1993

There were a total of four homicides committed by on-duty Savannah police officers in the years 1986 to 1993. No homicides were committed by any other state or federal officers in the city limits during that period nor were any homicides committed by off-duty police officers. Three of the

decedents were black males, and one was a white male. The coroner's jury ruled all four justifiable. The Internal Affairs Office provided data on these cases and the author assisted in the investigation of each incident. As with other recent-era cases officer and suspect names are not reported here.

officer and black male victim.

case 1-December 15, 1987.

The victim and another black male had previously robbed Ryan's Steakhouse in Savannah. Information from a confidential informant was received by the SPD that The Mill Bakery and Eatery was going to be robbed on December 15, 1987. The SPD decided to stake out the restaurant. At least 10 officers had been placed in strategic positions. Shortly after 11 p.m., the employee, following the suspect's instructions, went out the back door with a bag of trash. The suspect put a revolver in the employee's back and pushed him back in, accompanied by the suspect's accomplice. When everyone was inside, an SPD sergeant yelled "Police, don't move." The employee dropped to the floor. The victim lunged toward a white male SPD lieutenant with a .38 caliber revolver pointed toward him. The sergeant fired twice from his .38 caliber revolver, missing the suspect and hitting a large freezer. The lieutenant fired once with a 12-gauge shotgun at the suspect's head, from approximately two feet away. The suspect was dead before he hit the floor. Though the accomplice fled out the back door, he was immediately captured. The SPD lieutenant was 37 years old and had 15 years of duty with the SPD.

case 2-April 22, 1988.

Shortly before 11 p.m., the wife of the suspect called the police saying that she needed help because her husband was causing a problem. A black female officer and a white male officer, riding separately, were dispatched to the call. Upon arrival, the wife said that she wanted her husband taken to a detoxification center. When the officers told her it was against department policy to transport citizens for this purpose, she stated her husband had said "there would be a killing" if he stayed there. She advised the officers that he was in the back bedroom. When asked if he had access to any weapons, she replied he had access to a gun but didn't know if he actually had it with him or if it was loaded.

The officers proceeded to the back bedroom to find that the door was closed. The male officer positioned himself in the bathroom, while the female officer positioned herself in the hallway. The female officer asked him to come out. He said that he "had his dick in his hand." She asked him to put it away and come out. He came through the door in his underwear and tanktop with a Smith & Wesson .357 Magnum revolver and immediately shot the male officer in the abdomen. Although the officer's bullet-resistant vest stopped the bullet, the impact sent him backwards. The male officer began firing as he went down, shooting six times, with three shots hitting the

victim. The female officer also emptied her revolver, with five of the six shots hitting the victim. The male officer's shots hit the victim in the leg and the female officer's bullets hit him in the chest and side, causing death. The victim's blood alcohol level was .27.

case 3-February 17, 1989.

At approximately 3:40 a.m., a white male 20-year veteran police officer was on patrol. A 28-year-old black male waved him over. The officer pulled into a parking lot to talk with him. The officer saw in his rear-view mirror that the suspect had a large tree branch and was running toward him. The victim yelled as he ran, "You're the motherfucker I've been looking for." The officer opened the door and had one foot on the ground when the suspect came up parallel to the door and swung a four-foot tree branch at him. He missed and the officer yelled, "Back up." The suspect swung again, just missing the officer. The officer yelled, "Back up" again, as he drew his revolver and pushed himself back into the patrol car. The officer was on his back with his legs still outside the car when the suspect swung a third time. The officer fired four shots from his .38 caliber revolver hitting the suspect twice. These shots were fired in 1.55 seconds and were recorded by a surveillance camera in a nearby store. The deceased later tested positive for 0.3 milligrams per liter of cocaine.

Witnesses corroborated the officer's version of the incident claiming the suspect had two large sticks in his hands. The victim's mother said that he had a history of mental problems and was receiving out-patient care from Tideland's Community Mental Hospital. At bedtime, he was supposed to take two tablets of Prolixin (10 mg.) and one tablet of Benzotropine Mesolate. Prolixin is used to treat schizophrenia and Benzotropine Mesolate is used to treat depression. The family believed he had not taken his medicine. Between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m., the victim had gotten out of bed, claiming he was hearing voices and that somebody was going to kill him. He rushed out of the house and shortly thereafter confronted the police officer.

officer and white male victim.

case 4-November 13, 1993.

A domestic incident began when a 33-year-old white male came home and started arguing violently with his wife. They had been arguing for three days about Christmas money, and she had put his clothes in garbage bags, planning to put him out of the house. When he came home she was on the phone and he started taking her clothes off a rack, as if his intent was to put her out of the house. He then hit her several times with his fist, knocking her down. Her 10-year-old son from a previous marriage called the police and the husband went after the son. When his wife tried to intervene, he grabbed her and dragged her outside. She got away and went to a neighbor's house to wait for the police. The subject had gotten violent one other time in July, when he had been drinking.

In response to the son's telephone call, two officers were dispatched to the scene where a 33-year-old white male had been beating his wife. When the two white male officers got out of their cars, the wife yelled, "I'm over here!" She came toward them and they observed blood on her face. She told the

officers that her husband had inflicted the wounds. The officers observed the suspect standing in the driveway near the porch. The wife asked the officers not to let her husband back in the house. One officer ordered the subject to stop where he was. The subject ran to the front of the house and through the front door. The officers pursued him and heard the suspect in his bedroom. Officers positioned themselves on both sides of the bedroom door with drawn Glock .45s. One officer yelled at the subject to come out so they could see his hands. This officer did a quick peek in and yelled "drop the gun, drop the gun, drop the gun, or I will shoot you!" as the suspect finished loading the revolver, closing the cylinder, and then pointing the gun at the officer from just 16 sixteen inches away. As the officer pulled his head back, he fired four rounds into the bedroom. The other officer looked around the door frame and saw the suspect clutching his chest with his gun on the floor by his hand. The officer who did the shooting was a seven-year veteran of the police department.

The victim was hit by two bullets, one of which pierced both lungs and the heart, causing death. The victim tested negative for drugs but had .22 grams% of ethyl alcohol in his system.

Summary

In the first case, the police allowed the commission of the crime in order to catch the criminals in the act. They were prepared, using special weapons and tactics. The criminal was killed when he turned his gun toward a police lieutenant. In the second case, two officers responded to a domestic call. The husband, who was extremely drunk, came out of the bedroom shooting. The two officers returned fire. In the third case, an officer was attacked by a mental patient with a large branch. In the fourth case, officers responded to a domestic dispute. This was much like the second case, except the officers did not allow the suspect to shoot first. In all four cases, the officers were defending themselves from attack when they took the life of the victim.

Discussion

It is possible that the accuracy of the circumstances surrounding the law enforcement killings in the two different eras may be the most divergent of any in this book. In the latter era, the police department thoroughly investigated the four cases. Citizens, government officials and the

surviving family and friends of the victim scrutinized the use of lethal force by Savannah police. The threat of criminal and civil charges also hangs over officers in the present era. A detailed description of use of force and its investigation can be found in McLaughlin (1992).

In the era from 1896 to 1903, we can be confident in much of the data, such as weapon used, time, date, location of occurrence, and victim characteristics. The circumstances are described, but because we only have newspaper accounts, with no corroboration from any official records, some of this information could be inaccurate. It would seem that police officers were given a greater benefit of the doubt in this era. During the period of Jim Crow laws, which regulated the social behavior of blacks, it would seem that the white power structure would certainly grant greater discretion to law enforcement officers regulating the criminal behavior of blacks. Geller (1982) feels that any worker, under an employer's scrutiny, would try to put his actions in the best light. This would certainly apply to police officers when discussing their motivation and conduct of a lethal force incident. This also applies to recent shootings.

Of the 123 cases of homicide that were recorded from 1896 to 1903, 10 killers were police, one killer was an ex-officer working in concert with a constable, and one killer was a fireman. This totals 12 homicides by officials acting under the color of law. Eight of the victims were black males. The population of Savannah in 1900 was 54,244. The number of black males was 12,746. This means that the official rate of killing for the population was one death for every 4,520 citizens. The official rate of killing for the population of black males was one death for every 1,593

black male citizens.

Of the 246 homicides that were recorded from 1986 to 1993, four killers were police officers. Three of the victims were black males and one victim was a white male. The total population of Savannah in 1990 was 137,560, of whom 38,947 were black males. The official rate of killing for the population was one death for every 34,390 citizens. The official rate of killing for the population of black males was one death for every 12,982 black male citizens.

Wilbanks (1984) found that in the peak years of his homicide reports in Dade County (1925 to 1926), 18% of the homicides were committed by the police. He then compared these data to 1980, when 2% of the homicides were done by the police, indicating that a Dade citizen was nine times more likely to be killed by the police in 1925 to 1926 than in 1980.

Reasons for the Decrease in Law Enforcement Homicides

It is impossible to rank the reasons explaining the extreme drop in law enforcement homicides but some reasonable speculation is possible.

First, the crime rate was not known with any accuracy. The arrest rates were published in the Mayor's Annual Report, but the discrepancies concerning homicide have already been mentioned. If there were a much higher rate of violent crime during that era, it would seem that police had to deal with more violent offenders. In addition, police officers were much more likely to use force in this era and in greater degrees. Physical

coercion could still be used in eliciting confessions and police did not countenance disrespect.

Second, punishment was very harsh at that time, especially for black males. If a black male had committed murder or rape, there was a strong possibility he would forfeit his life. If he committed a lesser crime, he could get a sentence of 20 years at hard labor on a chain gang where the conditions were horrendous. It would seem that suspects would have a strong motive to try to avoid capture. In the modern era there is little threat of capital punishment and inmates do not have to work, certainly not at hard labor. It is also possible that some criminals believe they can get away with the crime, even if caught, by manipulating the criminal justice system.

Third, there has been a great change in the law concerning the use of lethal force by law enforcement officers. In the era from 1896 to 1903, a suspect for even a misdemeanor offense could be considered a fleeing felon when he ran from the police, since escape was defined as a felony. And fleeing felons could be shot. After the landmark Supreme Court decision in Tennessee vs. Garner, deadly force can only be used on those who have committed a violent crime and still have the means to commit more violence. It would seem that in all of the cases involving the police and black males, from both eras, some sort of force was used against the officer. Geller (1992, p. 36) offers some reasons why the rates of deadly force by police officers may drop:

1. Policies narrowing officer shooting discretion.
2. Violence-reduction training to help officers abide by a "shoot only as a last resort" policy.

3. Use of modern communications equipment and interagency cooperative arrangements that enable officers to summon whatever assistance they may need.
4. Protective equipment, such as lightweight soft body armor suitable for routine wear by officers, and so-called "less than lethal weapons."
5. Strong personnel policies, supervision of line officers, and fair but firm accountability up the chain of command for inappropriate officer aggressiveness and for deficient firearms training, procedures, and practices.
6. Counseling for officers who desire help in dealing with job and other stresses and with post-shooting trauma.
7. "Cultural awareness" training to sensitize officers to ethnic, religious, or other group traits that might have a bearing on the officer's appraisal of a suspect's dangerousness and on the officer's ability to reduce it.
8. Departmental reward systems honoring equally both an officer's decisiveness in using deadly force when necessary and his or her ability to resolve situations by less violent means when that option is available.

Fourth, in both eras 75% of those killed by police were black. Takagi (1974) postulated that police have one trigger finger for whites and one for blacks. If this supposition is true and considered only in our justifiable shootings (i.e. legal, but possibly not moral or ethical), it may be that officers will subconsciously give a white suspect an extra second to respond because they are not perceived as so threatening to officers. On the other hand, it may be that officers should shoot sooner at whites. This is an emotional area of inquiry for researchers, and no academic should venture any sweeping observations without sound scientific proof. Fyfe (1981) found that blacks were over-represented as police shooting victims because they were over-represented among lower socio-economic groups and in participation in activities that were likely to receive violent police reaction but not overreaction.

Fifth, there could be a combination of elements such as where the officer was assigned, his or her training and length of service, that had a bearing on the shootings. Of the 12 homicides committed by government intervention from 1896 to 1903, one was committed by a deputy sheriff and one by a fireman. The other 10 were committed in nine cases by current SPD privates and the remaining one was committed by a recently fired private (Sullivan) who was acting in concert with a city constable. The information on the years in which the officers were hired and when they left the department was obtained from the Savannah City Directory for the years 1895 to 1906. In 1907, the Directory stopped printing the names of SPD police privates.

The Savannah City Directory was published at the beginning of the year, based on data gathered from the previous year. The following table gives a rough approximation of time on the job before the homicide took place, and how long some of those officers remained Savannah Police privates. Under the subtitle "HIRED," no listing means that the officer had been employed less than a year.

Table 6.1. The Length of Service of Savannah Police Officers
Who Committed Homicide from 1896 to 1903

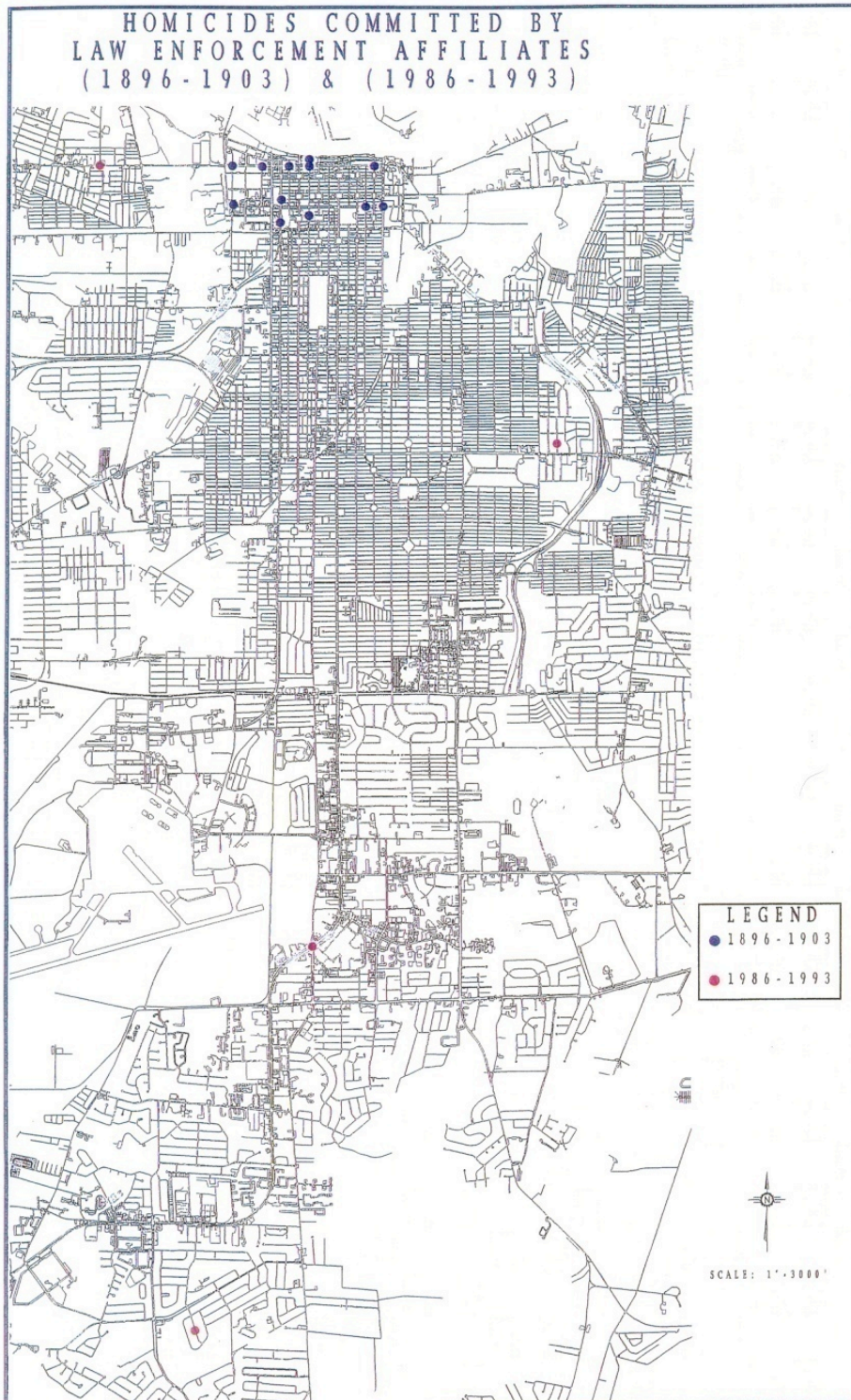
Officer	Hired	Homicide	Gone
Sullivan	no listing	1896	1896
Bradley	1895	1896	1902
Guilfoyle	1896	1896	1899
Garity	1897	1898	1899
Bryant	1902	1902	after 1906
Malphus	1902	1903	after 1906
Miller	1899	1903	after 1906
Kearney	no listing	1896	1896
Dooley	1900	1901	1904
Hicks	1899	1902	after 1906

In interpreting the above table, giving the benefit of the doubt in the direction of the longest time served before the homicide occurred; the average would be just over a year. All 12 homicides took place in the area of the city near the river, which contained saloons, a waterfront, brothels, and other potentially violent places. Historically, we know that new officers are usually assigned to patrol in the geographical areas with the highest crime rates. Coupled with no formal training and no discernible selection process, it is possible that all these factors made the use of lethal force by the police more likely.

In the era of 1986 to 1993, the four police homicides were scattered over the city. The average length of service by the officers was approximately 15 years. The map below depicts the geographical locations in which the homicides occurred. The blue circles represent the 1896-1903 era and the

red circles represent the 1986-1993 era. It should be kept in mind that the city limits in the earlier era stopped about in the middle of the map from the top down. The clustering of blue circles in one small area is contrasted to the wide separation of the red circles.

Map 6.1. Map of Locations of Homicides Committed by Law Enforcement Officers in Savannah: 1896 to 1903 & 1986 to 1993



Law Enforcement Officers Killed in the Line of Duty

There were only two cases of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty, one in each era.

1896 to 1903

The February 16, 1901 incident, as reported by the Savannah Morning News, relied upon the report of a black male:

Walter Burns ... said: "I was at a dance at Jones' bar on Margaret and West Broad Streets last night. I left thereabout 1:30 o'clock in the morning. [Walter] Brooks, a woman and a boy were coming down West Broad street. Brooks was raising sand. I passed them and the woman said, "Don't let this man hit me." I said, "what in the devil is the matter with you all." Brooks said, "What in the --- have you got to do with it." I said, "I have not got anything to do with it." Brooks went down for his gun and said, "-- --- it, don't have nothing to do it." I saw that he was going to shoot and ran across the street, and I turned my side to him. He fired once and when I saw that he shot me, I started to follow him and he ran across the street. I told him that he need not run, that I was going to have him ... arrested There were two shots. I came out into Jefferson street. I saw the policeman [SPD Officer Harry Fender] lying on the street grunting and another officer had just come up...." (SMN, 1/17/01)

It is of interest, in light of the redundant series of events after the trial, to reflect on the testimony of Patterson, a witness to the shooting.

Patterson has positively identified Henry Brooks, the negro held by the coroner's jury, as the slayer of Officer Fender. He saw the negro both before and immediately after the shooting and heard all that transpired.

"My attention was first attracted by hearing the policeman say, "I'll have to arrest you." The mulatto negro with the high hat said: 'Stand off or I'll shoot you.' At that time I was on the eastern side of Jefferson street at the lane, and directly opposite where the policeman and the man with the high hat were talking. The policeman was facing the north fence. He said again, 'I'll have to arrest you.' The negro then backed off to the side of the sidewalk and said, '-- --, I'll kill you.'

"I heard the first shot fired and looked across the street.

Then I saw the second shot fired. I saw the negro pull the trigger. The policeman fell to his knees, but got up again and made an effort to get the pistol. I saw a flash, then a third shot was fired. I walked on toward Liberty street, and did not think that there was very much the matter. The man with the high hat came right up to where I was with the tall black man. The man who did the shooting gave the pistol to the tall negro, and said, 'Here, you take the pistol, because I don't want them to find the pistol on me.'" (SMN, 2/18/01).

Brooks's trial began on March 26, 1901, and ended the next day. The jury was out for an hour and came back with a verdict of guilty. Brooks received a death sentence. Brooks's attorneys appealed for a new trial, and learned that it would not be granted on November 7, 1901.

Although supposed to be executed in January, the Governor had sent a letter to the Sheriff that provided a respite for execution. He said in part, "there is grave doubt as to the guilt of said Henry Brooks on account of the character of the evidence upon which he was convicted...." This letter was responded to by the Solicitor General W.W. Osborne, who took great exception because he prosecuted the case (SMN, 1/2/02, p. 6).

He was sentenced a second time to hang but the sentence was commuted to life in prison by Governor Candler on February 8, 1902 (SMN, 3/28/01, 11/7/01, 11/24/01).

It can only be conjectured why the Governor commuted the sentence. After reading the testimony of Patterson, it seems almost as if he read a script prepared for him. In addition, his testimony is not credible. To think that he could watch a police officer shot in front of him, be close enough to hear the defendant make incriminating statements and then just continue on his way, is implausible. The Governor may have felt Brooks was guilty based on the circumstantial evidence but could not accept perjured testimony and was showing his displeasure by reducing the sentence.

1986 to 1993

Of all of the case files examined, the most extensive investigation done by the SPD was on the murder of an SPD officer. Three large folders contained an extensive quantity of information. The police presence on the street after the shooting was massive. In fact, a suspect in an earlier shooting was captured during this manhunt.

On August 19, 1989, Officer Mark MacPhail, a 27-year-old white male, was working off-duty at the Greyhound Bus Terminal. He was in full uniform, including his bullet-resistant vest, and carried a department issued sidearm. At approximately 1:18 a.m., he noticed Troy Davis, a 20-year-old

black male, hit another black male, Larry Young, on the right side of the head, in a parking lot across from the terminal. Officer MacPhail left the property and was acting in his on-duty capacity. Because of the darkness, he failed to see the .38 snub-nose revolver with which Davis was hitting Young. MacPhail attempted to stop the fight and was shot in the left side of the chest, where he was unprotected by the body armor. Davis then shot the officer in the head as he lay on the ground. The officer's gun was still snapped in his holster.

A witness said that Davis had the gun in the poolroom. He had been arguing with another man earlier that evening. After Davis fled the scene, he told a friend that as the officer lay on the ground he was saying "Help me." Davis said that he walked over and said "Rest in peace, bye-bye", and then shot him in the head. Davis had been arrested a year and a half before with a false identification and carrying a concealed handgun. Two months before the shooting he was arrested for reckless driving, speeding and an improper tag.

At trial Davis was found guilty and given the death penalty. He was the only subject receiving the death penalty. (Author's note: Davis was executed September 21, 2011)

Conclusion

In both cases in which police officers were killed in Savannah, each of them was trying to arrest a black male who had harmed another black male. Both suspects received the death penalty. This was commuted in the first instance, and the second has not yet been carried out.

The willingness of police to use force in the years of 1896 to 1903, and the harsh treatment of subjects who harmed police, may have kept the police safe. The use of bullet resistant vests may have kept the officers safe from most lethal attacks with a firearm from 1986 to 1993. Without additional data and further research, the findings in Chapter 6 make it impossible to come to any definitive conclusion.

Chapter 7-Capital Punishment

Introduction

Eight black men were executed in Savannah from 1896 to 1903. Nobody was executed in Savannah in the era of 1986 to 1993. There were a number of reasons why only black males were hanged in the earlier era. Only whites served on grand juries and trial juries, though blacks served on some coroner's juries. Whites may have had more access to attorneys and may not have been as intimidated by the legal process. Blacks were also involved in certain homicides that were viewed by white jurors as extremely brutal, premeditated, or dangerous to the community.

Each case of execution will be presented and some reasons will be given as to why nobody has been executed in the modern era, even though over twice the number of homicides occurred.

Early History

Two years after the founding of Savannah, the first legal hangings took place. William Wise was an Irishman who was considered so immoral during his voyage from England that the officials tried to send him back. He had two Irish servants, Alice Riley and Richard White. They were convicted of drowning him. White was hanged first but Riley's death had to wait until she bore the child fathered by White. After the child's birth, Riley was hanged. The only form of execution for whites was hanging but the court

could decide on the type of execution for blacks. Most were hanged but a few were burned at the stake in the early days of Georgia (Coulter, 1973).

Harsh treatment against individual slaves who were charged with crimes of violence was condoned, even when the evidence showed that the slave acted in self-defense. The whites' fear of a mass revolt by slaves was real. The white jury could send a message that any slave using physical force, no matter what the reason, would be treated without mercy (Proctor, 1965). The control of slaves became more difficult as emancipation loomed. In Hancock County, 18 slaves were hanged in 1863 for attempting to incite insurrection. Slaves who attempted to flee their owners to meet the Northern armies could be accused of insurrection (Drago, 1973).

An example of this double-standard in sentencing was in Houston County, Georgia. Houston County has traditionally been the peach center of the state. Only 26 cases involving slaves were taken to the courts from the founding of the county until after the Civil War. Twelve of the 26 were capital cases and included murder, rape, arson and attempted murder. All of the accused were convicted and hanged. In the same time period, three white men were charged with killing slaves. Two of them were exonerated and one fled the country before trial (Flander, 1928). In many cases, when a slave killed his owner, the slave had recently been whipped or threatened with physical punishment (Flander, 1930). In 1821, the death penalty was not required for all capital crimes when slaves were convicted. According to Coulter (1957):

In 1821 the law on slave crimes allowed the court the ameliorating power in certain capital crimes to pronounce sentences less than death: but the following crimes *must*

be punished by death: insurrection or attempt at it, rape on a free white female or attempt at it, murder of any person, and poisoning. The other capital crimes were these: assaulting a free white person with intent to murder or with a weapon likely to produce death, maiming a white person, burglary, arson, and attempting to poison any person (p. 239).

Lynching

Another factor that hangs over the entire process of legal execution is the practice of lynching. This was the taking of suspects by a mob of citizens and executing them without legal process. MacLean (1994) states that in Georgia, from 1882 to 1934, 549 people were lynched, of whom 510 were black and 39 were white. Between 1885 and 1922, only one person was prosecuted for lynching. Brundage (1993) listed every recorded lynching that took place in Georgia from 1880 to 1930. Although hundreds of lynchings were documented, none occurred in Savannah and only one occurred in Chatham County. The Savannah Police saved two blacks from being lynched by other blacks in Woodville. It seems that two black males, Berrien and Williams, had gotten into a fight with a well-liked black male, Greene, in Woodville, which was outside the city limits. Greene was shot, and a mob of approximately 200 blacks armed with clubs, pistols, shotguns, and rifles attempted to capture them. They both barricaded themselves, Berrien in a house, and Williams in a grocery. They were both happy to have the police take them into custody and save them from certain death (SMN, 2/15/97).

The lynching that did occur in Chatham County involved Allen Brooks, a black male, was thought to have raped a white woman. He was lynched on April 3, 1900. The following account was found in the Savannah Morning News (4/500).

Allen Brooks, the negro who assaulted Mrs. F.W. Hart, near the little town of Bloomingdale, Monday afternoon, was captured by the husband of the woman he had wronged early yesterday morning and two hours past noon paid

the dreadful penalty of his crime.

The body of the negro, with the neck broken, riddled with bullets so that a hand cannot be placed anywhere upon it without covering half a dozen holes, lies upon the ground three miles from Bloomingdale, beneath an oak tree, from a limb of which Brooks was hanged. The locality is deserted, few have been to view the body, and it has been left as food for the buzzards that are the only visitors to the spot.

All of Monday night the parties of man hunters continued their search for the fugitive negro. The country for twenty miles about had been aroused and the men engaged in the hunt for Brooks covered every available avenue of escape...

The crowd surged about the prisoner and clamored for an even more fearful form of vengeance than hanging, but it had been determined by the more moderate that no act of barbarism should accompany the execution. Though it was to be illegal, it was to be conducted with decency and in order....

Sheriff Sweeny reached the spot about two hours after the hanging, and found nothing but the dead body.

In a report on lynching written by Raper (1933), he found that in 1930, the most economically deprived counties had the most lynchings. The Brooks lynching, recounted above, could be rationalized by the white population as necessary to protect white women from rape by black men. If the culprit was lynched, it also saved the woman the embarrassment of a public trial. This seemed to personify a lynching that would fit into the "racial domination model" where an execution helped to maintain the racial caste system. It may be more accurate to say that lynchings, especially before 1900, were seen as a self-help activity that made up for the lack of confidence that both whites and blacks had in the criminal justice system. This may be seen as the popular justice model. Whites were also lynched by whites and blacks were sometimes lynched by blacks. In some instances, the mobs were inter-racial when lynchings occurred (Corzine, Hugg-Corzine, & Nelsen, 1996).

Although Savannah was free of what would fit the modern media stereotypical lynching, one did occur in neighboring Bryan County. The Whitecaps (a southern synonym for Klu Klux Klan) hanged a black man and whipped another. They riddled the lynched black man with bullets. It seems that the decedent had brought a suit for back wages in federal court against his ex-white employer. The black man won a judgement in court but never lived to collect it. Two white farmers brought the news to Chatham County and made a complaint. They had found two hoods near the body, with the names of the owner's written inside. The federal officials said they had no jurisdiction and it would be up to the Sheriff to use this evidence in his investigation (SMN, 3/1/01, p. 10).

Many citizens who opposed lynching and would never be a participant, nevertheless, did not want any of those involved prosecuted. Their rationale was that the event was over and it only brought shame to the community to pursue justice.

It is possible that the members of Savannah juries, even if on a subconscious level, saw legal hangings as the surest way to prevent lynching in the city. It was better to give a black man a fast and "fair" trial and hang him as quickly as possible, so that a potential lyncher could not use the excuse that justice was not being served. In the above example concerning the lynching in Chatham County, the author divides the lynchers into moderate and excitable. The moderates dominated in this incident, because Brooks was lynched without being castrated. The threat of castration supplied reluctant participants in a lynching with reasons to proceed quickly. If the subject was hanged quickly, he would not suffer as

much. On August 17, 1902, the Savannah Morning News ran excerpts from an article in Leslie's Weekly by Associate Justice David J. Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States. He said:

What can be done to stay this epidemic of lynching? One thing is the establishment of a greater confidence in the summary and certain punishment of the criminal. Men are afraid of the law's delays and the uncertainty of its results. Not that they doubt the integrity of the judges, but they know that the rule of law abounds with technical rules, and that appellate courts will often reverse a judgement of conviction for a disregard of such rules, not withstanding a full belief in the guilt of the accused.

If all were certain that the guilty ones would be promptly tried and punished, the inducement to lynch would be largely taken away. In an address which I delivered before the American Bar Association at Detroit some years since, I advocated doing away with appeals in criminal cases. It did not meet the favor of the association, but I still believe in its wisdom.

Another example of this orientation toward capital punishment concerned a capital case in Savannah when Abe Cohen was the defendant (Case #8 in this chapter), as recounted in the Savannah Morning News (9/5/02):

In granting a supersedeas to the sentence of murder in the Cohen case, Judge Barrow took occasion to criticize in unmeasured terms the action of Cohen's counsel in presenting the bill of exceptions. He characterized such action as trifling with the sentence of the court, and gave it as his opinion that the law should be changed so as to give the judge discretionary power to refuse to grant a supersedeas in a case like the one at the bar, where a brutal murder has been committed without one single feature to mitigate it or excuse it.

"I grant the supersedeas in this case because I am compelled to", Judge Barrows says in his order. "In my judgment this is not a case in which there ought to be any delay further than the orderly administration of the law requires. It is just such trifling with the sentences of courts in such criminal cases as this, which causes the people to take the law into their own hands and do summary execution upon criminals of the worst class."

Savannah was involved in one of the last extra-legal killings in the state,

in a cursory manner. George Grant, a black man, was thought to have been in a shootout with a special police officer, about midnight on September 7, 1930, in Darien. He then fled and was pursued by a number of law enforcement officers. Chief Freeman of the Brunswick Police Department, a Brunswick deputy, and a local deputy found a black man, whom they thought was Grant, in the swamp. The man fired at them, hitting all three, and killing Chief Freeman. When the local Sheriff heard of what happened he thought that a race riot was going to occur, and requested the National Guard. A contingent of 18 guardsmen arrived from Savannah. Grant was captured the next day. He claimed another man did the shooting and surrendered a .32 caliber revolver. The law enforcement officers had been shot with a .38 caliber revolver. It is unknown if he had two guns and threw one of them away. The guardsmen took him into custody and while they allowed him to be struck over the head with pistol butts, they did not allow him to be lynched. They put him in the "bull pen" on the second floor of the jail. There were three ways into the "bull pen" area and the guardsmen left only one man to secure one entrance. Shortly afterward, four shots rang out from the second floor of the jail and Grant was dead. The guardsmen from Savannah did nothing to preserve law and order and acted as if they were subservient to the Sheriff until after Grant was dead and the Governor imposed martial law (Raper, 1933).

1896 to 1903

Contrast of Punishment of White versus Black

It is fairly clear that in the eight cases in which black males were hanged, they were guilty and had legal representation. In fact, in some of the

cases it was surprising the extent to which the lawyers for the accused went to keep their clients from the gallows. The contrast appears when examining cases in which white perpetrators committed equally shocking and premeditated crimes and did not get the death penalty. The editor of the Savannah Morning News made the following comments (9/12/97):

There is a question facing the good people of Georgia, which needs attention, and it is the necessity of punishment of crime in order to deter others from committing crime; and a change in the handling of criminal news by the press of the country. The whole country is congratulating itself because it has been found possible to hang one white man in Georgia, forgetting that there are hundreds who deserve hanging richly; some fugitive from justice and others awaiting in jail the never-tiring efforts of their attorneys to free them. In Macon, Ga., to-day there is in jail a criminal who committed as foul a murder as ever was done, three years ago, and who is not yet hung; solely because it has been possible for his attorneys by various means to stave off his execution until finally his crime is almost forgotten and he may go free and unwhipped of justice.

It is an outrage upon society, that our laws are so framed as to enable sharp and shrewd lawyers to cheat the gallows of its dues and turn loose upon the people a redhanded murderer so frequently as it is done.

Why is it that lawyers will fight step by step, spending valuable time and hundreds of dollars of their own money in their efforts to save the life of criminals they well know are guilty as hell itself; many times indeed get nothing for their services except the doubtful honor of having saved the life of a villain and a born criminal.

A poor thief, perhaps stealing to ward off starvation, may find no one to defend his case, while the worst criminal, without a dollar, can get the services of talented lawyers free because of the chances offered to win fame as a "criminal saver."

True, one white man has recently been hung in Georgia, but what is one hanging to an hundred murders? As I said, there must come about a change in the handling of the criminal news by the press, for so long as crime is written up as the work of a hero, depicting each horror as the work of an artist in crime, and printing disgusting news in detail of the criminals, every move and motion,

copied by a picture of the criminal as seen at various times, just so long then there will develop fools who for the sake of seeing themselves "the observed of all the observers," and the columns of the daily press prostituted to the publishing of their life's history, with cuts of the disgusting "mugs" thrown in, then so long, I say, will this crop of fanatical fools be with us with the ever ready weapon of murder for the sake of notoriety, pure and simple.

It is time to call a halt. Time to stop and think to what we are coming in this enlightened age.

The cases (described next) of Graham, Small, Charlon, Wright, Bowens, Scott, Simmons, and Cohen illustrate the consistency of white justice meted out for black capital crimes. All of these black men suffered the penalty of death.

In an examination of the decade from 1850 to 1860 in Savannah, the largest difference in punishment for whites and blacks was for major crimes. A white man stealing a horse or a slave would expect a penitentiary sentence of three years. If the same man killed the black, 30 days and a fine of \$300 would be the maximum punishment imposed by the court (Haunton, 1972). The following cases represent the legal executions occurring in Savannah from 1896 to 1903.

case 1-Bristow Graham.

On September 24, 1896, Bristow Graham shot and killed Ben Wilson, a black male, over a game of skin. Skin was a card game that was popular among gamblers. It seems that the game had been going on for some time when Graham beat Wilson, in front of the three other players. Wilson became angry and shook his fist at him. Graham left the room and retrieved a double barrel muzzleloading shotgun that he had been shooting earlier that day. He came back to the house by a different route and thrust the barrel of the gun through an open window. One of the other players cried out and, in the confusion, Graham could not get a clear shot. He ran around to the other side of the house. Wilson jumped out the window with a club in his hand and a shot rang out before he hit the ground. His cap was blown back through the window. Parts of Wilson's brain were found on the wall; death was immediate.

The amount of money that had been lost on the last hand had been 42 cents. Wilson was employed at the steamship wharf and was in charge of a truck gang

(SMN, 9/26/96).

Bristow Graham was indicted for murder by the grand jury of the Superior Court on January 4, 1897, found guilty of murder on January 8, 1897, and was to be executed on February 19, 1897 (SMN, 1/5/97; 1/9/97). His lawyer argued for a new trial, and the trial judge examined the case. On May 30, 1897, the judge said that there were no valid grounds for a new trial, but the execution date had passed so a new one was set, which was June 25, 1897 (SMN, 6/1/97). His sentence was stayed and it was not until April 8, 1898, that he was actually hanged (SMN, 4/9/98).

case 2-Abe Small.

Abe Small was executed on January 13, 1899, for the murder of J.C. Neve, a white male police officer who had been trying to arrest him. The murder took place four years before the execution. Abe Small was granted three different trials on this charge. His defense attorneys contended that another police officer had shot Officer Neve by mistake. The zealous defense of this case showed that the attorneys involved exhausted every legal avenue they could to save their client (SMN, 1/14/99).

The Savannah Tribune (4/11/96) commented on the decision of the

Georgia Supreme Court to give Abe Smalls a second trial:

It is one thing to resist lawful arrest, and quite a different thing to resist an assault or other crime upon the person of the party liable to be arrested; and the latter cannot be deprived of his right of self defense, either because the other party lawfully had him arrested, or because he knew that this was so.

It would seem that the court had some doubt about whether Smalls knew those arresting him were police and/or if the force was excessive. Smalls was convicted again in the second trial, but won still a third trial. The Savannah Tribune praised his lawyers, Ravenel and Mercer, for their tireless work in his behalf. The paper felt that the evidence was conflicting and that the state appealed to the prejudices of the jury. At the third trial, Smalls was convicted for the final time (4/2/98).

case 3-John Charlon.

On September 9, 1898 John Charlon, drunk and in a fit of rage against Kracken, a white storeowner who had struck him earlier in the day, accidentally shot and killed a white male, Harry A. McLeod, while shooting at Kracken. The trial was speedy and Charlon was convicted of murder on September 13, and sentenced to hang on October 28. A stay of execution was granted on October 19 (SMN, 9/14/98; 10/19/98), and he was not hanged until March 11, 1899 (SMN, 3/12/99).

case 4-Frank Wright.

Frank Wright was convicted of murdering his stepson, Amos Moy, a black male, outside the city limits of Savannah. He claimed he had no animosity toward the lad but was under the influence of alcohol at the time. Wright was

executed in Savannah by the Sheriff on April 28, 1899 (SMN, 4/29/99).

case 5-Toby Bowens.

Toby Bowens was convicted of killing his wife, Rosa, a black female. He hit her three times on the head with a bar of railroad iron on August 30, 1898, in their home. Bowens had been before the Recorder's Court a number of times for wife beating and just finished a 10-day sentence. Rosa Bowens would go out at night and come home early in the morning. Bowens was very jealous and this led to most of their quarrels (SMN, 8/31/98).

He was found guilty on September 15, 1898, and sentenced to hang on October 28, 1898 (SMN, 9/15/98). A stay of execution was granted on October 19, 1898. On April 28, 1899, the Georgia Supreme Court turned down his appeal (SMN, 4/29/99). He was hanged on May 12, 1899 (SMN, 5/13/99). Toby Bowens argued that when he went into his wife's room, he found another man. He tried to strike the other man but he fled. He then vented his rage on his wife. Prior to his execution, he said that he had made peace with his God and approached his death without fear (SMN, 5/12/99).

case 6-Iziah Scott.

Iziah Scott killed his wife, Marie, a black female, on May 5, 1899, with a single axe stroke to the head. Iziah's mother found the still-warm body at 8:30 p.m., half an hour after her son had left the home. Scott surrendered to the police the next night at 10 p.m. claiming that he had killed his wife accidentally. Scott told the police he had been chopping wood and accidentally hit his wife during one of the swings of his axe. He picked her up, put her in her bed, and tried to stop the flow of blood. She died while he was there. There was no blood except on the bed where Marie lay.

According to Scott, it was then that Amanda Field came to the door. She had stopped at the home to see Iziah's mother, right before he left the premises. He informed her that his mother was not in, but she noticed that Iziah was dressing, and not wearing shoes. Marie's father believed that Iziah murdered his daughter and wanted justice to take its course.

On May 7, 1899, Iziah confessed to the police. He said his wife and he quarreled. She called him a "nigger" and she was almost white. He said he killed her in another room. This story was not believed because there was no blood in that room (SMN, 5/6/99; 5/7/99; 5/8/99). He was found guilty of murder on June 13, 1899, and sentenced to hang on July 21, 1899 (SMN, 6/14/99). There was no appeal and the sentence was carried out on the date set (SMN, 7/22/99).

case 7-Robert Simmons.

Robert Simmons was hanged on January 30, 1903, for a crime he committed outside of the city limits of Savannah, in Chatham County (SMN, 1/31/03).

case 8-Abe Cohen.

Abe Cohen killed Susie Rogers, a black female, with whom he had been living, on July 3, 1902. He shot her with a revolver four times in a jealous rage

because of her supposed infidelity. They had quarreled the day before and she had gone to stay with her cousin. Cohen went to the house, had words with Rogers and killed her. When the police took him into custody, he said that he had put up with her long enough and was glad that he had done it. Abe said that while working in Fernandia, Florida, he had received a letter from a friend that outlined her infidelity. He had left his wife for Susie and felt she should have treated him like a wife would (SMN, 7/4/02).

He was tried on August 7, 1902, for murder. The entire proceeding took 40 minutes, including the 15 minutes the jury was out deliberating. Abe was found guilty and was sentenced to be hanged on September 5, 1902 (SMN, 8/8/02). A writ of supersedeas was granted and Abe was not hanged until July 11, 1903 (SMN, 9/10/02; 7/11/03).

Discussion

All of the men executed were black. Bowers (1974) says:

The evidence of racial discrimination in the administration of capital punishment suggests that the death penalty may have served as an instrument of *minority group oppression*--to keep blacks in the South in a position of subjugation and subservience. The fact that the death penalty for rape has been imposed primarily on blacks whose victims were whites suggests that the death penalty was used as an instrument of *majority group protection*--to secure the maintenance of a caste system of relations between the races, these two extra-legal functions would appear to be quite closely interrelated, but they are distinguishable and may be relatively independent functions of capital punishment in other times and places (p. 165).

All of those in Savannah who got the sentence of death from 1896 to 1903 committed murder; none committed rape. Seven of the eight homicides resulting in legal execution supply certain information about the victims. In the three cases in which black females were killed, two were married to the perpetrator and one was a common-law wife. All were sparked by the husband's jealousy. In the two cases in which black males were killed, one was over a card game, and the other over a relative by marriage, the perpetrators claimed alcohol intoxication as the cause. In the two cases in which white males were killed, one was a police officer killed in the line of duty, and the other was an innocent bystander, though the intended victim was white and had struck the perpetrator earlier that day.

None of the defendants were railroaded to the gallows. In only one of the six murders occurring in Savannah was the sentence not appealed. In the other cases, writs and appeals were filed, for example, the case of Abe Cohen. Myrick had defended Abe Cohen initially, and asked McCuen to take over and make a motion for a new trial. The grounds presented were that the verdict was contrary to the law and evidence in the case, predicated upon the discovery of evidence which would serve to mitigate, if not entirely change, the finding of the jury on the trial. The attorney then withdrew from the case because Cohen did not want a writ filed, nor had he paid him. Cohen at this time was resigned to his fate, had embraced Jesus Christ as his savior, and felt he was going home. A committee was formed to continue his fight for a new trial. The main argument put forth was that the judge should have instructed the jury that life imprisonment was an option if they found mitigating circumstances. The judge in the case was outraged by the formation of this committee, and said that it was trifling with the sentence of the court. He only granted supersedeas because he was required to. The judge said that these types of actions caused people "to take the law into their own hands and do summary execution upon criminals of the worst class."

As already stated, the fact that no white males were executed during the eight-year period showed unequal justice, as there were cases in which white males committed homicides that were equal to or worse than any of the black examples, without mitigating circumstances. Two examples will be offered, the Sweat and Mell cases:

Case 1-Henry Sweat

Henry Sweat was involved with Patrick O'Neill's wife, and they had a confrontation over it on October 7, 1898. O'Neill left the house in one direction and his wife in another. A drunken Sweat followed him, and stabbed him with a knife. O'Neill's two small children were with him when

he was stabbed. Sweat was convicted of murder on October 23, 1898, and sentenced to death. The newspaper commented that he was the first white man to be convicted of "out and out" murder. In other words, no recommendation for mercy accompanied the jury's verdict. He was sentenced to be hanged on April 10, 1899. His attorney appealed to the Supreme Court, which turned the appeal down. He was resentenced to be hanged on July 28, 1899. On July 19, 1899, Sweat's sentence was commuted by the Governor to life imprisonment because of the amount of influence his friends were able to bring. The Savannah Morning News commented (7/20/99):

While nobody in Savannah was anxious to see Sweat hang, there was unquestionably a feeling that a justifiable hanging of a white man would have a good effect on the community. Many persons, in discussing the matter, have dwelt upon the fact that there has not been a white man hung in Savannah in nearly seventy years, not withstanding the many violent crimes committed by white men, even in recent years, while, on the other hand, negroes who were guilty of murder have been convicted and hung with almost clock-like regularity. In many cases in which negro murderers received the death sentence there was not even an appeal to the Supreme Court, the law being allowed to take its course without interference after the case had been passed upon by the lower court. It has been rarely the case that members of their own race have interested themselves in their behalf.

A murder that occurred on October 3, 1899, would also seem to require the death penalty.

Case 2-William S. Mell

William S. Mell was a professional gambler. He was thrown out of work at a keno room (a place where gambling occurred), and drank and abused his wife of several years. On the morning of October 3, 1899, Mrs. Mell was ill. Her husband grabbed their three-year-old adopted child in a rough manner. Mrs. Mell pled to be given the child but to no avail. She left the house to go to her mother's and met her 15-year-old brother, James Buzbee. She told him to get the child and bring it to her mother's home. James went to the fence in front of Mell's home and asked for the child. Mell said he would kill James if he entered his house. The boy reached over the fence and picked up the child. Mrs. Mell had returned with her mother, Mrs. Black, by this time. Mell drew a revolver and fired one shot at the boy that missed. His wife threw herself between them and tried to stop another shot. Mell fired again and hit the boy in the stomach. The boy died shortly thereafter.

Mell said that he shot in self-defense, first saying the boy had a revolver then a club. In fact, the boy was unarmed, and was behind a fence separating him from Mell. The only thing he had in his hands was the child.

Mell was tried on January 18, 1890, and sentenced to death on March 2, 1900. His lawyer got him a second trial on December 10, 1900. His lawyer attacked

the reputation of Mell's wife and mother. On December 11, 1900, the jury found Mell guilty of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced him to 20 years at hard labor. Since it was later learned that on the first ballot, six of the jury voted for conviction while six voted for acquittal, the verdict was a compromise.

It should also be noted that while sentiment against capital punishment was not widespread, there were those who voiced objections. The following are excerpts from a letter to the editor of the Savannah Morning News (7/15/03) by G.B. Whaley:

...So does Holy Writ say that "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." This is the basis of all law commentators as the original and direct authority for capital punishment. Literally, the mandate of the Bible here could be as faithfully carried out, where one man stabs, shoots or otherwise carves up his fellow man with a knife to be taken before the people on the public square and the same punishment inflicted on him, yet who would not revolt at such a brutal spectacle! Of course it is a well fixed principle of law that the intentions of all punishment is to strike terror into others by the culprit's example, and thereby avoid and prevent a repetition of his crime in others. Does hanging do this? Did that execution in our county jail last Friday have that effect? Will it have the effect of deterring others by his example? This is the vital question now confronting us. These executions were formerly had in public. This was found by experience to be so demoralizing that it was prohibited, and now the law requires that execution be as private as possible.

Mr. Whaley presents a second argument that cites the cost of trying the prisoner, housing him in the jail, executing and burying him versus sending him to a penitentiary where he will work and contribute something to the rest of society.

During the era of 1920 to 1964, 417 legal executions by electrocution took place in Georgia. Twenty-two of these were offenders who had committed their crimes in Chatham County. Twenty-one had committed murder and one had committed rape. All were males and seven were white. This means that legal executions from the entire county averaged one every two years (Bowers, Pierce, and McDevitt, 1984).

1986 to 1993

Legal Executions

There were no legal executions of convicted murderers from Savannah from 1986-1993. All executions in Georgia now take place in Atlanta. Of all the findings in this study, this appears to be the biggest difference in the administration of justice. The primary reason for this was litigation over the death penalty, which was motivated by those opposing its use.

Challenges to the death penalty were based on a variety of grounds and seemingly endless delays occurred between the verdict of death and the execution actually occurring. A number of important death penalty cases that went to the Supreme Court occurred in Georgia, with the Furman case (discussed below) occurring in Savannah.

The Continuing Debate over Capital Punishment

There is a continuing debate over capital punishment. This is an issue that is emotional, and thus, highly political. Some arguments will be advanced on both sides of the debate.

There are a number of reasons put forth against capital punishment. The warden of Sing Sing Prison in the 1920s thought it served no purpose. He believed the only worthwhile argument for capital punishment would be if it were the only effective deterrent to capital crime. Based on his experiences with prisoners, he came to the conclusion that it did not deter. Although life is the most valued possession of an individual, the criminals who usually commit capital crimes, specifically murder, do not think of the

future possible punishment (Lawes, 1969). H.L.A. Hart offers three arguments against capital punishment. First, not only does the prisoner executed suffer, but many others also suffer. Second, once the death penalty is imposed, additional evidence of the victim's innocence, cannot reverse the sentence. Third, the components of the death penalty, which include a long trial, appeals, and the convicted inmate waiting a long time on death row, distorts the entire criminal process (Loeb & Cole, 1986). Draper (1985) argues that the death penalty violates the constitutional tenet against cruel and unusual punishment. It is cruel because the state is committing premediated homicide and it is unusual because only one out of a thousand murderers in like circumstances is executed.

Those who support the death penalty advance their own reasons. Van den Haag states that those who are against the death penalty cannot prove that it does not deter. We will never know how many did not commit a crime because of knowing others are punished. In fact, looking at prison sentences of varying lengths provides no statistics about how much time results in how much deterrence. Van den Haag also emphasizes that the reason judges dislike imposing the death penalty is that they have been indoctrinated as university students that it is cruel and obsolete. On the other hand, say Loeb and Cole, the populace supports capital punishment because they do not live in posh neighborhoods and they cannot afford such intellectual sentimentality (1986).

Reuben Greenberg (1997, p. 397), the flamboyant Chief of Police of Charleston, South Carolina, suggests that the death penalty, as presently applied, is not racially biased. He says the those who say it is biased

offer the following three arguments:

1. The death penalty is pronounced more often against blacks than whites.
2. The death penalty is imposed more often against blacks than whites.
3. The death penalty is not equally imposed against blacks and whites for the same crime.

Greenberg says that those who want an outcome-based death penalty (i.e., if blacks are 12% of the population, 12% of the death row inmates should be black) are simplistic. In addition, simple murder is not enough to get any criminal the death penalty. There must be aggravating circumstances. Finally, in 1994, only 40% of the death row inmates were black, which is less than the proportion of murders committed by blacks. In 98% of the instances nationwide where blacks are convicted of murder and sentenced to die, they have killed blacks.

While it is outside of the scope of this book to settle the continuing argument over capital punishment, enough opposition against the death penalty exists to slow the process and make it costly. The following court cases illustrate how it has become more difficult to impose the death penalty. The first landmark case mentioned, occurred in Savannah.

The Furman Case.

At approximately 2:30 a.m. on Friday, August 11, 1967, William J. Micke, Jr. was in bed with his wife in their home in Savannah. They both heard a noise "like someone stepping on a pan" in the kitchen. Micke, a 30-year-old white male Coast Guard petty officer, the father of four children and the stepfather of six others, got out of bed and walked into the kitchen. He was killed with a .22 caliber bullet that was fired through the back door of his home. Savannah Police arrested Henry Furman, a 25-year-old black male, hiding under a house several blocks from the Micke home. An officer told him to stop reaching for his pocket, and Furman was retrieved a gunpoint. Furman had a .22 caliber pistol in his pocket. It was sent to the crime laboratory for a ballistics test. (SMN, 8/12/67).

On September 20, 1968, Henry Furman received the death penalty for murdering Micke. The Federal Bureau of Investigation matched Furman's fingerprints with latents left in the house. The .22 pistol had been fired three times and death was caused by one of the bullets entering Hicke's chest. A statement was admitted which had been made by Furman to a police officer to the effect that he had come to the house to burglarize it. Furman contended he accidentally tripped when Micke came home late from a "moonlighting" job and the gun went off (SMN, 9/21/68).

On April 24, 1969, the Georgia Supreme Court rejected Furman's appeal. His lawyer based his appeal on two grounds. First, he said that jurors who did not believe in capital punishment were improperly excused. Second, he argued that his client's constitutional rights had not been explained to him (SMN, 4/25/69).

On June 29, 1972, in a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court said that the sentence violated the 8th Amendment, because it was cruel and unusual because it was so arbitrary. In other words, one jury may give death and another may not. It was unconstitutional not because it was the death penalty but because of the way the jury used its discretion in deciding who should die and who should not (Bowers, 1974). The issue of capital punishment was not settled by Furman. Two of the justices said that the death penalty was always unconstitutional, no matter what form it took. Five said that the death penalty was unconstitutional because of the way it was currently administered. Interestingly, eight of the nine justices were personally against the death penalty (Loeb & Cole, 1986).

Georgia continued to be a state that fought for the death penalty and a number of cases were appealed. In Gregg v. Georgia, Georgia tried to split trials into two phases. The first phase was when the jury determined guilt or innocence. Then the second phase was the penalty phase, which the jury could decide based on aggravating or mitigating circumstances. The Supreme Court agreed with Georgia, that this was an acceptable method of imposing the death penalty. In Coker v. Georgia (1977), the Court said that the rape

of an adult woman, where the victim is not killed, does not warrant death. In Eberheart v. Georgia (1977), the Court held that kidnapping, where the victim is not killed, does not warrant death. In Godfrey v. Georgia (1980), the Court said the aggravating condition under which Godfrey had been sentenced to death (his offense, in the language of the statute, was "outrageously or wantonly vile, horrible or inhuman in that it involved torture, depravity of the mind, or an aggravated battery to the person") is too broad and vague. And, in McCleskey v. Kemp (1987), the Court said that state death penalty statutes are constitutional even when statistics indicate they have been applied in racially biased ways. Racial discrimination must be shown in individual cases.

Conclusion

In Savannah, Troy Davis was convicted of killing Officer McPhail in 1989. Officer McPhail was working off-duty, in uniform and saw a confrontation across the street. He saw a black man being beaten and he interceded. He was shot by the criminal, a black male. While the officer was on the ground, Troy Davis walked back over and put a second bullet through McPhail's head. Troy Davis received the death penalty for this. It took the state over twenty years to carry out the sentence.

Homicides occurred twice as frequently from 1986 to 1993 as from 1896 to 1903. The number of murderers put to death dropped from eight to zero, while homicides increased. It does not appear that those who were executed were innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted. It is equally obvious that the imposition of the death penalty was based on race.

One parallel that exists between lynching and legal execution is the fact that these practices seemed to gradually fade. Lynchings in the United States declined from 1900 to 1930 until they became rare occurrences. Public sentiment shifted to the point where those who committed lynching were no longer safe from the law. The majority of people who previously might have considered lynching decided to let justice take its course in the form of legal hangings. Legal execution began to fade away too, primarily because of court challenges to their constitutionality. There were those in the criminal justice system, in the judiciary, public defenders offices and correctional system, who did all they could to stop the death penalties' imposition, even when the person had been sentenced to death. It remains to be seen if the death penalty will be resurrected as the ultimate punishment done in a timely manner.

On February 3, 1997, the American Bar Association's House of Delegates voted 280 to 119 for a moratorium on the death penalty. But at the same meeting, a supporter of the resolution said that the organization was not taking a position on the death penalty. (Carelli, 1997). In other words, the death penalty should not be used because it is unfair but this does not mean we are against the death penalty. It seems that there is still no clear message on capital punishment in the United States.

Chapter 8-Race, Alcohol/Drugs, and Guns/Medical Care

Introduction

In Appendix A, which contains a literature review, three factors were mentioned most often in homicides. These were race, alcohol, and guns. In the modern era, drug use can be added to the factor of alcohol. Current research and discourse mitigates against thinking of these factors as "causes" of homicide, as they were often labeled in the past. Yet, they are collaterally connected in some way, which, in public health parlance would be called "risk factors" rather than causes. The data collected on these factors in both eras will be presented with some contemporary comments. In addition, the factor of medical care will be discussed in the instrumentality section. In chapter 9, five other factors will be discussed.

A number of factors have been cited by different researchers as having some effect on homicide. One of the earliest attempts to differentiate and categorize the causes of homicide was done by Selling (1940). He studied 242 cases of murderers examined in the Psychopathic Clinic or the Recorder's Court in Detroit. He divided traits into static and plastic and then examined the fulminating circumstances surrounding the homicide. In Selling's view, static traits were unchangeable, and included sex, color, birthplace, intelligence quotient, and physical structure. Plastic traits were those which could change and included age, marital status, occupation, education, economic status, physical condition (including alcohol and syphilis), and mental factors. Controversy surrounds each of these factors. There is little agreement among researchers on which factors are the most

relevant, and how these factors relate to one another. Each of these factors will be discussed along with the data found for each era in Savannah.

An interesting facet of the tangible factors of alcohol, drugs, and weapons is that prohibition has always been suggested in this country. Alcohol was banned with the passage of the Volstead Act, which led to the rise of organized crime. It was finally repealed in 1933, after Americans realized the unintended costs of this legal ban (Fitzpatrick, 1974). Narcotic drugs were legal in the first era of homicide studied and illegal during the second era. The ownership of some weapons has been banned in various forms in different parts of the United States, and their possession or carrying under certain circumstances have been regulated even where ownership may be nominal.

Race

Chapter one broke down perpetrators and victims by race and sex in a number of tables. The following was extrapolated from the data. From 1896 to 1903, in 97 cases of civilian-versus-civilian homicide where the race and sex of the perpetrator was known, 66% of the perpetrators were black males. In 101 of the cases, where the race and sex of the victim was known, 51% were black males. From 1986 to 1993, in 223 cases of civilian-versus-civilian homicide where the race and sex of the perpetrator was known, 82% were black males. In 241 of the cases, where the race and sex of the victim was known, 63% were black males. In both eras, black males made up 23% of the total population in Savannah. When black female perpetrators are added, the total black perpetrator homicide involvement for 1896 to 1903 is 74% and

for 1986 to 1993, it is 92%. Two polar extremes of discourse on race have existed in America: race is meaningless or everything.

Early History

When James Oglethorpe founded Savannah, he banned the importation of slaves into the colony. Oglethorpe believed in slavery, but not in Savannah. He was a member of an enterprise that traded in slaves, the Royal African Company, and owned slaves on his plantation in South Carolina (Fancher, 1976; Grant, 1993). The reason that slavery was forbidden in Savannah was because the founders of Savannah believed that small farms were the best way to produce a utopian society. Large tracts of land belonging to individual landowners would prove less egalitarian. Only 50 acres of land was given to each of the colonists. A farm, garden, and house would have to find its place on this amount of property. This land was usually too poor to cultivate. The colonists could not sell the land and only male heirs could inherit. The ban on slavery was not based on morality. It was conjectured that slaves would destroy the initiative of whites, be a danger during times of war, and were not suited to the projected occupations in Savannah such as making wine and cultivating silk (Davis, 1976). It should be noted that those not on "charity" could buy large tracts of land consisting of hundreds of acres from the crown. Following is the list of reasons used by the Trustees of the Colony to specifically ask the Crown to ban slavery:

1. Poor settlers could not provide their food allowance.
2. The expense would be too great for the Trust, since the first cost of a black slave would be 30 pounds, or as much as passage money, tools and subsistence for a year for a white man.
3. The presence of blacks would be a constant menace to white women and children in the absence of the planters.
4. The Spanish would take every opportunity of luring away the blacks and inciting them to rebellion.

5. The blacks in Carolina were occupied in the cultivation of rice which was not a staple industry of Georgia.
6. Supposing the rich settler, going to Georgia at his own charge, should have a number of black slaves, it would discourage the poorer folk who went at their own charge. These were the people for whom the charity was intended and to force them to hire themselves out as overseers of the blacks would be to defeat the great purpose of the Trustees.
7. In that case, the rich planters would probably live away from Georgia.
8. If the poorer settler were tempted to mortgage his land to buy slaves, he might be tempted later to sell his slaves to the wealthy neighbor in order to meet his liabilities.
9. The Spaniards would be assisted in tempting the blacks of Carolina to Augustine if they could pass through Georgia. It would be much easier for such fugitives to escape notice if Georgia permitted blacks to reside there.
10. It was their considered opinion that the introduction of blacks would make for weakness, idleness, and inequality (Church, 1932, p. 161-162).

The Trustees further stipulated in the law that any slaves found in Georgia after June 24, 1735, would be forfeited to the Trustees and sold outside of Georgia.

In 1742, an act was passed that made the importation of black slaves legal as of January 1, 1750 (Candler, 1904). Some slave owners had moved to Georgia with their slaves and the local populace who had clamored for cheap labor just ignored Oglethorpe's edict. By 1754, 1800 slaves were in Georgia (Rice & Jackson, 1988).

In 1755, the new government passed a written slave code. It included such provisions as enslaving every Negro or mulatto in Georgia and prohibiting slaves from learning to read, write, or be in a trade. Slaves could not leave a plantation without permission in writing, and could receive 20 lashes if they did so. Indians were paid a bounty on a scalp from a runaway slave. But, as in all the other edicts that seemed to spring from Savannah

to the rest of the colony, Savannah seemed to be the first to ignore them. By law, no more than seven slaves could meet without a white person present, but in 1780 slaves were meeting in Yamacraw to read, write, and pray (Russell & Hines, 1992).

Blassingame (1973) felt that after the Civil War many blacks fled to Savannah. There was high unemployment for all races. Blacks lived all over the city, mainly because those who had been slaves were found to live near their former owners. By 1880, three areas were more than 50% black. These were Yamacraw and the two areas bounded by Broughton, Price, and Liberty Streets. In 1870, 27 different kinds of businesses were being operated by blacks. By 1880, 41 different kinds of businesses were being operated by 253 blacks. Housing patterns were relatively open in 1880. Most of the black churches and businesses were located outside the areas with the heaviest black populations. The per capita income was still low for the majority of the black population.

1896 to 1903

It is impossible to say that race is meaningless because in both of our eras, race has granted certain status. From 1896 to 1903, blacks lived under Jim Crow laws which made them second class citizens under the law. In addition, Georgia was still poverty-stricken from the aftershocks of the Civil War. This poverty was shared by all, but blacks bore it to a greater extent.

Two documents were found that mentioned black crime in Savannah during this era. The first is Some Notes on Negro Crime- Particularly in Georgia which

was part of the proceedings of the Ninth Conference for the Study of Negro Problems held at Atlanta University. This publication was edited by W.E.B. DuBois and contained the thoughts of prominent black scholars of that era. The second is a commentary by the Savannah Health Officer, Dr. Brunner, in 1906, that was submitted in his report to the city. Both of these publications were completed shortly after the last year of the earlier era of the current study. These discussions convey thoughts on crime that are contemporary to the data.

The following comments were made about Savannah's negro crime rate in Some Notes on Negro Crime-Particularly in Georgia:

Savannah has 54,244 inhabitants, of whom 28,090 are Negroes (1900). The most demoralizing agencies in Savannah are twelve or fourteen low dance houses, known as "Free and Easies," run in connection with saloons. They are great sources of crime and immorality. A large percentage of the murders and other offenses against the person are committed in them. In one month of this year two homicides occurred in them, besides numerous cutting affrays. It is probably safe to say these low dance halls are the greatest sources of crime in the city. Another source of vice and crime is a park for Negroes on the outskirts of the city. Here a low form of vaudeville is carried on. There is a saloon inside of the park and on the outside are low drinking places and other disreputable resorts. This park, if it furnished recreation and amusements of the proper kind, could be made a great agency for good to the city's large Negro population (p.50-51).

The amount of crime among the Negroes of Savannah could no doubt be reduced if all or some of the following things could be accomplished: The suppression of the Free and Easies; improved park facilities for the colored people so that recreation and amusement which would be uplifting and helpful could be furnished; the enforcement of the law respecting minors entering saloons and other questionable places; the establishment of a juvenile court and reformatory; better housing facilities; education for the mass of the Negroes respecting proper sanitary observances; an increase of the school facilities for colored children (p. 51).

The police commission in Savannah had also targeted the dance houses and

"free and easies" as problematic. They felt that they would have been banned long ago if they were not located in the "bad" part of town and frequented by blacks. Alcohol flowed freely and dances, including the "old time darky break-down to imitations of the latter day coochee-coochee," were performed. Three specific dance houses were cited for license revocation because of past criminal incidents (SMN, May 8, 1897, p.8).

The Health Officer's Report of 1906 contained some direct commentary to the politicians of Savannah. Dr. Brunner represented the enlightened and progressive white man of his era:

Is the negro receiving a square deal? Let this commission investigate the houses he lives in; why, in his race is tuberculosis increasing; why he furnishes his enormous quota to the chain-gang and the penitentiary; investigate the industrial insurance companies, the money-lenders, the installment furniture dealers and, finally, the matter of surplus population which is dangerous to this community and must contaminate its health and prosperity. Better the creation of such a commission, at least for this city and section than the theoretical gatherings at tuberculosis conventions and immigration congresses. The negro is with you for all time. He is what you will make him and it is "up" to the white people to prevent him from becoming a criminal and to guard him against tuberculosis, syphilis, etc.; if he is tainted with disease you will suffer; if he develops criminal tendencies you will be affected. You cannot observe these things without going where he lives in colonies in this city. Investigate them and you will soon learn that if he desired to improve his sanitary condition he could not do it. Observe the house he must live in; the food that he must eat and learn of all his environment (Brunner, 1906, pp. 163-64).

W.E.B. DuBois was a black scholar who was born in Massachusetts in 1868. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard, and taught at Atlanta University from 1897 to 1910 (Scott, 1995). The following are two lists that were found in W.E.B. DuBois's document concerning black crime. Both lists examine the cause of black crime by first examining the faults of blacks, and then by examining the faults of whites.

- A. Faults of the Negroes.
1. Abuse of their new freedom and tendency toward idleness and vagrancy.
 2. Loose ideas of property, petty pilfering.
 3. Unreliability, lying, and deception.
 4. Exaggerated ideas of personal rights, irritability and suspicion.
 5. Sexual looseness, weak family life and poor training of children; lack of respect for parents.
 6. Lack of proper self-respect; low or extravagant ideals.
 7. Poverty, low wages and lack of accumulated property.
 8. Lack of thrift and prevalence of the gambling spirit.
 9. Waywardness of the "second generation."
 10. The use of liquor and drugs.
- B. Faults of the whites.
1. The attempt to enforce a double standard of justice in the courts, one for Negroes and one for whites.
 2. The election of judges for short terms, making them subservient to waves of public opinion in a white electorate.
 3. The shirking of jury duty by the best class of whites, leaving the dealing out of justice to the most ignorant and prejudiced.
 4. Laws so drawn as to entangle the ignorant, as in the case of laws for labor contracts, and to leave the wide discretion as to punishment in the hands of juries and petty officials.
 5. Peonage and debt-slavery as methods of securing cheap and steady labor.
 6. The tendency to encourage ignorance and subserviency among Negroes instead of intelligence, ambition, and independence.
 7. The taking of all rights of political self-defense from the Negro either by direct law, or custom, or by the "white primary" system.
 8. The punishment of crime as a means of public and private revenue rather than as a means of preventing the making of criminals.
 9. The rendering of the chastity of Negro women difficult to defense in law or custom against the aggressions of white men.
 10. Enforcing a caste system in such a way as to humiliate Negroes and kill their self-respect (pp. 56-57).

On June 29, 1901, a meeting of the State Colored Teachers' Association took place at the black college. This meeting discussed crime among Negroes. Most agreed that more discipline by parents and teachers, coupled with increased industrial training, would cure these problems (SMN, 6/29/01).

The DuBois paper also noted that Savannah had an arrest rate of 143 Negroes per 100,000, while Atlanta had an arrest rate of 273 per 100,000. After describing the harsh sentiment of the white community for Negroes in Atlanta, the following comment was made:

In Savannah, on the contrary, a leaven of the old house-servant class is still living under the sons of their former masters and the mutual understanding is far better, and perhaps runs even to laxness in cases where punishment of Negroes would be salutary (p. 52).

While the above statement speaks of what is now seen as "racist paternalism," this mind-set led to less punishment meted out to blacks who committed crimes. These views were contemporary with the time, and should be contemplated with that factor in mind.

1986 to 1993

In the modern era, blacks also have different status under the law. Affirmative action, which allows preferential treatment to blacks in selection for jobs and universities, is indistinguishable from quotas in many parts of municipal governments. Hate crime legislation was passed, which allows increased penalties for crimes sparked by racial animus. Though white on black crime is quite rare as compared to black on white crime, this law has usually been applied to white perpetrators. Despite these changes in the law, black homicide rates are greater in the modern era than in the earlier era.

In DuBois's (1997) chastisement of Booker T. Washington, he focuses on the accommodations that Washington made to advance his own plans for blacks that included the era of 1896 to 1903. DuBois said that disenfranchisement of

blacks, the withdrawal of aid from black institutions of higher learning, and the creation of a distinct legal status of civil inferiority had occurred. If the status of blacks was better from 1986 to 1993 than during this earlier era, there must have been other countervailing forces at work on this racial group.

Conclusion

It seems evident that being black or more specifically a black male in Savannah, is a risk factor in homicide. On the other hand, there is no genetic component for homicide. There may be a part of this racially defined population that represents a subculture of poverty, violence, and lack of positive guidance and motivation. The only vestige that we can easily record historically is the color of the person's skin. Hawkins (1983, 1985, 1986) believes that the high incidence of black-on-black homicide can be directly traced to slavery and its legacy. In addition, homicide rates vary sharply between lower and middle class blacks. Shihadeh and Maume (1997) believe that the centralization of blacks in inner-city areas is a factor in their high homicide rates. The structural impediments of these segregated communities increase isolation.

The white male homicide rate in the modern era is only one-third of what it was in the latter era. White males have become less homicidal than at an earlier date in Savannah. If race is a suppressor variable for other factors and one race can lower its homicide rate, every race can see the same results when factors in their lives improve. Others may say that while this is true, the economy and education are moving so rapidly in the year 2000, that those who are behind now, no matter what their race or sex,

cannot catch up even if they were able to sprint.

Alcohol and drugs will first be examined historically. Then their effects on individuals will be studied. Finally, the findings from the two eras will be presented.

Alcohol

Early History

Savannah has been unique in many respects when compared to other cities that were founded on the East Coast by the earliest European settlers. At least 69 trustees were appointed or elected to establish the colony of Georgia, with Savannah to be its first settlement. The number of trustees varied as members resigned or were added. James Oglethorpe was one of these trustees, and he was selected to lead and command the first group of colonists. These trustees made the laws and by-laws. The first rules were enacted in 1733 and focused on the licensing and fee requirements of those who traded with Indians (Candler, 1904).

Three reasons are given for the creation of Georgia, which began with Savannah. The first was that it protected the southern flank of English America from encroachment by Spain and France. The second was to secure a valuable commercial region for the English Empire. Third--and the most romantic reason--was that it was a charity colony that gave people a second chance at life. Savannah was supposed to be a utopian colony free from unfair economic competition, slavery, and drunkenness.

On February 12, 1733, Oglethorpe brought the 114 colonists from South

Carolina, where they had first landed, to Yamacraw Bluff. Only two of the 68 males had any farming experience and disease and hardship were immediate. Rum, though illegal, was what Oglethorpe blamed the problems of lethargy and disease on (Rice & Jackson, 1988).

The importation and consumption of rum and hard liquor was forbidden, but was never controlled. Juries would never convict those charged with alcohol violations (Davis, 1976). The Act stipulated:

1. After June 24, 1733, no Rum, Brandies, Spirits or Strong Waters shall be imported or brought into Georgia.
2. All such shall be publicly staved or split, in the presence of an officer appointed by the Common Council.
3. No person is to save any liquors adjudged to be staved.
4. After June 24, 1735, any one selling Rum, etc., shall be liable to certain fines and penalties.
5. No person shall be allowed to retail liquors (i.e., Wine, Beer, or Ale) without permission (Church, 1932, p. 168).

In 1735, a bill was enacted that would allow rum and hard liquor to be imported only if it would be used to trade for lumber (Rice & Jackson, 1988). Realistically, alcohol was being consumed by the populace from the beginning of the colony of Savannah and the laws gradually changed to accept and tax it.

Levine (1983) found little evidence that colonial Americans feared that those under the influence of alcohol would harm others. Instead, they felt that the effects of alcohol were positive. There were only two problems they found with alcohol as it related to social comportment. Drunkenness in and of itself was sinful, and idleness could be connected to this drunkenness. There was nothing inherently criminal about the lack of

sobriety:

Colonial Americans had a number of explanations for why drunken individuals engaged in violent or criminal behavior. Besides blaming the tavern, colonials blamed the lack of police or military force, the irresponsibility of the night watch, various political and economic factors, a lack of religiosity among people, and the natural depravity of human beings. And perhaps the most common explanation was simply that people who committed crimes, drunk or not, were bad people--the "rabble" (p. 121).

Levine further states that this feeling began to change by the middle of the 1800s when the Temperance Movement preached against alcohol. He believes that it was implicit in their rhetoric that the baser impulses in humans are restrained and that alcohol releases these inhibitions. This idea was manifest in both eras in Savannah when homicides were studied. In both eras, 1896 to 1903, and 1986 to 1993, those above the age of 18 could legally consume alcohol in Savannah.

Drugs

Early History

Narcotic drugs were legal for citizens to consume during the era from 1896 to 1903 but illegal during the later era, 1986 to 1993. A major difference between the type of civilian-versus-civilian homicide is the fact that only in the era of 1986 to 1993 does the "drug related" homicide exist. In one of the two cases in which a white female was killed in the 1896 to 1903 era, the perpetrator had ingested both alcohol and cocaine. That was an anomaly.

The only mention of drugs during the early era was as it related to the small Chinese population in Savannah. The Census of 1900 recorded 49 Chinese males in the city. A later account in the newspaper refers to about

60 Chinese males living in the city. The following is a direct quote from the Savannah Morning News (6/20/96):

George Kilroy Cut Up With a Hatchet
by a Chinese Laundry Man

George Kilroy had the forefinger of his left hand severed with a hatchet in the hands of Sing Hop, A Chinese laundryman, between 11 and 12 o'clock last night. Kilroy, in company with Kid Nuttall and an unknown negro, had forced his way into Sing Hop's laundry at No. 191 Broughton street.

Kilroy was one of the party that raided Sing Hop's place the other night when several Chinamen were arrested there for smoking opium....

It was also stated that charges would be preferred by the Chinaman against Policeman Haar. They charge that he allowed Nuttall and Kilroy to strike and kick Sing Hop after he had been placed under arrest, and also struck him with his club without any reason for doing so.

As noted, there was only one mention of the use of a drug by a perpetrator of homicide in the era from 1896 to 1903.

Single Drug Effects on Behavior

Alcohol and drugs do have both a physiological and psychological effect on the people who ingest them. This is patently obvious or why would anyone use them? Saperstein (1990) offers the following description of the effect of certain chemical substances:

Ethyl Alcohol-Low doses of alcohol tend to inhibit the mental processes of judgment, memory, and concentration. The drinker's personality becomes expansive and he or she exudes confidence. When taken in moderate doses, alcohol has been found to reduce coordination substantially, inhibit orderly thought processes and speech patterns, and slow down reaction times....Higher doses of alcohol may cause the user to become highly irritable and emotional; displays of anger and crying are not uncommon.

Barbituates-Barbituates are commonly referred to as "downers" because they relax, create a feeling of well-being, and produce sleep. Like alcohol, barbituates act on the central nervous system to suppress its

vital functions (p. 229).

Amphetamines—Amphetamines are a group of synthetic drugs that stimulate the central nervous system. They are commonly referred to in the terminology of the drug culture as "uppers" or "speed." Ordinary therapeutic doses of 5 to 20 milligrams per day, taken orally, provide a feeling of well-being and increased alertness that is followed by a decrease in fatigue and a loss of appetite. However, these apparent benefits of the drug are accompanied by restlessness and instability or apprehension, and once the drug effect wears off, depression may set in (p.231).

Cocaine—Cocaine is a powerful stimulant to the central nervous system, and its effects resemble those caused by the amphetamines—namely, increased alertness and vigor, accompanied by the suppression of hunger, fatigue, and boredom....Crack is free-base cocaine and is sufficiently volatile to be smoked, usually in glass pipes....The faster the cocaine level rises in the brain, the greater the euphoria, and the surest way to obtain a fast rise in the brain's cocaine level is to smoke crack (pp. 232-233).

The majority of the research done on alcohol and its effect on humans is in the area of automobile driving. A 0.08% level of alcohol in the blood means that a driver is four times more likely to be in an accident than a sober driver. Most states consider a .10% level of alcohol to mean that the driver is intoxicated (Saperstein, 1990).

Whether the use of any sort of chemical, whether alcohol or drugs, changes the mental and physical abilities of both a suspect and a victim was studied by Collins, 1988; Collins and Schelenger, 1988; Leonard, et al., 1985; Lenke, 1982; and Goldstein, 1989. Suspects may be less inhibited to use violence, and unable to adequately assess the seriousness of their actions (cause and effect). Victims may not be able to physically defend themselves by fight or flight. In addition, the victim may be unable to appreciate the nuances of the suspect's action and speech while a chemical-free person might try de-escalating the situation.

It must be understood that in this study, alcohol and/or drug use will

always be **under reported**. If it is not mentioned, it does not mean that the suspect or victim was free of chemicals. Under our legal system, a suspect in a homicide is not tested for alcohol or drugs unless the suspect requests it and then it is up to the arresting officer to decide whether it will be done. Only indirect evidence can be collected. In the case of alcohol, it may be that witnesses have seen the suspect drink or they see the suspect act as if he was under the influence. The suspect may tell people how much he has drunk and there may be empty bottles or cans to attest to this fact. The same can be said for drugs and if the suspect is using injectables, he may have needle marks.

Combining Drugs

According to Cohen (1982, p.5):

In a study of the effects of a single drug upon behavior, the implications are manifold. Dosage levels, modes of administration, baseline states, the expectations of the subjects and of the investigators, the environments in which the drug is taken--all these variables and others as well make human psychochemical studies difficult and complex. When two or more drugs are used together or in sequence, the problems become magnified.

Cohen discusses how tolerance to a drug can be built up over time by the user and how a cross-tolerance to other drugs in the same or related classes occurs. When two drugs are similar each can have an additive effect. In some cases, the effect can be higher than the combined effects of the two when taken separately. When the two drugs are antagonistic, they have opposing effects.

An extremely potent combination is that of alcohol and cocaine which form cocaethylene. Cocaethylene is harder on the cardiovascular system, and provides more stimulation, than either alcohol or cocaine taken alone

(Landry, 1992).

1896 to 1903

In the era of 1896 to 1903, there were no scientific tests that could be used to determine alcohol or drug ingestion. It should be noted that in this era, alcohol and drug availability were not closely regulated by law, except for revenue purposes. While the legality or illegality of a drug does not alter its effect on someone who ingests it, it has a great deal to do with the context in which the drug is used.

In examining the 101 civilian-versus-civilian homicides, the following information was gleaned from the newspaper accounts. In 13 cases, both the suspect and victim had been drinking. In 12 cases, the suspect had been drinking; and in four cases, the victim had been drinking. The majority of these cases used the word "drunk" when describing them. In six cases, the homicide occurred in a bar; in four cases, outside the bar; and in four other cases, in other places serving alcohol. In five cases, the suspect and victim were playing a "game of skin." This gambling occurred in a dive. The context in which drinking occurs when done in an establishment serving liquor can include the type of clientele, purpose of the establishment, and what type of cues occur among patrons (Graham et al., 1980). In 48 of the 101 cases reported, some commentary involving alcohol was made. This means that in 48% of the cases, alcohol may have been involved. In point of fact, this is felt to be an underestimation, based on some of the types of homicides that occurred. Alcohol was a very real ingredient in homicides in the early era.

1986 to 1993

In the United States, law enforcement does not have the right to order a blood or urine sample from a suspect accused of homicide for the purpose of screening for drugs or alcohol. Only one example was found where alcohol screening was done. According to Shupe (1954), the Columbus (Ohio) Police Department started screening those charged with felonies for alcohol in 1945. He reports the results of this screening from March of 1951 to 1953. There were 30 persons arrested for homicide during this time period, excluding persons charged with negligent homicide involving a motor vehicle. The urine of these 30 was tested for Blood Alcohol Content (BAC). Only 17% had no blood alcohol while 67% had 0.10% or more. Wolfgang and Strohm, 1956, in their study in Philadelphia from 1948 to 1952 on homicide, found alcohol present in both victim and offender in 43.5% of the cases. Alcohol was found only in the victim in 9.2% of the cases, and only in the offender in 10.9% of the cases. This meant that in 63.6% of the cases, alcohol was present in all individuals involved in the homicide incident.

There are occasions when a search warrant is issued for a blood sample but this is only done when the police are trying to match blood from the crime scene or victim with the suspect's. A victim's blood and/or urine is usually checked during an autopsy but not in all cases. It must be kept in mind that the police only collect evidence that can exonerate or convict a suspect. They are not involved in gathering data for some academic's research.

It is obvious that it would be interesting to know the alcohol/drug use of

the perpetrator. We can sometimes ascertain this in a less than scientific manner because the suspect:

1. Acted inebriated when arrested.
2. Smelled of alcohol.
3. Was seen consuming alcohol before the incident.
4. Was arrested at the scene of the crime, where empty alcohol bottles and/or drug paraphernalia were found.
5. Told the arresting officer that he was under the influence.

Even if one or more of the above exist, it would require that an officer mention it in his report for it to become available information.

In addition, our culture is a bit ambivalent about how a subject should be treated while under the influence. On one extreme are those who believe that the knowing ingestion of a substance that alters your mental state makes you more responsible for your actions because this was a precursor to the act. On the other extreme are those who believe any use of alcohol/drugs suggests a disease, and/or that a person lacks *mens rea* when are under the influence. While the law does not grant those accused of crime any special dispensation when under the influence, there are those defense attorneys who feel that some jurors will be lenient towards their clients if it can be shown that they were not "themselves."

subject's use of drugs and alcohol.

The following table (8.1) represents the subject's condition at the time of the commission of the homicide. The condition of the person is based on a subjective judgment (i.e., the officer's perception), if the officer decides to mention it. Information can come from the subject, witnesses, or arriving police officers. It can be based on seeing the subject consume alcohol or use drugs, the physical residue of alcohol or drugs, and the

physical and mental condition of the subject.

Table 8.1. Perpetrator's Involvement with Alcohol and/or Drugs

Perpetrator's Involvement	Number of Homicides
drug dealer or trigger man (i.e. defending self, ripping off victims, turf war)	46
drinking	22
heavy drinking	15
at place serving alcohol and/or drugs	4
cocaine user	3
killed for cocaine	2
in possession of crack	2
miscellaneous involvement	7
Total	101

The above estimate is extremely conservative because it is based on facts known to the police about the incident. One-hundred-one subjects are in the above table. In the incidents with more than one suspect, the actual killer is listed in the above table.

Senay and Wettstein (1983) examined 24 cases of homicide in which the perpetrators had used large amounts of psychoactive drugs. They believed many of these homicides would not have occurred without the drug use.

victim's use of alcohol and drugs.

The following three tables (8.2, 8.3, 8.4), contain information on the use of drugs and alcohol by the victim of a homicide. An autopsy is not always

done on the victim of a homicide. Even when an autopsy is done, in some cases alcohol/drug tests are not done--for example, when the victim is a young child, or when the victim's cadaver has been found a long time after the murder. The first two charts contain information obtained by scientific methods from either the blood or urine of the victim. The third chart contains information supplied by the arresting or investigating officer. If a victim is included in any of these charts, he is placed in the category that has the strongest evidence of alcohol/drug use. A victim will only be included on one table if involved with alcohol or drugs.

Of the 241 victims, six were excluded, because they were two years old or less. Of the 235 other victims, 28 were tested and did not have any alcohol or drugs in them. In the 207 remaining cases, 105 did not have a blood and/or urine test included in their case files. In the 102 cases where positive results were obtained for alcohol and/or drugs, 66 had alcohol, 27 had drugs, and 24 had alcohol and drugs. In addition, 12 were drunk, drinking heavily, or in a site serving drugs or alcohol. Eight others included three known crack users, two with crack on their bodies, one high on crack, one with a gin bottle in his pocket, and one who bought marijuana right before the incident. That means that of the 235 victims, 123 had some involvement with alcohol and/or drugs immediately prior to the incident.

Table 8.2. Blood Alcohol Content (BAC) of Victim

BAC Percentage	# of Victims
.01 to .05	13
.06 to .10	15
.11 to .15	8
.16 to .20	8
.21 to .25	6
.26 to .30	6
over .30	6

Table 8.3. Type of Drugs in Victim's Body

Type of Drugs	# of Victims
marijuana	6
cocaine	14
marijuana and cocaine	5
phenobarbital	2

Of those 14 that had cocaine in their system, nine of them had greater than 300 ng per ml.

Three victims were positive for both marijuana and alcohol. Twenty reports contained positive chemical results for alcohol and cocaine use by the victim. Of these, 10 victims had greater than 300 ng per ml of cocaine, and two victims had over 0.26 grams percent alcohol. One additional report had a combination of alcohol, marijuana, phenobarbital, and benzyolylecgonine.

In a study done by Goodman, et al. (1986), victims of homicides in Los Angeles from 1970 to 1979 were studied. Of the 4,950 victims, 82.1% had a test for barbituates. It was found that 7.9% of the victims had barbituates in their systems.

Table 8.4. Victim's Subjective Condition

Subjective Condition	# of Victims
drinking heavily	6
drunk	4
at site serving alcohol/drugs	2

Patterns of Behavior in Street Corner Drug Dealing

When the term drug-related homicide is used in this text, it may include: if either the victim or suspect is under the influence; if the victim or suspect is involved in the sale; or if the victim or suspect is involved because of illegal drugs (even if only on the periphery).

There are some other variables to keep in mind. First, a dealer in illicit drugs often feels he needs a gun within easy reach and classifies this as a "business necessity." Dealing drugs, primarily crack, is fraught with physical danger, the least of which is from the police. A potential customer can hold up a drug dealer and take his drugs and/or money. The customer can take the drugs and run. The customer may claim that he was sold fluke and begin an argument. A rival dealer or someone to whom he owes money may launch a lethal attack on the dealer. It is safe to say that the average drug dealer in Savannah is much more at risk from a lethal attack than a Savannah police officer. The gun also serves as part of the persona.

Just as a physician has a stethoscope, and an accountant has a calculator, the purveyor of illicit substances has a "piece." Second, both the seller and buyer may be under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the transaction. When this is added to the paranoia surrounding drug deals (arrest by police, lack of trust, rip-off, getting robbed), it makes for hasty reactions. Third, guns, money, and drugs are often kept in pockets which are inside a jacket, in the back of the pants, or around the belt. When someone reaches for something late at night in a drug transaction situation, a misinterpretation of cues can occur.

Conclusion

It is scientific fact that alcohol and drugs have an effect on those who ingest them, and, depending upon the person, the chemical, and the situation, an increased likelihood can exist for them to become perpetrators or victims of violence. Those perpetrators predisposed to violence may have their inhibitions lowered, their sense of responsibility lessened, and paranoia increased. Those who are victims may not be able to retreat or to understand that the perpetrator is going to hurt them (Cappel, et al., 1987).

Davis (1975) believes that alcohol is by far the main chemical involved in homicide. He would divide homicides into two categories: drunken brawls and others. Budd (1982, p. 106) said:

The effects of alcohol use are not always pleasant and can suddenly change from pleasant to unpleasant. It is well documented that the ingestion of alcohol (particularly a large amount) predisposes an individual to the commission of acts of violence. Heavy drinkers may develop a mood of sullenness, belligerence, and violence, and can become disinhibited to the point that repressed impulses, such as the urge to kill, injure, or commit a crime, are no longer repressed and

are, instead, acted upon. Thus the high correlation and cause and effect relationship between alcohol use and crime commission.

Rivara et al. (1997) found that those who use alcohol and drugs have 12 times the risk of being murdered. On the other hand, it appears that much of the violence with drugs comes from its illegality. Some type of involvement with the drug trade seems to be much more deadly than just being high. Riley (1998) examined homicide and drug use trends in Detroit, Indianapolis, Atlanta, Miami, New Orleans, and Washington, D.C. He found that cocaine, primarily in the form of crack, had a tightly associated relationship with homicide arrestees.

Some questions are difficult to answer. Does a higher percentage of homicidal individuals choose to use alcohol or drugs than in the normal population? Is it just that those in the lower socio-economic strata who use alcohol and drugs become involved in homicides because of the use of these chemicals? Lipsey, et al. (1997) suggest that we cannot truly make a connection between violence and alcohol until we know the effect on Blood Alcohol Content for those who are not violent.

Weapons

Data on the type of weapons used in homicides for both eras were compiled. The data were fairly complete. A short background on the main weapon of choice, firearms, will be given before discussing the data.

Early History

In the beginning of the colony of Savannah, all adult males were required to own arms and to be able to use them for the common defense. In some parts of the country, Jews were not allowed to own weapons. Rubin (1983, p. 12)

states that this was not so in Savannah:

Jews in New Amsterdam had to appeal for the right to bear arms, but not the Jews of Savannah. In the February 21, 1738, letter from Bolzius to Callenberg, evidence is cited;

"The German Jews have in Savannah the same liberties as any Englishman. They drill with a rifle, as all soldiers do...."

The reason for the law that firearms were to be carried to church was the fear that whites had of gangs of blacks. It was felt that they were most vulnerable when they were away from home, accompanied by their women and children. Following are two of the earliest cases cited involving firearms in Savannah: In 1740, a fine of 6 s. 8 d. was given to a man for firing a gun in Savannah. In January of 1774, a Savannah merchant was charged with failing to keep a white overseer on Skidaway Island, and for allowing slaves to keep firearms (Davis, 1976).

1896 to 1903

The high number of homicides committed with revolvers was troubling to Judge Falligant. He stated:

Gentlemen of the jury, this carrying of concealed weapons is a violation of the laws that should receive your careful attention. Look around you and see the crimes that have been heralded in the newspapers lately as occurring right here in the community--crimes which would put to shame some of the lurid deeds in the wild frontiers of the west. Study the cases in question and you will see the carrying of pistols, and other death-dealing implements in violation of the law. The man, who has a pistol in his pocket, and too much whisky in his stomach, is the greatest enemy of law that I know of, for it is that man who commits the gravest of crimes. Under the heat of an unholy passion and the spells of anger, jealousy, hate and all the emotions that give birth to disgrace, how easy it is for him with the pistol at his finger's reach to take the life of his fellow man and demand of the court to take his own in shame and disgrace upon the gallows. If he had not the pistol at the time the act would not have been committed in many instances--in nearly every instance, for when reason is restored after drunkenness and anger resentment finds expression in humble apologies while enemies unite and friends and friendship founder. Thus these, the most heinous of offenses against law and justice, may be attributed in nearly every instance to the carrying of weapons (SMN, 6/8/97).

Judge Falligant's words were well received, primarily because he was a respected jurist and a Confederate war hero. In the context of the times, every male gentleman was expected to be proficient with a firearm. In the Savannah papers, news of shooting events (primarily with rifles) was the most reported sporting event. Many prominent citizens belonged to various shooting clubs. Many solid citizens carried revolvers for protection.

In a paper read at the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Georgia Bar Association in Atlanta on July 7, 1898, Joseph R. Lamar made the following comments:

Existing conditions call for the enactment of laws. It has, therefore, become trite to say that history of a people may be written from an examination of its laws. Even if the historian had said nothing on the subject, we would be able to draw a picture of the dangers and unrest of the population from the frequent laws for the regulation of the Militia, establishment of powder magazines, and what appears on the subject of Weapons. One-third of the time of our Courts is today, taken up in punishing men for carrying and using weapons. Time changes,--in 1766, it was enacted that "if any male person should attend church without carrying with him a gun or a pair of pistols in good order and fit for service, with at least six charges of powder and ball, or shall fail to take such gun or pistol with him to his pew or seat, he shall be fined ten shillings."

Mr. Lamar's statement that one third of the time of the courts is taken up with weapon assaults or weapon offenses may be overdrawn, but it does show the concern that was evident on the misuse of weapons. Lamar later became a member of the Supreme Court of Georgia and was then appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Brearely (1934) referred to the South as "that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line." He felt that many Southerners were armed at all times, not just in the rare situations in which the average person would feel endangered. During slavery, the possession of firearms

solely by the master reinforced control of the slave. After the Civil War, through the 1870s, Southerners carried revolvers because they felt they had little recourse in the courts, and life was "insecure" because of the conditions brought about by Reconstruction.

Table 8.5. Citizen versus Citizen Homicide in Savannah
Classified by Race, Sex, and Type of Death (1896 to 1903)

Suspects	Victims			
	black male	white male	black female	white female
black male	24 GSW 13 IW 6 BT	4 GSW 3 BT	7 GSW 3 IW 4 BT	
white male	7 GSW 1 IW	8 GSW 4 IW 2 BT		2 GSW
black female	1 GSW 2 IW		4 IW 1 BT	
white female		1 GSW		
unknown	2 GSW 1 BT	1 BT		

Note: GSW=Gunshot Wound, IW=Incised Wound, BT=Blunt Trauma

In the 97 citizen-versus-citizen homicides where race and sex of both suspect and victim were identified, 54 victims died of gunshot wounds, 27 died of incised wounds, and 16 died of blunt trauma.

1986 to 1993

Georgia is known as a "right to carry" state. This means that any sane adult citizen who does not have a criminal record can successfully apply for a permit to carry a concealed weapon. Once granted, a permit holder can carry a firearm concealed except to a "public gathering." According to the Code Section 16-11-127.1:

"public gathering" shall include, but shall not be limited to, athletic or sporting events, churches or church functions, political rallies or functions,

publicly owned or operated buildings, or establishments at which alcoholic beverages are sold for consumption on premises (Georgia Criminal Law and Motor Vehicle Handbook, 1998, p. 198)

None of those committing homicide, other than justifiable, had such a permit. In fact, examination of the records of both perpetrators and victims showed that many had been charged in the past with weapons violation.

Table 8.6. Citizen versus Citizen Homicide in Savannah
Classified by Race, Sex, and Type of Death (1986 to 1993)

Suspects	Victims			
	black male	white male	black female	white female
black male	105 GSW 16 IW 12 BT 1 ASP	11 GSW 1 IW 2 BT 1 ASP	14 GSW 8 IW 4 BT 2 ASP	1 GSW 3 IW 2 BT
white male	6 GSW 1 EXP	3 GSW 4 BT		1 GSW 1 IW 1 BT
black female	5 GSW 9 IW 1 BT		2 GSW 3 IW 1 BT	
white female				
unknown	10 GSW	2 GSW	1 GSW 1 IW 2 BT 2 ASP	1 GSW

Note: GSW=Gunshot Wound, IW=Incised Wound, BT=Blunt Trauma, ASP=Asphyxiation, EXP=Explosion

In the 239 homicides listed above, 162 victims died of gunshots, 42 died of incised wounds, 29 died of blunt trauma, six died of asphyxiation, and one died of explosion. The two excluded cases involved an Oriental male and an Hispanic male killed by gunshot wounds.

Medical Care

It is extremely difficult to calculate the increased number of homicides that would have occurred in Savannah in the modern era if the quality of medical care had remained constant from the earlier era. According to Grossman and DeGaetano (1999, pp. 14-15):

Let's isolate the progress the medical community has made in saving lives. UCLA Professor James Q. Wilson is among many experts who have determined that vast progress in medical technology since 1957 (including everything from mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to the national 911 emergency telephone system to advances in medical technology) has helped us save more lives. Otherwise, murder would be going up at about the same rate as attempted murder. Professor Wilson estimated over a decade ago that "if the quality of medical care (especially trauma and emergency care) were the same as it was in 1957, today's murder rate would be three times higher."

This view is corroborated by U.S. Army assessments of wound survivability. According to the U.S. Army Medical Service Corps, a hypothetical wound that nine out of ten times would have killed a soldier in World War II, would have been survived nine out of ten times by U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. This is due to the great leaps in battlefield evacuation and medical care technology between 1940 and 1970. And we have made even greater progress since 1970.

Consider, for instance, some of the advances in medical technology as they relate to treating wounds. Only a century ago, any puncture wound of the abdomen, skull, or lungs created a high probability of death. So did any significant loss of blood (there were no transfusions), most large wounds (no antibiotics or antiseptics), and most wounds requiring significant surgery (no anesthetics, resulting in death from surgery shock).

Spaulding (2000) states that 96% of those shot in the United States do not die, although among those treated in emergency rooms, the figure is closer to 72%, and lower for assaultive gunshot wounds (Annest et al., 1995). Some believe that if the victim does not die immediately or from massive blood loss, he will survive.

Another factor is the quality of medical care and number of resources

available in different parts of the country. Doerner and Speir (1986) were unconvinced that a "regional culture of violence" was the reason for high southern homicide rates. They did a study in Florida and found that there was a differential distribution of medical resources. If this were true for the entire south, as compared to the rest of the United States, this might be one factor in higher southern homicides.

As stated in Appendix B, it was first hoped that I could make some comparisons from the earlier era to the later era, based on the aggravated assault rate (those attacks that could have caused death). Unfortunately, the arrest rates from the earlier era are suspect.

It is also not clear from examining the wounding patterns of each homicide from both eras, whether modern medical treatments would have saved as many victims as other authors have suggested. The closest predictors that were available was the average number of wounds in each era that it took to cause death, based on gunshot, incised, and blunt trauma.

Number of shots/hits

These data from both eras are problematic, because the number of shots may have been determined by the statements of witnesses and/or suspects, number of empty cartridges found in the revolver, number of empty cartridges found at the scene (for semi-automatics), and other measurements.

As mentioned before, even modern pathologists have problems determining entry and exit wounds. According to DiMaio (1999, p. 256):

In a study of 46 cases of fatal multiple or exiting gunshot wounds by

Collins and Lantz, 24 (52.2%) were misinterpreted by trauma specialists (emergency medicine, trauma surgery and neurosurgery physicians). The failures involved errors in interpreting the number of projectiles as well as differentiating exits and entrances....Therefore, one must approach medical records with a degree of caution in trying to determine how many times a person has been shot as well as whether the wound is an entrance or exit.

Another confounding element is when the subject fired at a number of persons and only one died, and when he fired at the murder victim and missed because of poor marksmanship. There were few cases of this, and they were quantified as accurate for hits on the murder victim and any misses were also attributed for missing the murder victim. The following example (also reported in Chapter 7) occurred in the early era:

A drunken husband came home and got into verbal conflict with his wife. Another woman, who lived in the same house had just come in with her husband. The perpetrator fired twice into his wife's hand and she ran out of the room screaming. She ran into the other couple's room and hid in the closet. Her husband followed and, seeing the outline of a woman in the dark, fired twice, killing her. He then realized it was not his wife and shot into the closet, hitting her in the breast.

The real target of the husband's anger was his wife, who was only wounded. The inadvertent victim just happened to be there. This case, while unusual, was counted as two shots and two hits on the victim.

In the earlier era, of the 56 incidents in which the murder weapon was a firearm, there were 8(14%) incidents that did not have an estimation of both shots and hits. This subgroup included three cases with one hit, two cases with two hits, two cases with three hits, one case with two shots and unknown hits. In the 48 remaining cases there were 99 shots and 72 hits. This means that the average number of shots per incident was 2.02 and the average number of hits was 1.5.

In the latter era, of the 164 incidents in which the murder weapon was a firearm, 47 (29%) incidents did not have an estimation of both shots and hits. This subgroup included 12 cases with one hit, eight with two hits, six with three hits, one with four hits, one with eight hits, two with an unknown number of hits, and 17 only identified as a gun-related death. In the 117 remaining cases there were 359 shots and 255 hits. This means that the average number of shots per incident was 3.01 and the average number of hits was 2.15.

Blackman (1997, pp. 175-76), in his article discussing validity and reliability problems in homicide research and conducted under the rubric of "epidemiology studies," makes the following comment:

Most shooting involve small numbers of rounds per firearm (Police Academy Firearms and Tactics Section, 1994, p.9) and small numbers of entry wounds (Hutson, Anglin, & Pratts, 1994; Kellerman et al., 1996; Ordog, Wasserberger, Balasubramanium, & Shoemaker, 1994; Webster, Champion, Gainer, & Sykes, 1992), so that, despite reported increases in the number of such wounds (Webster et al., 1992), there is no credible evidence that changes in ammunition-feeding mechanisms or firearm magazine capacity are factors in the amount of severity of violence or injury. Criminological research confirms that magazine capacity is not yet a factor even in multiple shootings (Etten & Pettee, 1995).

Incised Wounds

From 1896 to 1903, 26 (26%) of the civilian homicide victims died of incised wounds--compared with 41 (17%) for the 1986 to 1993 era. Of the 26 deaths attributed to incised wounds in the earlier era, 22 were done with knives. The other four were accomplished with one cut/stab, with two done with a razor, one done with an ordinary table fork, and one done with a crowbar. Fifteen of the knife deaths were the result of one cut/stab, one with two cuts/stabs, four with three cuts/stabs, two with four cuts/stabs, and one

each with five, six, and 16 cuts/stabs.

It should be noted that five of the 26 incised deaths in the earlier era were caused by sharpened implements other than knives. Two were caused by straight razors (throats cut), one was caused by an ordinary table fork, one was caused by a crowbar, and one was caused by a wood saw cut on a victim's arm that led to an infection. These five are all in the one-stab category.

In the era from 1896 to 1903, there were 26 incised deaths with a total of 48 cuts/stabs, which is an average of 1.85 per death. In the era from 1986 to 1993, there were 41 incised deaths (all done with knives) with a total of 272 cuts/stabs, which is an average of 6.6 per death. Two of these cases were torture deaths involving 36 and 73 cuts/stabs. If we exclude these two cases the average is 4.2 per death.

Blunt Trauma

In the era of 1896 to 1903, 19 deaths were caused by blunt trauma. Two of these were not suitable for calculating the number of blows that caused death. One death was caused when a child was hit by a trolley car, and one death was of an infant from numerous blows. Of the 17 deaths remaining, a total of 26 blows were noted. This is 1.5 blows per death.

In the era of 1986 to 1993, 27 deaths were from blunt traumas. In this era, six blunt traumas were excluded. Four involved infants and two involved corpses that had decomposed to the point that only the cause of death could be ascertained. Of the 21 cases left, there were a total of 74 blows. This averages to 3.5 blows per death.

Conclusion

The use of alcohol has always been closely associated with homicides, for both victims and subjects. The data that has been collected has been haphazard. Drugs were legal from 1896 to 1903 in Savannah, and only one murderer was under the influence of opium in combination with alcohol. It may have been that alcohol was the drug of choice at that time. In the modern era, a specific form of cocaine, crack, seemed to be involved in many of the homicides. It is unclear whether the effects of the drug were more causally related to homicide than involvement in the illegal trade in the product.

It would seem (based on the above data) that medical care has had some positive effect on reducing homicides between the two eras, but it cannot be accurately quantified. There was an increase in the use of firearms during the second era, primarily because firearms usage is endemic to the illegal drug trade. The caliber of the handguns may have increased somewhat, and modern powder increased the velocity of some rounds. In addition, in those cases where homicide resulted from gunshot wounds, incised wounds, or blunt trauma, there was a substantial increase between the two eras in the number of wounds inflicted on homicide victims. It is possible that homicides have become more violent in their nature.

One piece of datum that is impossible to collect is the number of victims of an aggravated assault, with calculable wounds in both eras, which were treated, where the victims recovered from these wounds. This would certainly provide a more definitive picture of the increased importance of

medical care as a factor reducing homicide rates in the modern era.

Alcohol and drugs are pleasurable to many, but they have no constitutional guarantee. Firearms ownership by private citizens may have some protection by the Second Amendment. While the protection is not absolute, any bans may cause more harm than good. Jensen (2000) states that during Prohibition, alcohol was readily available to those who wanted it. Therefore, a legal ban may have effects other than removal of a product from daily life. Medical care will continue to get better, which may be the only changeable variable.

Perhaps we might hypothesize a society in which alcohol, drugs, and firearms are available to those who have not been convicted of a crime, or shown to be dangerous because of a mental disorder. A question could then be asked as to whether there is anything such a society can do to reduce the feeling of need for alcohol or drugs by our citizens, and the feeling of fear that necessitates the ready access to firearms.

Chapter 9-Other Factors

Introduction

Five factors will be discussed in as much detail as the data allow. These factors are prior involvement in the criminal justice system, punishment, poverty, moral code of conduct, and the influence of modern technological advances in broadcasting and entertainment.

Prior Involvement in the Criminal Justice System

1896 to 1903

There are no records available that would show the prior involvement of either perpetrators or victims in homicides in the early era. There were only a few cases in this era in which the newspaper mentioned some prior involvement of the perpetrator in the criminal justice system. In the next section of this chapter, concerning punishment, it will be shown that most of those sent to prison for punishment for the homicides they committed, did long terms at hard labor. If this was true for other violent crimes, few convicts were given much chance to be recidivists.

1986 to 1993

criminal records of suspect and victim.

While these data are less reliable and valid than data in earlier chapters, it is still of vital importance. In many cases a criminal records check was run on the subject by homicide investigators to develop a *modus operandi* and to determine whether the subject was a convicted felon, in order to prepare

additional charges. The victim's record was only of cursory importance to the police, however, and may be mentioned if stumbled across.

In addition, criminal records are usually incomplete. In many cases, records would list what the subject had been charged with over a period of 20 years, but might never list a conviction. It is also apparent from the research that many people had committed felonies and plea bargained them down to misdemeanors for their entire careers.

Of the 192 identified suspects, 64 had no criminal record check in their file. Ten of the suspects had a criminal record check and no record was found, and 118 had some criminal activity registered. If more than one subject was involved, the identified killer is the main focus. In addition, subjects are only put into one category, as are victims. Some of these people have long histories of criminal activity, but are only placed in the most problematic category (which is somewhat subjective on the author's part).

Table 9.1
Subject's Involvement with the Criminal Justice System

Convicted felon at time of crime	56
Convicted felon within 4 years after crime	4
Charged with a felony within 4 years after crime	1
Convicted of a violent misdemeanor at time of crime	3
Convicted of an alcohol related crime (DUI, drunk)	3
Convicted of other crime	2
Charged with violent felony (may have been dismissed)	14
Charged with other felony	7
Charged with violent misdemeanor	9
Charged with weapons (CCW, pointing a gun)	6
Charged with alcohol related crime	3
Charged with other crime	8
Charges pending for violent felony	1
Charges pending (other)	1
TOTAL	118

Table 9.2
Victim's Involvement with the Criminal Justice System

Convicted felon at time of crime	11
Convicted of violent misdemeanor at time of crime	1
Convicted of alcohol related crime (DUI, drunk)	1
Convicted of other crime	2
Charged with a violent felony (may have been dismissed)	1
Charged with another felony	3
Charged with a violent misdemeanor	5
Charged with weapons (CCW, pointing a gun)	3
Charged with other crime	6
Charges pending (other)	1
TOTAL	34

Punishment

1896 to 1903

data collection.

The initial information on punishment received by those convicted for homicide in the 1896 to 1903 era was from the Savannah Morning News. In many instances, the paper would report the homicide, the inquest, the trial, and the disposition of the trial. If a case was retried, it was also sometimes discussed.

In addition, the Georgia Archives, located in Atlanta, contained some additional information. Davis (1982) had recorded the names of all those seeking pardon, parole, or commutation from the Governor during this time period. Twelve of those convicted applied for this consideration, and their

files contained assorted types of information. The record books for convict camps were available and some of those convicted were traced by those records.

disposition.

From 1896 to 1903, anything beyond arrest was categorized as a disposition. Three judicial mechanisms could function. A coroner's jury could convene, which usually occurred just after the homicide. This is the only jury on which blacks could serve. A grand jury could be called, and this usually happened when immediacy was not a factor. If the suspect was bound over by either of these two juries, it would go to superior court for adjudication.

If the perpetrator was convicted in a superior court of homicide, the following punishments were to be meted out:

The punishment of murder shall be death, but may be confinement in the Penitentiary for life in the following cases: 1. By sentence of the presiding Judge, if the conviction is founded solely on circumstantial testimony, or if the jury trying the traverse shall so recommend. In the former case, it is discretionary with the Judge; in the latter, it is not.

Voluntary manslaughter shall be punished by confinement and labor in the Penitentiary for a term not less than one nor longer than twenty years.

Involuntary manslaughter, in the commission of an unlawful act, shall be punished by confinement and labor in the penitentiary for a term no less nor longer than three years (Clark et al., 1867, pp. 837-838).

There were 101 civilian-versus-civilian homicides in Savannah from 1896 to 1903. In 97 cases, race and sex of offender and victim were identified. Six of these cases were explained fully in Chapter 5 because they involved juvenile perpetrators. This leaves 91 remaining cases. Table 9.3 illustrates these outcomes. Voluntary manslaughter is abbreviated as "Volunt Mansla".

Table 9.3. Judicial Outcomes of Adult Perpetrator Homicides Where Race and Sex of Perpetrator and Victim Were Known (1896 to 1903)

	BM/BM	BM/BF	BM/WM	WM/WM	WM/BM	WM/WF	BF/BF	BF/BM	WF/WM	total
NT	21	2	3	6	6	1	2		1	42
NG				5			1			6
VM	2 (4)									2
	1 (5)									1
	1 (7)						1 (8)			2
	4 (10)									4
	2 (15)	2 (15)		1 (15)	1 (15)					6
	2 (20)	2 (20)		1 (20)				1 (20)		6
M	6 life	4 life	2 life			1 life	1 life	1 life		15
	1 death	4 death	1 death	1 death						7
total	40	14	6	14	7	2	5	2	1	91

Note: NT=No Trial, NG=Not Guilty, VM=Voluntary Manslaughter, M=Murder. In the cases resulting in a voluntary manslaughter conviction, the first number in parentheses represents the sentence in years. Murder always resulted in either life in prison or death by hanging.

The above table may be interpreted with the following caveats. The no-trial category consists of any instance in which the perpetrator was not tried. This could mean that at the coroner's jury or grand jury: no bill was returned, justifiable homicide, or a charge that was not pursued. It might also mean that the perpetrator was not caught, or that a mistrial occurred and the perpetrator was not retried. This only happened twice when a white male killed a white male. In one such case, they killed each other, and hence were not tried. In two cases, the perpetrators immediately committed suicide. Of these cases, one was when a white male killed a white female, and the other was when a white female killed a white male. In more than half of the cases in which a black male killed another black male, no trial

took place. DuBois (1973), found the same phenomenon from 1836 to 1855 in Philadelphia. He pointed out that while great numbers of black criminals were arrested and committed to trial, few actually were given a trial, wherein their innocence or guilt could be adjudicated.

When a penalty is listed in Table 9.3, it is the penalty given by the court. If a second trial took place, that final penalty is the one listed. A few of the above sentences were reduced.

It should be noted that only 11 of the 91 perpetrators applied for leniency to the governor. Of the five appeals rejected, four were black males, and one was a black female. Of the six who received a reduction in their sentence, three were black males, two were white males and one was a black female. The archives are complete, which means the rest of those sentenced to a term of prison did the assigned time. The only white male sentenced to death had his sentence commuted to life in prison. Another white male who had killed a white male was paroled after serving eight years of his life sentence. The only white male sentenced for killing a black male had his 15 year sentence reduced to five years. No black male was paroled for killing males, but two were paroled from life sentences for killing black females. They both served 15 years each. One black female who killed another black female had her life sentence reduced to 10 years. This information was found in Atlanta at the Georgia Archives on Pardons, Paroles, and Clemency.

To summarize, the following seems to be a fairly accurate depiction of punishment for homicide of adult perpetrators in Savannah from 1896 to 1903. Almost half of the perpetrators were never tried by the courts for numerous

reasons. Those who were brought to court, when sentenced, usually served their entire sentences. Even giving the benefit of the doubt about the number of justifiable homicide cases, there was a double standard of justice meted out by all-white juries in favor of white male defendants. The conditions were horrific for those sentenced. All were assigned to hard labor--some for the state--but most went to private concerns that bid on them. No jury wanted to see a white man receive such brutal treatment. The only prisoner sent to Milledgeville, which was a state institution reserved for those insane, was the one white male who received a life sentence.

1986 to 1993

data collection.

Punishment of offenders was sometimes recorded in a haphazard way in case files after the case was adjudicated. This information was often ignored because it was not consistent. The two offices that provided data for punishment were the Chatham County Prosecutor's Office and the Parole Office.

The Prosecutor's Office provided the author with a work area where I could examine the dispositions of all of the homicides committed from 1986 to 1993. They had a computer-generated list which had the offender listed alphabetically for each year. When I could not find an offender, I recorded the information, and the office took my final list and tracked each offender down.

The Georgia Code during this era stipulated the following:

A person convicted of the offense of murder shall be punished by death

or by imprisonment for life.

A person who commits the offense of voluntary manslaughter, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than one nor more than 20 years.

A person who commits the offense of involuntary manslaughter in the commission of an unlawful act, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than ten years.

A person who commits the offense of involuntary manslaughter in the commission of a lawful act in an unlawful manner, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished as a misdemeanor. (Georgia Criminal Code and Motor Vehicle Handbook, 1998, p. 95)

Table 9.4 presents the judicial outcomes of adult perpetrator murders where the race and sex of perpetrator and victim were known.

Table 9.4. Judicial Outcomes of Adult Perpetrator Homicides Where Race and Sex of Perpetrator and Victim Were Known (1986 to 1993)

	BM/BM	BM/BF	BM/WM	WM/WM	WM/BM	WM/WF	BF/BF	BF/BM	WF/WM	total
NT	44	3							6	57
NG	9	1	1			1			1	13
IM	7	1	1		3			1	1	14
VM	36	9	2	1	1			2	5	56
M	22	9	4	3	3	2	1	1		44
other	7	3	1	1			2	1		15
total	125	26	9	4	7	7	3	5	13	199

Note: NT=No Trial, NG=Not Guilty, IM=Involuntary Manslaughter, VM=Voluntary Manslaughter, M=Murder, other means that the defendant was convicted of a lesser crime, usually due to a plea bargain.

Civilian-versus-civilian homicides numbered 241. This was reduced by the 20 juvenile homicides, 20 homicides where the perpetrator was unknown, and two homicides where the victims were Hispanic and Oriental. This left 199 homicides to investigate. Two-hundred-eight perpetrators were exposed to prosecutorial scrutiny for these homicides. Accomplices were not included. Some were convicted of lesser crimes.

In eight cases, more than one person was convicted of homicide. In three cases, two black males were convicted for killing a black male. In two cases, black males were convicted for killing a white male. In one case two white males were convicted for killing a white female and two black females were convicted for killing a black female. In one case three white males were convicted of killing a black male. For the sake of Table 9.4, the murderer receiving the harshest sentence was included.

Death of the perpetrators accounted for some not standing trial. Three suicides followed a black male killing a black female, and one followed a white male killing a white female. In one instance where a black male killed a white male, the perpetrator was killed before he was apprehended. In two instances where a black male killed a white female, the perpetrators were given life sentences for prior crimes (rape and federal drug charges) without being brought to trial for the homicides. In one case of a black male killing a white female, the perpetrator was insane, and in one case where a white male killed a white female, the perpetrator was unable to stand trial due to his mental condition. It should also be noted that in two instances where a white male was the perpetrator and another the victim, although one was convicted of involuntary manslaughter and one was convicted of voluntary manslaughter, they received probation.

In the "Other" category, the person who committed the homicide was convicted of another crime (such as aggravated assault), the outcome was unknown, or the case was still pending.

A major difference between Tables 9.3 and 9.4 in this section is that sentence length has not been included in 9.4. It is absolutely impossible to know how much penitentiary time people will do based on their sentences. A method evolved over the years giving most of those convicted of homicide three sentences. The first would be for public consumption; the person would receive a sentence of 20 years. The second sentence would be the time to be served in the penitentiary. This would be the first sentence, minus probation. So, it might be a sentence of 20 years, with 10 to serve. This 10 to serve would be the maximum. The third sentence would be the actual time to be served, where an inmate might do a third of the sentence, so the 10-year sentence means actually serving about three years, with seven years on parole. Sentences varied so much that it was impossible to do computations. In addition, the last year of the study was 1993, which was too short of a time span to get data.

After all offenders were accounted for, I then took the list to the Parole office to see what actually happened to the offender. There were four sources of information available--closed files, open files, investigative index cards, and investigative files. The closed files were kept for six years. I did this research in 1998, which meant that this file only went back to 1992. The open files contained only paroles which were still active. The investigative index cards contained all names of those who were, or had been, on parole. The investigative files were in-depth examinations of those convicted who lived in Chatham County. Three problems were immediately recognized. First, only those currently on parole, or who had been on parole after 1992 and lived in the county, were available. Those committing murder in the county, but who were on parole elsewhere, did

not have a file. Second, many of those who committed homicide had been paroled before 1992, or, because they had gotten extremely long sentences, were still in prison. Third, because of the second problem, the parolees found were definitely not a random sample. I then went to the Georgia Bureau of Prisons web site. They were supposed to have records available for any person who ever served time in a state facility. I searched for all of those convicted for homicide in the modern era. My search was done on May 15, 2000. My largest category of convicted in Table 9.4 were black males who killed black males and were found guilty of voluntary manslaughter. Of these 36 cases, 19 had completed their sentences. The presumptive sentence for voluntary manslaughter was 20 years. The average time served for the 19 was 4.1 years. Wetherington (1997) gave the current status of time served by inmates in Georgia. Those convicted of voluntary manslaughter could receive a maximum sentence of 20 years, the average sentence was 16.57 years, and the time to serve was 10.99 years (or 66% of their actual sentence). Those convicted of involuntary manslaughter could receive a maximum sentence of 10 years, the average sentence was 7.33 years, and the time to serve was 6.26 years (or 85% of their actual sentence).

Summary

In adult perpetrator homicides in which the race and sex of participants are known, 47% of 91 in the earlier era resulted in no trial, while 29% of 199 in the modern era resulted in no trial. Of those cases that actually went to trial or were plea bargained in the earlier era, 42% resulted in a conviction for voluntary manslaughter, and 46% resulted in a conviction of murder. Of those murder convictions, 68% resulted in offenders doing life, while 32% resulted in death. In the modern era, of those cases that

actually went to trial or were plea bargained, 34% resulted in a conviction of voluntary manslaughter, and 33% resulting in a murder conviction, where a life sentence was given. No citizen was given the death penalty for killing another citizen in the modern era.

These numbers do not tell the complete story. Not only was their time inside the penal system substantially shorter than sentences for murder, but the conditions were totally different in prisons to which they were sent. Modern prisons to which convicted murderers go are not country clubs. They are psychologically numbing, and prisoners must protect themselves from attacks from other prisoners. In the older era, conditions for prisoners doing hard labor were actively brutal. Even women prisoners were sometimes stripped of their shirts and whipped in front of everyone. There was no recourse to this brutality. If a prisoner died at the hands of an official, nobody was ever successfully prosecuted. It also seems that those tried in the modern era could get their charges reduced as part of plea bargaining. In other words, the different variables involved in the crime reflected a higher charge that would have involved a longer sentence. This means some of those that were accused would get two acts of leniency, one on the charge and one on the actual time served.

Conclusion

The biggest discrepancy in the criminal justice system between the 1896 to 1903 era and the 1986 to 1993 era is in the punishment meted out. From 1896 to 1903, few white criminals in Savannah were incarcerated, and none were hanged. According to Lichtenstein (1996), white juries did not want to convict white men, because they were aware of the awful fate that awaited

them. Not only would they be in a system where approximately 90% of the convicted felons were black, but they would have to work alongside them. They could be leased out to coal and iron companies and whipped for not doing a certain amount of work. The lack of food, clothing, and medical treatment provided by the state and/or employers caused many deaths. This system of enforced work also kept many industries going. Free labor would not work in these industries because of low pay and poor conditions. It was not until 1908 that the lease system was abolished in Georgia. However, convicts were now used to construct roads under brutally similar conditions.

It seems that the cost and benefit to the state of convicting criminals changed over time. From 1896 to 1903, the state could lease out convicts and make some money. According to Lichtenstein (1996, p. 123):

With economic recovery after 1898 came an increase in the price of commodities produced by convicts. This increase, coupled with the opening of the lease to bidding wars and subleases, demonstrated the "value of the [convict] labor under the new law." The 1899 price of \$96 per convict per annum (in the coal mines) was soon eclipsed by subleases worth \$174, and the lease of 1904 cost lessees \$225 for each convict, as free labor became ever more difficult to recruit and retain in a time of prosperity.

Myers (1998) provides an in-depth examination of the politics of leasing convicts from the period of 1868 to 1908.

In the era from 1986 to 1993, housing prisoners was a tremendous cost to the state. It seemed to many that the convicts punished society twice, first, by causing harm, and second, by burdening the taxpayers for their upkeep.

On January 1, 1998, the state of Georgia, possibly responding to the three different types of sentences, and the inaccuracy of the official sentence,

made significant changes to bring more truth to sentencing. Those who were convicted under the "Two Strikes Legislation" for murder are to serve 100% of their sentences in prison. Those convicted of a number of crimes, including involuntary and voluntary manslaughter, will serve 90% of their sentences in prison (Wetherington, 1997).

Poverty

While poverty is an important factor in homicides, there can be little comparison between the two eras because specific economic data on individuals are not available. It can be safely said that almost all of the perpetrators and offenders of homicide in both eras were relatively poor, compared to the wealth of the rest of the populace.

1896 to 1903

Two indicators of the relative poverty of offenders and victims involved pinpointing the geographical locations where both lived, and where the homicides occurred (if different) and examining the City Directory. Of the 101 citizen-versus-citizen homicides, 97 of the locations where they occurred were pinpointed on a map. This required using three different maps from the Georgia Historical Society to get the right positions. All except two of the homicides occurred in what might be called the wrong side of town. This half of the city contained the brothels, bars, and wharf area. The available addresses of both perpetrators and victims were usually in this part of town.

The City Directory was available for all the years of 1896 to 1903. It contained the names and addresses of citizens of Savannah. It was

surprising how few of the names of perpetrators or victims were found by using this resource in view of the thousands of names included. But only those citizens who paid for the privilege of being listed were in the directory. Their exclusion is that an indicator that those involved in homicide did not have such discretionary income.

1986 to 1993

In this era, all 241 homicides were plotted on a modern map. Most of them clustered around the poorest sections of the community, as were the addresses of those involved.

It might be argued that those involved in the Savannah street corner drug trade were wealthy based on the cars driven, money spent, and lifestyle practiced. This would be a poor assumption. The majority of those who live the "gangsta" lifestyle do not save their money or invest it wisely. They spend their money on hedonistic endeavors. While dealing drugs, they usually neglect their families in every way imaginable. When they are arrested, the families usually gravitate toward public assistance. For most, the money is sporadic during drug dealing, with highs and lows.

A further measure of this poverty came from viewing pictures of crime scenes that were found in many of the case files. The abject poverty can be seen in the outside structures of the residences, the lack of furnishings on the inside, and the other few material possessions shown.

Summary

Patterson (1994) investigated poverty in America from 1900 to 1994. He

looked at changing demographics and policies that were promulgated to relieve the problem. One major point was that it has always been difficult to define poverty which makes it difficult to measure one era against another. In constant dollars, the percentage of families with annual incomes below \$3000 in 1896 was 67% and in 1965 was 17%. While this might make it seem that poverty has been reduced, these figures do not take into account numerous types of governmental aid available in 1965 which did not exist in 1896. It may also be true that most citizens were poor, even though they were not so stigmatized. It would seem that their economic status did not equate to their sense of worthiness.

In Savannah, from 1986 to 1993, 92% of the homicides were committed by blacks. It is felt that many, especially juveniles, grew up in the type of poverty that has the least chance of being alleviated except by direct subsidies. This is a type of long-term poverty that affects all races, but mainly blacks in Savannah.

The variable of poverty is more complicated than policymakers on both extremes of the debate want to admit. While many poor people would be viewed as wealthy by the poor in other countries (i.e. cars, televisions, food stamps), relative poverty is increasing. The economic needs of people to escape the lowest rungs of society is greater now than ever. It may be that blacks were poorer as a group in Savannah from 1896 to 1903, but few people believed that being poor was the same as being a criminal. There may have been countervailing forces taking place. In the era of 1986 to 1993, a smaller percentage of blacks would be classified as poor using the standards of the earlier era. There seem to be factors making present day poverty

bleaker and more conducive to criminal activity.

Moral Codes of Conduct

Codes of conduct receive less attention than the other factors. It is a factor that was reinforced indirectly through much of the data collection. Moral codes of conduct are instilled into individuals by their families, religions, values found within society, and the law. These may act together to help shape a person's personality. Berkowitz (1993) feels that when a person is presented with cues that can result in fight or flight, one choice will prevail. This choice is based on the genetic makeup of the person, past conditioning and learning, and identification of the cues that would suggest the best reaction. According to Bandura (1997, p. 3):

Many actions are performed in the belief that they will bring about a desired outcome, but they actually produce outcomes that were neither intended nor wanted. For example, it is not uncommon for people to contribute to their own misery through intentional transgressive acts spawned by gross miscalculation of consequences.

Selling (1940) said that few people move past the threshold where homicide becomes viable. He believed that two types of events interacted with the threshold mechanisms. First were events occurring thousands of times during a person's life, which were more or less constant. The second, which he called the fulminating factor, is the immediate situation causing the homicide.

Those who commit homicide have lived by a code of conduct before the act. This has led them to the critical instant when the victim is fatally attacked. In the spur-of-the-moment homicide, when the perpetrator loses control, his prior life has led him to this moment. The perpetrator who has armed himself to do business, such as robbery or drugs, has already decided

before the act that he is willing to take a life as part of the job description.

When personalities of murderers are examined, in many instances, specific anti-social elements can be matched to certain types of murders. Stone (1998) found narcissistic, schizoid, paranoid, borderline, and sadistic personalities in certain types of murderers. Coid (1998) examined Axis II disorders and found links to the motivations of murderers in specific types of homicides. It is impossible to know how much each individual is acted upon by these elements versus how much control the individual has in shaping the different parts of their personality.

After the act, if we divided the perpetrators of homicide in both eras, and labeled them remorseful and non-remorseful, this might be the best guide to a code of conduct. In all non-self-defense murders, a remorseful person will feel that he should not have taken the victim's life, because of the innate wrongness in the act. Some of these people regret the act immediately, even calling the police and making full spontaneous confessions when they arrive. Some, who commit murders under the influence of alcohol/drugs, become more and more sorry about their action as they become more and more sober. Some will feel that they took the wrong action only after a time of reflection has passed. They may belatedly feel that there were other ways to deal with the problem which created the situation that led to homicide.

The non-remorseful perpetrators only regret that they were caught. Most are involved in illegal activity, such as robbery or drug dealing, which

resulted in the unlawful killing of another human being. While they may claim the gun went off accidentally or that it was self-defense, they usually put much of the blame on the victim. They constantly will say that the victim should not have been in that neighborhood at night, or the victim should have done what he was told to do. They have taken the concept of Wolfgang's victim-precipitated homicide to lengths never contemplated.

1896 to 1903

In the earlier era, some have attributed the high rate of homicide in the South to the concept of white male honor requiring southerners to answer personal slights with physical confrontation. Dueling, though outlawed in England, was common in the colonial South. It was especially ignored among those who were in the military. The first recorded duel in Savannah was in 1740.

Proponents of dueling pointed out additional benefits. It allowed time for thought and discussions with friends before violence took place. This allowed second parties to intervene, or apologies to be offered. It also discouraged private vengeance, which might be the case if weapons were drawn in the heat of the moment, and someone died under questionable circumstances. Dueling was viewed as almost specifically reserved for those of the upper classes, who had some honor to lose.

The last fatal duel in Savannah took place in 1870. Dick Aiken and Ludlow Cohen had words over the racing qualities of their boats. They raced, and, although Cohen won, he said that Aiken's son tried to cheat. When Aiken and Cohen dueled, they fired a total of five times. The fifth shot, by Aiken,

hit Cohen in the abdomen, causing his death.

The last duel was in 1877 when two lawyers exchanged shots and missed, which is somewhat ironic (Gamble, 1923). Williams (1980, p. 82) gives a complete account:

Various difficulties beset their efforts to shoot each other. First, they lost their way to the secret meeting place. Second, following a harmless exchange of shots, dusk fell, making it difficult to aim. Third, one second announced that his man was nearsighted and would require special dispensation. Suddenly it seemed that some solution other than shooting should be found. An agreement was reached to forget the original disagreement. All went home, the two principals became fast friends, and Savannah's last duel became historical record.

Dueling became less accepted as time passed. Some researchers viewed the upper-class Southerner in the 19th century as uniquely violent. These Southerners dueling against their own class, caned the white yeoman, and whipped the black slave. That was the principal reason that a handgun was the weapon of choice. The lower class was beaten with an instrument. When Senator Sumner made a speech against the elderly Senator from South Carolina, Andrew Butler, that was filled with words like harlot, assassin, pirate, and swindler, his nephew caned Senator Sumner. Southerners could not miss the symbolism in this act (Williams, 1980).

Dueling has been ridiculed by modern researchers. While this may be easy to do, when we think of two men facing each other with deadly weapons, to settle a matter where marksmanship takes the place of reason--a code of conduct, with honor at its base--is less easy to dismiss. The confounding aspect of this code of conduct was the fact that while a white person would be quick to react to the slightest disrespect from a black citizen, on the other hand, it would be seen as dishonorable to take advantage of an

inferior creature. The taking of a woman's life in this early era was perceived by all as dishonorable, and harsh punishment was meted out.

1986 to 1993

The modern era has seen a common code of conduct disappear for the populace of Savannah. If a poll could be taken, agreement would be gotten on common values, such as condemning stealing and homicide. On the other hand, bad language, drug use, mistrust of the criminal justice system, etc., are widespread. If persons in this era feel they are slandered or libeled, they are told that their only recourse is to bring suit against the offender. While this is civilized, it means that we tolerate a great deal of bad behavior. Court cases have affirmed freedom of speech and expression to the point that citizens may curse police officers with impunity.

It is impossible to say whether people in Savannah had more positive codes of conduct in the earlier era as compared to the later era. It is possible to say that the codes of conduct are less rigid, and that those that wish to abuse civility may be involved in a wider range of disagreeable conduct, with no negative sanctions imposed.

Wilbanks (1984), after examining over 60 years of homicide trends in Miami, believed that the explanation for increased homicides in certain periods could not be directly linked to too many guns, crazy people, or aliens. He said that "These explanations ignore the possibility that there may be something wrong with the core values and 'real' residents of Dade county" (p. 126). He found a large influx of newcomers arriving in Miami, before rates of homicide increased in 1925-1926 and 1980. It may be that certain factors

occurred which caused the attitude among citizens to become much broader on who "needed killing" and who did not.

According to Baumeister and Boden (1998, pp. 132-33):

In our view, however, the most promising and likely candidate for a psychological antidote to violence is self-control. Our reading of the evidence leads us to recommend that parents, schools, and others forget about raising self-esteem and concentrate instead on instilling self-control (which in fact seems to confer a broad range of advantages beyond stifling aggression). If we are correct in our analysis that the causes of aggression are legion and the inner workings or self-control are the most important restraining factor, then conceivably self-control is relevant to the vast majority of aggression and violence.

Conclusion

The intangible factors discussed have all been affected by changing laws and changing values within society. In the earlier era, blacks had fewer rights than whites because of Jim Crow laws. In the modern era, affirmative action has given blacks more rights than whites in certain areas of endeavor, with equal rights the norm. It seems that a system of apartheid in America is a constant. The government decides what is legal, and what punishments are to be meted out to those who break the laws. Many of those who commit homicide, at least in the modern era, have broken the law before.

Punishment was swift and harsh in the earlier era, although fewer were punished, especially whites. Punishment in the modern era was far less, but more of the accused received some negative sanction. Codes of conduct are the least measurable of any of the intangibles, but of all the factors--both tangible and intangible-- may have the most effect on homicidal behavior in Savannah.

The Media

In the era of 1896 to 1903, the only media available was the printed word. Magazines, books, and newspapers were the means of disseminating

information. The Savannah Morning News was the only source of information on local crime that the citizens had. Newsmen made this information as interesting as possible, but did not romanticize it. More importantly, the newspaper supported swift and sure punishment, capital punishment, and found few mitigating factors for those who committed homicide. Hangings were covered by the newspaper in some detail.

In the era of 1986 to 1993, the majority of citizens do not get much of their information through the print media. They get it from television and movies. They have seen actual killings on the news (i.e., Vietnam) and thousands of pretend killings (usually choreographed with the appropriate music). Subconsciously, people can be led to believe that homicide is not an extraordinary event, but fairly commonplace. Centerwall (1992) believes that at least 50% of American homicides are attributable to television. There are also spokesmen for every perpetrator of homicide to rationalize away their moral responsibility for the act. In addition, videogames, used by the military to overcome natural inhibitions in the taking of human life, are played by juveniles (Grossman, 1998a). Relying upon Centerwall, Grossman (1998b) cites research contending that the murder rate doubles within 15 years in countries after television is introduced. The researcher believed that if television technology had not been introduced in the United States, 10,000 fewer murders would occur every year. Grossman has coined a term "AVIDS" which stands for Acquired Violence Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Smith and Donnerstein (1998), after a review of the literature on violence and television viewing, concluded that viewing television affects people in three ways: it promotes the learning of aggressive behaviors, thoughts, and attitudes; it increases the fear of becoming a violence victim; and it

produces the desensitization to real world violence.

We are constantly told by those selling advertising that they can create images that will mold human behavior. On the other hand, it is impossible to scientifically measure the effect of media on those who have committed homicide in both eras.

Conclusion

In chapter 8, we concluded that the majority of murders in Savannah in both eras were committed by black males, probably involving alcohol, and with a handgun. It is also very likely that the homicide rate in Savannah would be still higher without 90 years of medical advances. In this chapter, we see that there was an inordinately high level of prior involvement in the criminal justice system by homicide participants. Punishment was longer and harsher in the earlier era, primarily for blacks. We know that most perpetrators and victims of homicide are poor, but the concept of poverty is difficult to measure between the two eras. Moral codes of conduct, which includes the magic moment when the trigger is pulled, the knife is thrust, or the bludgeon swung, seems to have changed greatly. It may be closest to a cause of homicide. The media, especially violent interactive video games among at risk youth, may be a risk factor in homicide.

Sobol (1997) examined victims of homicide. He focused on their behavioral characteristics and level of involvement in the homicide itself. He categorized victims four ways: 1) innocent nonparticipating-victims who tried to avoid conflict, 2) noncriminal facilitating--careless, negligent, or risk taking, but basically law abiding, 3) criminal facilitating--

directly involved in criminality, 4) criminal participating--first to commence physical violence. He found that those victims who had contributed to their own homicides tended to have previous arrests and involvement with drugs. The presence of alcohol differed markedly based on the classification of the victim, with the highest being criminal facilitating.

It is easy to find a scapegoat, depending on the reader's own world view. Minorities, especially black males, are over-represented in homicides. If it were not for blacks and recent immigrants, there would be few homicides in Savannah. This thinking focuses on color and/or ethnicity, versus conditions that may be different for different groups in the United States. Alcohol, drugs, and guns are inanimate objects that have to be manufactured. They can be taxed, regulated, or banned. A problem is that they can all be manufactured in the home, based on new technology. In addition, other modes of homicide, especially homemade explosives, are being encountered. Both of the actors in a homicide, perpetrator and victim, are likely to have been charged or convicted of a crime, at least in the modern era. Keeping more people in prison or executing them will probably make the crime rate less than it would have been. The media, with its ever-present images of violence, have helped shape the moral codes of our society.

Chapter 10-Commentary on the Problem

Introduction

This book was the result of five years of data collection. Homicides in Savannah were examined in two eight-year periods, 1896 to 1903, and 1986 to 1993. The data were broken down by homicide type. All civilian-versus-civilian homicides were first examined. Juvenile-perpetrator homicides were separated from this group for an individual analysis. Adult civilian-perpetrator homicide was then examined, based on race and sex of offenders and victims. Government-involved homicides, which included law enforcement related killings and capital punishment were then examined. Finally, nine different factors were examined that may have had some effect on homicides in Savannah during these time periods.

It should be kept in mind that these two eight-year periods cannot be considered to be part of a continuum. The 90 years of homicide data not collected may have had many differentiations within cohorts. In addition, the era from 1986 to 1993 probably had an abnormally high incidence of homicide, fueled by the local drug trade. However, this study has shown that homicide rates are not constant. White male-perpetrator homicide, based on population, was, in the modern era, one-third of what it was in 1896 to 1903, while black male homicide rose by 20%. In addition, the juvenile perpetrators are far more maladjusted in the modern era.

This last chapter will scrutinize the societal attitude in Savannah to the current high level of homicide, and pose a theory as to what society views as an "acceptable level of homicide" and what determines this acceptance. Some concluding remarks will also be made concerning the outcome and

implications of the study.

An Acceptable Level of Homicide

A group of deaths that were not examined might be those caused by violent actions set in motion by other human beings. If homicide, as defined by the legal authorities, was very low in Germany during 1939-1945, Russia during 1930-1938, or Vietnam during 1964-1971, this did not necessarily mean that people were not dying violently. In Great Britain, which has always advertized a miniscule homicide rate compared to the United States, many studies have excluded homicides associated with the troubles in northern Ireland in their tabulations. These deaths were considered a product of terrorism, and therefore not to be counted. According to Lashley (1995, p. 72):

In Great Britain a very famous, if not infamous phrase was first uttered in 1971 by Home Secretary Reginald Maudling when he spoke of "an acceptable level of violence" in regard to the conflict in Northern Ireland. It was his belief that the Irish Republican Army's deadly attacks could be "reduced to an acceptable level." Thus, the political status quo could continue without the need for England to drastically change its policies concerning the status of Northern Ireland. Since the imposition in 1972 of direct British rule through the Northern Ireland Office, 2400 people have been killed in violence related to the conflict between England and the IRA. Between 1973 and 1985 there were 1,110 kneecappings (a procedure wherein the IRA shoots a bullet through the legs or knees of the unfortunate who crosses them). Terrorist bombs have periodically been set off in Northern Ireland and England. Between 1971 and 1985 an average of 25 British soldiers were killed each year in the civil war in Northern Ireland. Assassination has taken the life of both the common subject and the lofty noble. Yet England, by its willingness to endure these casualties, has affirmed Maudling's assertion that there is "an acceptable level of violence."

why homicide rates are acceptable in Savannah

The homicide rate in Savannah is acceptable from a societal standpoint for a number of reasons. First, the worth of the perpetrators and victims, in the

vast majority of cases, is nil. When I speak of worth, I am not defining the term in relationship to what religions, humanists, or social policy experts think of the value of human life. I am talking about value based on economics, community status, and being part of an anomaly that is newsworthy.

economic worth.

In the United States, economists are usually present in civil trials dealing with wrongful death. When they work for the plaintiff's attorney, they attempt to show how much the worth of the deceased was in future earnings to the plaintiff's clients. A number of factors are used, including the deceased's present salary, occupation, salary growth potential, and time devoted to family. The economist working for the defense attempts to temper these estimates by presenting a different extrapolation of numbers. The majority of those who kill and are killed in Savannah are at the lower end of the economic spectrum. In many cases, an economist could show that, at the time of the commission of the crime, they were a deficit to society, and this deficit would predictably increase over time.

Bonger (1916) studied the works of fellow socialists, including Marx and Engels, from a variety of countries. He divided people into four classes: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, and lower proletariat. The bourgeoisie owns the means of production and can be divided into three groups. First, are those who own and direct their own enterprises. Second, are those who may be born wealthy, collect surplus-value, and spend it on an extravagant lifestyle. Third, are those in professions that use science or the arts to help the other two groups. The petty bourgeoisie is made up a

variety of small capitalists, who may always be overcome in the economic arena by the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has no capital and its sole value comes from marketing its labor. Members of the lower proletariat, are described by Bonger, as follows:

Not possessing the means of production, and not being able to sell their labor, these people occupy no position in the economic life properly speaking, and their material condition is therefore easy to understand. Everything that has been said upon this subject with reference to the proletariat applies here, but in a much larger degree. The manner in which these people are fed, clothed, and housed is almost indescribable. The middle class have no idea of such a life; they believe that the pictures of these conditions sometimes painted for them are exaggerated, and that charity is sufficient to prevent their passing certain limits. From these limits we understand that the bourgeoisie does not mean to be incommoded by the poor. If charity were to go farther it would require sums so great that the increase of capital and expenditures for luxury would be interfered with. That would be quite out of the question (p. 276).

One does not have to agree with Bonger's economic theories to see the truth in what he says. Bonger's basic premise was as true from 1896 to 1903 as it was from 1986 to 1993. It is politically correct to promulgate this idea, if one views it as bad and then offers solutions to alleviate this condition. If a writer cites it merely as a fact, he may be censured for being "uncaring." If a change in the economic system or wealth redistribution would in some way lessen homicide in Savannah, it is doubtful that any kind of sufficient change will be made in the foreseeable future that will have any effect on reducing homicide. In examining data from the two eras studied in Savannah, Georgia, it is obvious that the majority of the homicides occur in the economically deprived parts of the city, where living conditions are poor. It is also obvious from reading the reports that the majority of those perpetrators and victims do not have marketable skills that would command either high wages or steady employment. This author viewed photographs of the crime scenes and read the case files of all

the homicides committed in Savannah from 1986 to 1993. While no statistical data were kept from the photographs, the vast majority contained pictures that suggested abject poverty. The photographs certainly reinforce the lack of economic worth of people in these deprived parts of the city.

On the opposite end of economic worth is economic cost. Depending on their political orientation, scholars have attempted to show, through economic theory, why their policies should be adopted to save money. Those who want to lessen the homicides of the poor point out how much they cost society to treat medically when they are shot, stabbed, and bludgeoned. Most of them have no health insurance, so the taxpayer pays the bill. They are then on public welfare and disability, probably for the rest of their lives. There are others, using an economic model, who can show that there are upwards of a million people every year in the United States who thwart assaults by threatening deadly force, claiming that if that threat were not used, injuries would be much higher. Both groups can show the costs in the billions. These arguments are merely new twists on the old argument of whether to invest money in marginal individuals so they will not commit crime, or whether to spend money on prison to keep these individuals away from the rest of society.

community status.

Community status is another major factor that mixes into worth. During both eras studied, the vast majority of killers and of those killed in Savannah were African-American males. In fact, the statistics are far worse than the numbers reveal. If we were able to extrapolate the census to take the number of black males between 16-40 who killed or were killed as a

percentage of the total population--or compared them to white males in that age group--the numbers would be worse. While many feel that this view concerning race shows the inherent racism in American society, it should be noted that in the African-American community, many of these actors have little worth outside of their immediate families.

In the era from 1896 to 1903, blacks could not sit on juries and their votes were made ineffective. Whites ran the city of Savannah. In the era from 1986 to 1993, blacks had increasing power in Savannah, culminating in the election of a black mayor in 1996. However, only a small number of blacks enjoy such power and status. Community status involves many variables including income, lifestyle, education, reputation, etc.

newsworthiness.

The third factor to consider in discussing acceptable numbers of homicide is newsworthiness. Those with little economic future or community status may still be worth something if they are different in some way that can help the media gain ratings. If a poor black child is killed by mistake in a drive-by shooting, this pulls at the heartstrings of more readers than if the same child is killed when her mother beats her. If a white male kills a black male in Savannah, or a black male kills a white male, this is so unusual that it prompts people's interest. If the death fits into a category that promotes sadism and morbid curiosity, it is a winner. If a black male, who is either wealthy or famous, is the perpetrator or victim, it becomes a focus of the media.

Three cases have been chosen from each of the two eras as examples of newsworthy civilian-versus-civilian homicides. The actual names will be used in these cases.

1896 to 1903

case 1(A58).

On September 9, 1898, John Charlon, a 23-year-old black male killed Harry A. McLeod, a food inspector who had stopped at Cord Kracken's green grocery at Bay and West Broad streets about 7 p.m. Charlon had come into the store under the influence of alcohol, purchased ten cents worth of whisky, and an argument developed over money. Kracken took offense at one of Charlon's epithets and threw an iron twine holder at Charlon leaving a gash over his eye. Charlon left and returned shortly after McLeod arrived and demanded a drink. Kracken stepped out of a back room to talk to McLeod. Charlon threw a dollar down for the drink, drew a revolver, and started shooting. He fired two shots, both missing Kracken. The first shot killed McLeod. At this point, Charlon ran but was quickly captured by police. (SMN, 9/10/98)

The newspaper commented that "a more speedy dispensation of justice could not be desired. Within less than four days from the time of the shooting the murderer has been indicted, tried, found guilty, convicted and sentenced to the death penalty" (SMN, 9/14/98, p.8). Charlon was hanged on March 11, 1899.

The primary elements that make this case newsworthy were the following:

McLeod, an innocent victim of Charlon's poor aim, was a white male who was employed in a respectable job, and he could have been any white male who had stopped into Kracken's store.

case 2(A87).

William F. Aiken, a graduate from Harvard Medical School, was a gifted physician and scholar, who had published in a number of academic journals. Unfortunately, he was showing signs of delusional paranoia by 1900, and twice tried to commit suicide. The last time, his wife Anna heard his labored breathing and was able to get medical help to save his life. Recently returned from a rest prescribed by his physician, he became paranoid that his wife was going to commit him to an institution (Butsner, 1988).

On February 2, 1901, Dr. Aiken, shot and killed his wife and then turned the revolver on himself. Conrad Aiken, 12 years old (the oldest of three children), found the bodies. He walked across the street to the police barracks and informed an officer (SMN, 2/3/01). Conrad said that he had

heard his father count "one-two-three" before each shot (Butsner, 1988).

This story was newsworthy because it involved upper class white citizens of Savannah, insanity, and the death of a white female. Conrad Aiken grew up to be the Poet Laureate of Georgia.

case(s) 3(A77-78).

On December 23, 1903, a double homicide took place at the Doss gambling room at Congress and Whitaker streets, just before 6 a.m. Thomas P. Reynolds had been an employee of James L. Doss until a few months before he started work for Rosenthal. Everybody seemed to be getting along well, but everyone was under the influence of alcohol. O'Dell was dealing cards and Rosenthal made an insulting remark to him. According to the newspaper:

Before he had completed the sentence O'Dell lurched forward and struck him in the face. Reynolds, who had changed a revolver from his overcoat pocket to his trousers pocket just before pulling off his overcoat, remarked, "Go as far as you like...."

It is believed by the police that Doss and Reynolds fired almost at the same time, although Turner says that Doss fired the first shot. Turner is certain that Reynolds fired twice, once after he was on the floor (SMN, 12/24/03).

Three men were wounded. Two bullets struck Rosenthal, and Doss was shot at twice and hit once in the chest. Both men died within the week.

This incident was newsworthy because it presents a scenario like a "wild-west shootout": hard-drinking white men in a gambling house, doing "manly" things. One makes an insulting comment to another. Guns are drawn and shots fired. When the smoke clears, three men are down on the floor, all because of "honor." While the newspaper did not glamorize the incident, the elements of the mythic gunfight in the saloon are still there. It was also newsworthy because both the victim and perpetrator were also perpetrator and victim.

1986 to 1993

case 1 (B213).

On December 18, 1989, Walter Moody, a 54-year-old white male, killed Robert E. Robinson, a 41-year-old black male attorney. Robinson was in his office where he handled a package addressed to him, and a pipe bomb in the package exploded. Robinson died from his injuries approximately three hours later.

SPD officers were immediately joined by Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) agents at the scene. One BATF agent had seen a pipe bomb that was almost identical in a case involving Walter Moody. In 1972, Moody had used the same type of bomb against a car dealer he had a dispute with. Moody was convicted and, as a felon, lost his rights. He appealed for the restoration of his rights, which was denied by the 11th Circuit Court. As an act of revenge, Moody sent a pipe bomb to the home of Judge Vance in Alabama on December 16th. He then decided that if he sent another pipe bomb to a black attorney involved in civil rights cases, to whom he had no link, it would confuse federal investigators, who would look for a suspect having links to both Vance and Robinson. Robinson was chosen completely at random. Moody was tried in federal court on 71 different counts and, on July 20, 1991, received seven life sentences and 400 years.

This case was a national media event. A prominent black attorney was killed at random by a white male felon who used a bomb. The bomb sent to Judge Vance was viewed as an attack on the judicial system. It was also considered a sinister act to send an explosive device through the mail to someone picked at random (Jenkins, 1997).

case 2 (B179).

On June 24, 1990, a 19-year-old white female, Shawn Arrington, and a 23-year-old black male, Winston E. Turner, were murdered in his apartment. Arrington had been bound with duct tape, smothered with a pillow, and then stabbed nine times. She was dead before the knife was used on her. Turner had suffered 73 cuts and stabs. At trial, both of black male suspects were exonerated. Years later, Sammy Lee Gadson, doing two life sentences in Leavenworth, and dying of AIDS, admitted being involved in the homicides. Turner had cheated Ricky Jivens, at the time Savannah's main drug dealer, out of \$15,000. Gadson and a now dead accomplice were vigorously questioning him when Arrington came into the room. The pillow was used to keep her quiet.

This story attracted the media because it was a double homicide, which was rare; and it involved victims of different races, which was also unusual.

The media were not told that Arrington had died before the other wounds were

made on her corpse, so it was assumed both victims had been tortured. The backgrounds of both victims, and their involvement with drugs, made the whole incident grisly and sensational.

case 3(B220).

On September 8, 1993, two white males, 18-year-old Timothy Fox and 17-year-old Christopher Frisby, killed a 22-year-old white female, Karen Benning. The two perpetrators forced their way into the victim's apartment. They bound her, and both men raped and sodomized her. Fox had put a handgun on the dresser. She got loose, grabbed the gun and fired, but missed. She was subdued again and stabbed through the neck with a pair of scissors. They then took her for a ride in her car, while she was still alive, later dumping her nude body.

After they killed Benning, Fox bragged to a woman at Beach High School how he and Frisby would make money by killing people, stealing cars, and breaking into homes. When this woman disputed his grasp on reality, he said he had already done it, and showed off his bruised arm, where the victim had hit him with a golf club. Both perpetrators negotiated guilty pleas and received three life sentences each for murder, kidnapping, and rape.

The two young "natural born killers" were perfect for the media. They were also white males who killed a white female, which was a rarity in Savannah. Most importantly, the victim was absolutely innocent. Although no one deserves to be murdered, in almost all cases studied, the victim has more in common with the killer than not or is engaging in behavior that puts them at risk. Karen may have aggravated the incident by trying to defend herself, but this can not be called a personal fault. These two perpetrators watched for a single female to come home and then knocked on her door. This innocence also fed on the fears of citizens.

In a newspaper article by Orr (1995), the following information was given:

The director of the Drug Enforcement Administration used Savannah on Tuesday to illustrate how violent America's drug gangs have become.

Citing the Ricky Jivens gang that terrorized Savannah in 1990 and 1991, Tom Constantine said the drug culture is

more willing than ever to use swift random violence to petrify law-abiding citizens....

"In Savannah, a crack cocaine gang was so violent that it affected the social order," Constantine said. "It terrorized the city with over 20 homicides."

To join the gang, wanna-be members were ordered to kill someone....

The drug kingpin threatened to kill an assistant U.S. attorney and tried to intimidate authorities by ordering gang members to show up at the nursing home where the federal prosecutor's mother lived, he said.

Tom Rose, a former Savannah News-Press crime reporter who is writing a book about the Jivens gang, said Jivens tried to hire a man he thought was a hit man to kill the prosecutor and his mother, a federal judge and gang members on the lam.

The would-be hit man turned out to be a jailhouse informant and exposed the plan, Rose said.

But, in point of fact, most of those involved in homicide have low economic worth, low community status, or are not newsworthy. Homicide among African Americans is not a concern to many whites, except for the spill-over effect. Blacks kill more whites than whites kill blacks in Savannah. Whites are concerned about this trend, especially if it is based on racial targeting or for economic gain.

People are concerned with problems that directly impact them. It may be their boss at work, family life, or the cost of gasoline. The vast majority of citizens are only titillated by the accounts of homicide they gather vicariously from the media or by gossip.

The above factors of economic worth, community status, and newsworthiness are realistic, and have stood the test of time in Savannah. With these factors in mind, consider the following excerpts that were taken out of "Murder in America: Recommendations from the IACP Murder Summit" and published in Law & Order (News Extra: Murder in the U.S., 1995):

In 1993, 24,526 persons were murdered in the United States, one every 21 minutes, an average of almost 500 every week. In the 18-year period between 1965 and 1993, the number of murders in the U.S. increased 149%, from 9,850 to 24,526, and the rate of murders increased 86% from 5.1 per 100,000 to 9.5 per 100,000.

In the country right now, there are some 7.5 million males ages 14 through 17. Violent crime by this age group has increased 165% in the past seven years according to the organization. Considering that by the year 2000, this age group will boast 500,000 more members, the country is primed for a boom in crime statistics. The fundamental theme of the report is that at least 30,000 more criminals will be on the streets by the end of the century unless we do something about it.

A number of violence-reduction strategies were then suggested, ranging from community policing to substance abuse prevention.

In making an analogy to these internal homicide rates and the death rate for soldiers that occurs during a war, the United States has had a large fluctuation in its ideas of acceptable mortality rates in war: During the Civil War, almost all the combatants were Americans. The death rate for those in combat was exceedingly high for a number of reasons such as how strongly the combatants felt about their cause, the destructiveness of the bullets and shells used, and the rudimentary medical treatment available. It was far and away the deadliest war for Americans.

The Second World War was believed to be a righteous war by those involved and those at home in the United States. Casualty rates were less than the Civil War, but when the Marines were approaching Japan, they skyrocketed. The Japanese soldiers fought on Tarawa and Iwo Jima to the last man. In fact, the military suppressed the release of the death rate for fear that the American people could not accept such a high price for victory, and would pressure the government to sue for peace. This was a major factor in the decision to drop the atomic bomb.

In Vietnam, the death rate was less, but was unacceptable. It was an unpopular conflict, and the pictures of American soldiers coming home in bodybags was unpalatable. Millions of Vietnamese, on both sides of the civil war, died, but 54,000 American war dead was unacceptable. And the current military mission to Bosnia has presented the lowest acceptability for American deaths that has occurred in recent times. Many politicians have said that the death of one American soldier is too large a price to pay. An oft heard argument by those politicians who support this mission is that these soldiers are volunteers. The implication is that their lives may be risked on less important missions more readily than those who were drafted in the past.

In war, then, what is the acceptable death rate of soldiers? It all depends on the war, public support, and our position in history.

Conclusion

This study has documented a number of differences in homicides in Savannah between the two eras of 1896 to 1903 and 1986 to 1993. The main differences have been in punishment, mind-set of juvenile offenders, the advent of drug-related murders, and the sharp drop of white male perpetrators in the modern era. Medical care has clearly improved but inadequate non-fatal assault data make it unclear how much impact that has had on Savannah homicides or would have had if 19th-century care had been comparable to that of the late 20th century.

If we took the most common variables that were found in homicide

perpetrators in the latter era in Savannah and put them into an imaginary human being we would have a black male, with a handgun, under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs, with a criminal record, and who grew up in poverty. The item missing is the incentive to use lethal violence. This may well depend on the threshold each individual must reach before they will take another person's life. This code of conduct would consist of all the tangibles and intangibles that have affected this constructed man. Each human being has some measure of individuality.

Most of the public has not been concerned with the level of homicide in Savannah in either period. As long as homicides are rare events to the majority, and most common to a small demographic part of the population, they are not phenomena that cause much concern. However, the public does have a morbid fascination with those homicides that are newsworthy.

An unanswerable question is "What number and types of homicides will occur in the future?" In certain instances, technology may substitute explosives for firearms. The bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma, and the World Trade Center in New York produced high body counts for just one incident. Computerized machines and software will allow people to make weapons in their garages. Videogames and the media will become more realistic and exciting. An increasingly diverse market of pornographic and violent images will be made available to the public. Behavior altering drugs may be legalized or manufactured in the home. On the other hand, medical advances may occur that will save more victims of violent assault. Those in the lowest levels of poverty may live in better conditions because of government programs.

The continuing problem is that there is a small percentage of the population who have a code of conduct which includes violence in situations other than the defense of themselves or another human being. If the population in the United States was 300,000,000, and just one-hundredth of one percent of the people were so inclined, this would be 30,000 people. What do changes in the tangible and intangible factors portend--and what other factors will exist that have never been heretofore considered?

Appendix A

Review of the Literature

Twenty-two studies concentrating on specific geographical areas for certain time periods were reviewed. The earliest studies examined North versus South, while later studies looked at one geographical area for a certain number of years, or compared different geographical areas during the same time period. Each study will be mentioned, and then three factors which were cited in the majority of these studies will be focused on: race, alcohol/drugs, and guns.

Twenty-two Studies

The 22 studies will be listed in the following way: author, date published, years included, and geographical area. The order was determined by the first year studied by the author: 1) Monkkonen (1995), 1796 to 1873, New York City; 2) Schneider (1980), 1830 to 1880, Detroit; 3) Lane (1999), 1839 to 1901 & 1969 to 1974, Philadelphia; 4) Ayers (1984), 1850 to 1900, South; 5) Vandal (1991), 1865 to 1876, parts of Louisiana; 6) Vandal (1994), 1865 to 1884, rural parts of Louisiana; 7) Adler (1999), 1875 to 1910, Chicago; 8) Redfield (1880), 1878, Texas, Kentucky, South Carolina and the New England states; 9) McKanna, Jr. (1997), 1880 to 1920, a county in Nebraska, Colorado, and Arizona; 10) Klebba (1975), 1900 to 1973, United States; 11) Schmid (1926), 1914 to 1924, King County including Seattle; 12) Wilbanks (1984), Dade County including Miami; 13) Brearley (1929), 1920 to 1926, South Carolina; 14) Brearley (1934), no dates, South; 15) Pokorny (1965), 1958 to 1961, Houston; 16) Wolfgang (1958), 1948 to 1952, Philadelphia; 17) Rushforth, et al. (1977), 1958 to 1974, Cuyahoga County including Cleveland; 18) Rizzo (1982), 1958 to 1979, Boston; 19) Munford, et al. (1976), 1961 to

1962 & 1971 to 1972, Atlanta; (20) Block (1975), 1965 to 1973, Chicago; 21) Lundsgaarde (1977), 1969, Houston; and 22) Tardiff et al. (1981), 1981, Manhattan.

Each of the above studies varied in the way data were collected, and what factors associated with homicide were included. Three elements were mentioned often enough in these studies to include some of the findings in this chapter. These three elements: race, alcohol/drugs, and guns will be re-examined at the conclusion of the study presented in this book on Savannah. It should be noted that just because an element was not mentioned in the above studies does not mean that the authors found it unimportant.

Race

The most controversial factor mentioned is that of race. All homicide rates are per 100,000 population, for whatever population group is included, unless noted. Lane (1999) found in Philadelphia from 1839 to 1901 the black homicide rate to be 7.5, and the white 2.8. From 1972 to 1974, the white rate was still 2.8, but the black rate was 64.2. Lane found that in the 19th century, homicides were concentrated among low-status or marginal people. Vandal (1991) was the only researcher who found whites, based on population, to be the major perpetrators of homicide. This was in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, from 1865 to 1876. The total homicide rate was 246.4, with 85% of the homicide victims being black, and 84% of these killed by whites. Vandal (1994), when looking at rural Louisiana from 1865 to 1884 found that black females were killed by blacks at three times the rate that white females were killed by whites.

Adler (1999) found that in Chicago, from 1880 to 1910, 11% of all homicides were committed by blacks, though they never made up more than 2% of the population. He showed an increasing rate for blacks as follows: 1875 to 1879, 13.9; 1880 to 1889, 7.0, 1890 to 1899, 36.5, and 1900 to 1909, 49.0. He believed a cause to be increasing discrimination in employment opportunities and housing, which made it more difficult to establish stable families. Klebba (1975) examined those parts of the United States she had data for, and found, in 1950, the non-white male rate was 49.1 and the white male rate was 3.9. In 1973, the non-white male rate was 77.1 and the white male rate was 8.7. Schmid (1926) examined King County, Washington, from 1914 to 1924. He found the black rate to be 48.3 and the white rate 5.2. He noted that minorities live in the worst part of town, and that a large percentage of minority males were unmarried. In addition, a small minority population magnified their rate of homicide.

Brearley (1934) commented only on the South, and said that blacks, whether in Africa or during slavery, had no reason to esteem life. He believed that they were more impulsive than whites, and that they lacked confidence in the court system. He said that, even excluding blacks from the calculations, the South still had a higher homicide rate than the North. Pokorny (1965) looked at homicide in Houston from 1958 to 1961. The black male rate was 54 and the white male rate was 7.8. Wolfgang (1975) examined homicides in Philadelphia from 1948 to 1952. The black male rate was 41.7 and the white male rate was 3.4. Black males made up 77% of the victims and 80% of the offenders. Wolfgang talked about subcultural violence among those who were involved in homicides.

Rushforth, et al. (1977) obtained data for Cuyahoga County, Ohio. They found the following rates by years, with non-white males being listed first, then white males: 1958 to 1962, 39.6, 2.7; 1963 to 1968, 61.2, 5.0; and 1969 to 1974, 128.0, 10.5. Munford, et al. (1976) examined certain parts of Atlanta. From 1961 to 1962, they found the black rate to be 4.7 and the white rate to be 0.7. From 1971 to 1972, the black rate was 9.9 and the white rate was 2.1. Block (1975) found that in Chicago, from 1965 to 1973, approximately 80% of the offenders were black as were 70% of the victims. Lundsgaarde (1977) found in Houston in 1969 that 69% of the offenders were black males and 23% of the offenders were white males.

Black homicide rates are consistently higher than white homicide rates. In many cases, rates of homicides have fluctuated up and down over time.

Alcohol/Drugs

Lane (1999) believed that alcoholic drink was an enormously important factor to the sub-groups involved in homicides from 1839 to 1901 in Philadelphia. Ayers (1984) found that from 1850 to 1900, in the South, grand juries and newspapers often mentioned alcohol in relationship to homicides. He said that when alcohol was mixed with the culture, especially how drunken men react to insults, it can be problematic. Anyone can then become a victim of a homicidal drunk. Vandals (1994) reported that the press in Louisiana, from 1865 to 1884, said that blacks consumed too much whiskey, primarily on Sundays, which led to murder. Widespread drinking occurred in both races.

Redfield (1880) saw drinking as a prominent factor in homicides occurring in Texas, Kentucky, and South Carolina in 1878. He said that saloons were popular sites of violence, with whisky drinking occurring on certain days, turning grudge fights into murder. McKanna (1997) examined three counties from 1880 to 1920: Douglas County, Nebraska, Las Animas County, Colorado, and Gila County, Arizona. She said that alcohol was a factor, but could find little factual evidence except for the number of homicides occurring in or around saloons.

Wolfgang (1975) found that in Philadelphia from 1948 to 1952, alcohol was absent in only 36.4% of homicides. Alcohol was present in both homicide victim and offenders in 49.5% involving black males, 43.8% black females, 32.3% white males, and 27.9% white females. Rushforth, et al. (1977) found that in Cuyahoga County, from 1958 to 1974, alcohol was a catalyst to violent crime. Tardiff, et al. (1986) found that in Manhattan in 1981, 38% of male and 36% of female victims had alcohol in their systems. In addition, 30% of males and 20% of female victims had drugs in their bodies.

Many of the earlier researchers believed that, if not for alcohol, the crimes would not have been committed.

Guns

Lane (1999) said that the practice of carrying concealed revolvers in Philadelphia (1839 to 1901) meant that what would have been a shoving match in the past, would now be a lethal confrontation. He was not able to attribute a falling homicide rate later in the 19th century to fewer men carrying concealed weapons or to a better control of temper by those who

did. Ayers (1984) said that dueling in the South, from 1850 to 1900, demanded the presence of ubiquitous weaponry. Vandal (1994) said that, in rural Louisiana from 1865 to 1884, the carrying of concealed revolvers by both races made quarrels more bloody and numerous. He suggested that blacks carried guns for protection and increased self-esteem.

Adler (1999) said that white and black newspapers reported that blacks armed themselves for protection in Chicago from 1875 to 1910. Redfield (1880), in his comparison of three southern states to New England in 1878, suggested that there was little concealed carrying of weapons in New England because they had such a low homicide rate. He thought that in the South, on the other hand, everyone carried weapons. The laws against that practice were ignored, because juries would never punish those who did. He believed the suppression of carrying pistols would greatly reduce homicide. McKanna (1997) said that carrying concealed weapons assured a high homicide rate. From 1880 to 1920, handguns were used in homicides in the following percentages: 58% in Douglas County, Nebraska, 70% in Las Animas County, Colorado, and 61% in Gila County, Arizona.

Schmid (1926) found that from 1914 to 1924, in King County, 75.8% of homicides were committed with firearms, 10.3% were caused by skull fractures, and 7.5% were caused by stabbing. Brearley (1934), commenting on the South, asserted that carrying a gun was a symbol of manhood. He stated that 75% of the homicides in the South were committed with a gun, while only 50% were committed with a gun in New England.

Pokorny (1965) found that from 1958 to 1961, 63.5% of Houston homicide victims were killed with guns while 25.4% were stabbed. Wolfgang (1975) found that 36.1% of the homicides in Philadelphia that occurred from 1948 to 1952 occurred with an edged weapon compared to 27.1% with a handgun. Rushforth, et al. (1977), after looking at homicide in Cuyahoga County from 1958 to 1974, said that assailants using firearms were no more intent on killing than those who did not, but were more lethal. They believed that homicide rates would fall if handguns were not available. Firearm-related deaths increase sharply during the years studied. Munford, et al. (1976) believed that the increase in firearms deaths from 1961-62 to 1971-72 in Atlanta, was due to the availability of handguns. Block (1975) also focused on handguns in his study of Chicago from 1965 to 1973. Guns were used in 50% of the murder in 1965 and 71% of the murders in 1973, the rates increasing each year.

Thoughts on Race, Alcohol, and Guns

It is undeniable that blacks (especially males) are both the perpetrators and victims of homicide at rates higher than any other group. Alcohol and drugs seem to be found in the perpetrator and/or victim in a large percentage of homicides. Handguns are the chief weapon of choice by those who commit murder, and usage has seemed to increase in recent decades. On the other hand, it seems simplistic to consider them causes of homicide. In one way, race, alcohol, and guns are tangible. We can usually identify a person's race by sight. We can do chemical analysis of the blood and/or urine of a victim and find out if there was alcohol or drugs in the system. We sometimes have evidence of alcohol and drug use by the perpetrator. The instrumentality that causes the death can almost always be identified.

Race may be what is seen, but it may not reflect an individual's values, ethics, or purpose. Persons from all different environments, economic status, and status in the community can be found in different races. These unseen factors may be of greater importance.

Alcohol and drugs may be dis-inhibitors of certain behavior. There may be a variety of reactions to different chemicals based on the individual who takes them. Judgment, reaction time, and certain cues can be negatively affected by alcohol. But does the use of alcohol put murder into a person's mind? Why do some countries with a higher alcohol consumption rate than the United States have a lower murder rate?

Handguns may provide people a more lethal weapon than a knife or blunt object. This is also true for those who use a handgun in self-defense situations. Size and physical strength are immaterial to those who use a handgun as a weapon. If handguns are more available while laws have become more stringent (i.e. outright prohibition by felons and juveniles and in some jurisdictions by all citizens), what countervailing forces have confounded more restrictive laws? If the presence of a gun causes people to commit homicides, why is not our military racked with mass killings within its ranks on a daily basis?

Conclusion

Each of the three factors: race, alcohol/drugs, and guns were examined in detail in this study. It is believed that these three factors do not cause homicide, and may be only indirectly related to homicides.

Appendix B

Research Design and Data Collection

Introduction

The most important part of any research project is that it is based on reliable and valid data. The data collected on homicide for both eras offered a number of challenges which will be presented subsequently. A basic breakdown of homicides based on type of perpetrator will be given.

Why the Study was Undertaken

First, one of the reasons that the study was done was that I discovered records for an eight-year period (1896 to 1903) that provided some special information on homicides. I thought it would be interesting to juxtapose that early eight-year period against a current eight-year period from 1986 to 1993. I wanted to see the differences and similarities between the homicides and to examine various explanations based on my findings.

Second, I found myself in a unique situation as a researcher. I had taught at a university for six years prior to coming to the Savannah Police Department. I was hired into a civilian position (Director of Training) but I also became a certified police officer. While my graduate education provided the tools to do the research, my law enforcement status provided me with a unique access to data. I cannot overstate the importance of this access. When I realized that I was able to view material a civilian could not get without a continually changing handful of court orders, I thought that I should take advantage of the opportunity.

Third, I noted that the majority of homicide research that has been done to this date has used only the largest cities as research populations (Wilbanks, 1984). These cities have usually recorded homicide information more thoroughly and for a longer period of time than smaller cities. Large data-sets allow more sophisticated statistical analysis. But it is unclear as how far the results can be generalized to the rest of the population.

Fourth, since the South has lived with the onus of slavery and its aftermath, I would examine one era that took place just after Reconstruction when Jim Crow laws were in effect. In addition, there were no governmental social programs during this era, and no money being redistributed by the central government. I would then examine a modern era where equality under the law was the rule, and affirmative action gave minorities an advantage in some areas. This era had massive government programs aimed at ameliorating many of the problems that have been said to cause crime.

Initial Examination of Data

My first sources of information were official government statistics. I noticed an interesting fact when examining the United States Government Census data. In both 1900 and 1990, the percentage of black males, black females, white males, and white females in Savannah were close to being equal. In 1900, the total population was 43,189; 24% were black males, 29% were black females, 24% were white males, and 23% were white females. In 1990, the total population was 137,560; 29% were black males, 24% were black females, 23% were white males, and 24% were white females. Interestingly, the percentages switched by sex for both blacks and whites. America is obsessed with race and sex so this categorization was considered a starting

point. A complicating factor was the discovery that the city limits of Savannah changed in 1901, which added additional population and geographic area.

Data Sources: 1896 to 1903

Municipal Report for Savannah.

The idea for this research began when I came across arrest reports by the Savannah Police that had been submitted to the mayor to be included in his Municipal Report for Savannah. Eight Municipal Reports from 1896 to 1903 were found in various locations. Most were repositied with the Georgia Historical Society. One was found in a locked safe in City Hall. Homicide is historically the most highly reported crime. In addition to arrests for homicide, the Municipal Reports included arrests for assault and striking, assault and cutting, assault and shooting, and assaults with intent to murder, all of which were divided by race. The assault and shooting category only covered six of the eight years selected for this study.

Table B.1 was constructed based on the information found in eight years of Municipal Reports:

Table B.1
Arrests by Race for Various Types of Assaults
by Savannah Police from 1896 to 1903

year	striking		cutting		shooting		intent to murder		murder	
	w	b	w	b	w	b	w	b	w	b
1896	85	214	11	63	0	2	13	45	9	18
1897	78	168	8	30	1	3	8	51	6	11
1898	61	187	6	35	2	5	18	66	1	6
1899	74	223	13	104	4	8	25	73	12	9
1900	78	168	8	30	1	3	8	51	6	11
1901	44	195	4	30	1	2	16	43	5	17
1902	63	182	0	12	---	---	6	64	5	
1903	22	95	0	27	---	---	18	65	3	9
total	505	1432	51	331	9	23	112	458	47	87

As the chart shows, assault by shooting information was not included for the years 1902 and 1903. For whatever reason, that category was not included in the Municipal Reports for those years.

Initially, I thought that the above data would help correlate the various assault categories with the murder rate. As I rechecked my data in one Municipal Report I found a section titled "Health Officer Reports." Much to my chagrin, I found that the Health Officer had recorded the commission of approximately 40% fewer homicides committed than the Savannah police had arrested for. How could this be? In current times there are always more homicides committed than those arrested because some homicides are unsolved.

Discussions with police historians indicated that police in Savannah in that period were attempting to show their productivity by arresting as many criminals as possible. It had nothing to do with jurisdiction. If a homicide occurred outside of the city limits, but SPD officers made the arrest, they would count it. The concept of jurisdiction was not as important as it is now. While it is still true that a municipal police officer has his power conferred through the state, and can carry weapons anywhere within the state, officers cannot arrest outside their jurisdictions except as private citizens. One hundred years ago, civil suits against officers for improper arrests did not exist. Today, if SPD officers need to arrest a suspect in another part of Georgia, they obtain an arrest warrant. This warrant is given to local law enforcement officers who take the suspect into custody, and then turn the suspect over for transport to Savannah. In the early era, if the alleged murderer was arrested on a warrant from another state, the Savannah Police Department would count that as an arrest. This showed how efficient the Savannah Police Department was in getting murderers off our streets, even though they were not our murderers. Many of those committing murders in rural districts fled to the "big city" of Savannah to lose themselves. If another geographical district arrested a murder suspect from Savannah, the SPD would still count that as an arrest when that district returned the suspect to us.

The above information was reinforced by a section included in the Mayor's Annual Report for three of the years studied: 1896, 1897, and 1898. This section included a listing of arrests for murder by Savannah Police officers. This also points to a continuous problem in using early source material that compiled numerical representations. There was little

consistency in the material recorded from year to year. It also became apparent that there were many other homicides committed for which the police had not arrested a suspect.

While this was a sobering development, I thought I could still utilize the Health Officer's Report. First, I decided to investigate another source.

newspapers.

Two newspapers were locally published. The Savannah Morning News was the white newspaper and the Savannah Tribune was the black newspaper. The contribution of each to this study follows.

Savannah Morning News.

A full set of Savannah Morning News papers (SMN) was available from 1896-1903. I assumed that the commission of a homicide would have been newsworthy and some mention would be made in the newspaper. I also thought that the examination of each page of print for nine years (I included 1904 to cover the aftermath of anything occurring earlier), would be the most time-consuming part of the project, so I would finish it first. I also thought that I would be unlikely to miss a homicide, because a report on the commission, capture, grand jury proceedings, trial, and sentence would usually be reported on different days of publication. This supposition proved to be correct. The information was recorded on data sheets.

Savannah Tribune.

The Savannah Tribune was a newspaper established in 1875. It was the black

newspaper and its editor was John Deveaux. The only known repository of issues of this newspaper are at Savannah State College. The full year of 1896, April 1897 to December 1898, 1901, 1902, and 1903 were available for viewing. There were some issues omitted from each year. After examining each year, I learned that few homicides were mentioned. The focus of the paper was primarily on statewide and national events. The three main subjects were the support of the Republican Party, the denouncement of lynching, and the black troops in Savannah. John Deveaux was a leader of one of the companies of these troops that were organized under the state's charter.

There are a number of reasons why the Savannah Tribune may not have focused on local crime. First, they seemed to have few writers. Most of their news came from the wire services. The paper was only published once a week, on Saturday, and did not generate a lot of money. Second, the local articles concerning blacks focused on uplifting stories about clergy and teachers. Third, the concern over criminal justice was primarily focused on Georgia chain gangs and prisons.

There were only three homicide cases found on which commentary was given. All involved Savannah Police Department officers who killed black citizens. Each is mentioned in Chapter 6.

Health Officer's Report.

After recording all the information gleaned from the SMN, I looked at the eight Municipal Reports. Health Officer's Reports were available for six of the eight years. The report omitted all homicides occurring in 1899 and the

report was entirely left out in 1902. The yearly Health Officer's Report separated homicides by month, race of victim, and type of homicide.

health department death certification/registration.

The Chatham County Health Department would not let me view the death certificates or registrations, but did verify my information, or add information that they had of which I was unsure. The data provided were: proper name, date of death, instrument of death, race, and sex. In some cases the registration of death had been recorded, but without issuance of a death certificate.

Lack of Agreement of Data

Sherman & Langworthy (1979), when discussing the difficulties of measuring homicides committed specifically by police officers, suggested the following sources: death certificates, internal affairs records, newspaper stories, and vital statistics. Except for internal affairs records, I examined all homicides using the above mentioned materials.

Table B.2 illustrates all of the data retrieved from the three different sources. This composite was constructed from separate tables that were made for each year. There was a lack of agreement with the data, and the types of differences varied from year to year. The races of victims are included along with the method by which the homicide was committed.

Table B.2
Victim Homicide Data from Three Sources

	Health Officers Report (6 years)	Savannah Morning News (8 years)	Death Certifications & Registrations (8 years)
Total # of homicides	96	129	121
Total black	71	99	89
incised	18	23	18
fracture	7	14	12
gunshot	41	52	50
hanging	3	8	8
beating	0	2	1
Total white	25	30	32
incised	4	5	5
fracture	4	5	6
gunshot	19	20	21

The method I used to reconcile the data was to take each year and use a checklist of the available sources. I listed the name of the victim (obtained from the SMN or death certificates/register) and then counted how many sources verified it. If the victim's name and type of death appeared in both the SMN and death certificates, this means the homicide was verified by two different sources. Then the Health Officer's Report was checked to see if it had reported a homicide that occurred in the same month, by the same means, with the victim being of the same race.

For this study, I first included any homicide that was verified twice. The following six years had three sources of data (SMN, Health Officer's Report,

and death certificates/register): In 1896, 8 homicides had three sources of agreement, 5 had two sources of agreement, and 3 were found only once. In 1897, 7 had three sources of agreement and one had two sources of agreement. In 1898, 11 had three sources of agreement and one had two sources of agreement. In 1900, 9 had three sources of agreement, 9 had two sources of agreement, and 6 were mentioned once. In 1901, 16 had three sources of agreement, 6 had two sources of agreement, and 4 were identified by only one source. In 1903, 16 had three sources of agreement, 4 had two sources of agreement, and 4 were found once. The two years of 1899 and 1902 had two sources of data, SMN and death certificates/register. In 1899, 21 had two sources of agreement and 2 were mentioned once. In 1902, 12 had two sources of agreement, and 3 were found in one source.

I then went back over those homicides that were only mentioned once, not wanting to reject them completely without closer scrutiny. I found the biggest discrepancy was in the Health Officer's Report available for six years. In two of the years, 1897 and 1898, there were no inconsistencies with the other data. But in 1896, 1900, 1901, and 1903 there were 10 cases in which a homicide was recorded in the Health Officer's Report but was not found in the other two sources, and 13 cases in which a homicide was recorded in the other two sources but not in the Health Officer's Report, when matching race, month, and type. On the other hand, health officer's reported a total of 94 homicides for those six years, and the SMN reported 92 for the same time period.

There is no way to rationalize the lack of accuracy in the Health Officer's Report. For deaths by gunshot, two other categories besides homicides were

used: accidental and suicide. It does not seem that a mis-classification occurred. It appears that homicides by gunshot which never happened were recorded. In the final analysis, the total number of homicides cited by the Health Officer Reports was substantially correct, but only because errors in month of commission in both directions were almost equal. A legal hanging was an event in Savannah, and reported in great detail by the SMN. A death certificate was available. However, in two cases this was not recorded in the Health Officer's Report. The SMN ended up being the most reliable and valid of the three sources.

The other major challenge developed when the homicide occurred within the city limits of Savannah. Two city maps of Savannah were used, both produced by the Sanborn-Perris Map Company of 115 Broadway, New York. The company made these maps for insurance purposes. They were quite intricate and included an outline of the structures at most addresses. One map was made in 1888 and the other map was made in 1898. The city limits were the same from 1896 to 1901, but increased in January of 1902. That means that for the last two of the eight years, Savannah was larger. In some cases, the place where the homicide occurred was described as on "the Louisville Road." The Louisville Road was located in the city and in the county. The fact that the death certificates and/or register included the place of death (Savannah or Chatham County) was helpful. It still seems that jurisdiction was not as precise as it is currently on the location of the homicide. One reason for this was that Chatham County was extremely rural and when someone was not dead at the scene of the homicide, he was brought to the same hospital in the city limits. It was thus a Savannah homicide. Though four of the Savannah homicides occurring in that era could not be located on maps

from the era, it was still obvious that these four did occur within the city limits.

After the data were rechecked, 123 homicides were validated. This included eight cases of legal hanging, 12 citizens killed by those acting in a law enforcement role, one case of a military officer killing a private, and one case of a citizen killing a police officer. This left 101 civilian-versus-civilian homicides, with two of these homicides occurring in one case. Six of the 101 civilian-versus-civilian homicides involved a juvenile perpetrator.

Data Sources: 1986 to 1993

Four different sources were used to identify homicides in the eight years from 1986 to 1993. These were the computer list generated by the SPD, homicide briefings, a computer list generated by the homicide investigation unit, and the homicide case files.

SPD computer list.

The SPD Computer List contained the case number, names, race, and sex of subject and offender, date of commission/discovery of homicide, and (room permitting) a basic classification (domestic, robbery, etc.). In approximately 15% of the cases, the disposition was also listed.

homicide briefings.

I initially thought that the single-page homicide briefing was available for each homicide that occurred. This briefing consisted of the case number, date, names, race, sex, and age of subject and offender, and a synopsis of

what happened. I learned that in two of the years examined, when the bodies began to stack up between the Thanksgiving and Christmas seasons in 1990 and 1991, investigators did not write the single page homicide briefing.

homicide investigation unit list.

This was a list that was started in 1990 and included date, names, race, sex, and age of subject and offender, weapon used, a basic classification, but no case file number.

homicide case files.

The Savannah Police Repository moved its offices in 1995, and when I talked to the custodian officer, she informed me that everything was in boxes. I was assured that all the homicides were there, but they were not filed in a systematic manner.

The homicide case file was my main source of data for the 1986-1993 era.

The following checklist was used by investigators for the SPD:

- a. Case Incident Report
- b. Investigator's Supplementary Report (dictated)
- c. Additional Reports--Officers/Detectives
- d. Crime Lab Reports/Pathology/Latent Fingerprint Report
- e. Statements of Witnesses
- f. Statement of suspect(s) and Waiver
- g. Evidence/Property Report Forms
- h. Arrest, Search Warrants and/or Permission to Search
- i. Arrest/Booking Report
- j. Criminal Record/FBI Report
- k. Arraignment Sheet
- l. Witness Worksheet and Continuation
- m. Crime Scene Sketch and Composites
- n. Investigator's Crime Scene Checklist/Miscellaneous Information
- o. Street Canvass (Vehicles/Neighborhood) Check List.
- p. Photographs Taken/Photo Lineup
- q. Notes/Miscellaneous Information
- r. Supervisor's Review and Direction Work Sheet

- s. Investigator's Case Activity Summary
- t. District Attorney's file attached
- u. In the event this case is plea bargained, do you want to be contacted? Yes No

It must be stressed that not all of these items were completed in most homicides. The police are only going to spend their time on information that will point to the guilty person and help in his or her prosecution. The most helpful item was the Investigator's Supplementary Report. This included the relevant facts from the Case Incident Report, and then discussed the ongoing investigation. These two items were always available.

There were other items that were found in the case files on a sporadic and random basis. Such things as jury lists, high school records, military records, psychological tests, and hearsay.

Total Homicides

By sifting through each source, I was able to come up with a total population of homicides. The most complete source of information was the homicide case file. I focused on getting all of the homicide case files and came up short by 16. After six months of request and research, there were 16 files the archives could not account for.

Eight of the missing homicides, representing seven cases occurring in 1991, were only mentioned in the Homicide Investigation Unit List. All of them had an unknown suspect, and no case number was available. When an enquiry was made of the archives, the answer was that "they were all drug related and DEA was handling the cases." This seemed very strange, because homicide in Savannah was totally in our jurisdiction. I contacted the DEA, and they had never received the files. I then met with the U.S. Attorney who

prosecuted most of the drug cases that year, and was told they never had them. I finally talked to a supervisor who had been in charge of the archives, and he had specifically told the custodian to keep the files in a separate box because they were unknown. Hence, they had been misplaced.

Of the 16 cases that had no available case file, the date or case number was used to request the initial report (i.e. the incident report). Thirteen of these incident reports were retrieved; three were not.

The total number of homicides was 249. Four victims were civilians killed by police, and one victim was a police officer killed by a civilian. Two homicides involving civilians were ruled accidental and were excluded to match the earlier data. One other case was excluded because the coroner could not identify the cause of death. This left 241 citizen-versus-citizen homicides, with two victims each dying in two incidents. The Uniform Crime Report shows 240 homicides for the same time period. Juvenile perpetrators accounted for 20 of the 240 homicides.

Additional information, though impossible to quantify, came from off-the-record discussions with investigators who worked cases. When I read through a case file and intuitively believed that some questions had not been answered, I would call them. Almost all of the detectives had retired or been reassigned, but they were extremely forthcoming when supplying sensitive information.

What is a Homicide?

The simple question of "what is a homicide?" took a long time to answer. I

found that there were three areas that needed to be resolved to answer this question. These three areas were: legal definitions, available data, and "what is closest to the truth?"

Legal Definitions

The legal definitions of homicide varied slightly in each era. In point of fact, this was the area of least concern. While the words describing what is to be considered a homicide have changed, the definitions have remained fairly close for first-degree murder, voluntary manslaughter, and involuntary manslaughter.

The legal code defining homicide utilized in the era from 1896 to 1903 was enacted after the Civil War. The following passages are relevant:

Homicide is the killing of a human being, of any age or sex, and is of three kinds--murder, manslaughter, and justifiable homicide. Murder is the unlawful killing of a human being, in the peace of the State, by a person of sound memory and discretion, with malice aforethought, either express or implied. Malice shall be implied where no considerable provocation appears, and where all the circumstances of the killing show an abandoned and malignant heart.

Manslaughter is the unlawful killing of a human creature, without malice, either express or implied, and without any mixture of deliberation whatever, which may be voluntary, upon a sudden heat of passion, or involuntary, in the commission of an unlawful act, or a lawful act, without due caution and circumspection.

In all cases of involuntary manslaughter, there must be some actual assault upon the person killing, or an attempt by the person killed to commit a serious personal injury on the person killing, or other equivalent circumstances to justify the excitement of passion, and to exclude all idea of deliberation or malice, either express or implied. Provocation by words, threats, menaces, or contemptuous gestures, shall in no case be sufficient to free the person killing from the guilt and crime of murder.

Involuntary manslaughter shall consist in the killing of a human being without any intention to do so, but in the commission of an unlawful act, or a lawful act, which probably might produce such a consequence in an unlawful manner:

There being no rational distinction between excusable and justifiable homicide, it shall no longer exist. Justifiable homicide is the killing of a human being. If a person kills another in his defense, it must appear that the danger was so urgent and pressing at the time of the killing, that in order to save his own life, the killing of the other was absolutely necessary; and it must appear, also, that the person killed was the assailant, or that the slayer had really and in good faith endeavored to decline any further struggle before the mortal blow was given (Clark et al., 1867, pp. 836-838).

The legal code that was in place during the era of 1986 to 1993 contains the following relevant passages:

A person commits the offense of murder when he unlawfully and with malice aforethought, either express or implied, causes the death of another human being. Express malice is that deliberate intention unlawfully to take the life of another human being which is manifested by external circumstances capable of proof. Malice shall be implied where no considerable provocation appears and where all the circumstances of the killing show an abandoned and malignant heart.

A person commits the offense of voluntary manslaughter when he causes the death of another human being under circumstances which would otherwise be murder and if he acts solely as the result of a sudden, violent, and irresistible passion resulting from serious provocation sufficient to excite such passion in a reasonable person; however, if there should have been an interval between the provocation and the killing sufficient for the voice of reason and humanity to be heard, of which the jury in all cases shall be judge, the killing shall be attributed to deliberate revenge and be punished as murder.

(a) A person commits the offense of involuntary manslaughter in the commission of an unlawful act when he causes the death of another human being without any intention to do so by the commission of an unlawful act other than a felony. (b) A person commits the offense of involuntary manslaughter in the commission of a lawful act in an unlawful manner which causes the death of another human being without any intention to do so, by the commission of an unlawful act in an unlawful manner likely to cause death or great bodily harm (Georgia Criminal Law and Motor Vehicle Handbook, 1998, p. 95).

Admittedly, it is difficult to always discern the type of homicide committed (Wechsler & Michael, 1937). Plea bargaining has always taken place. It was seldom used in the earlier era, but widely used in the modern era.

Available Data

The source of data for the facts of the homicide for the era of 1896 to 1903

was the Savannah Morning News. The reporters based their stories on discussions with the police, witnesses, victims, and the accused. The reporters attended the trials and commented on different aspects of these proceedings. The Health Officer's Reports categorized accidental deaths and suicides separately from homicides.

The source of data for the facts of the homicide in the era from 1986 to 1993 were the actual case files. This included all of the witness statements, interviews with the suspect, forensic reports, autopsy reports, and other relevant material. Homicides that were later ruled as suicides or accidents were deleted from the data bank.

What is Closest to the Truth?

I thought that comparing those homicides that were reported by the Savannah Morning News and then verified by using the two other data sources with those modern homicides identified in the case files was the closest to comparing like-to-like homicides.

I considered looking at the outcome of the judicial inquiry to determine "what was a homicide?", but found this to be unproductive. I think that the identification by the police of a likely suspect is closer to the truth than all the subsequent court hearings. This does not suggest that the police do not make mistakes, or that a system where the police are the last arbiter of guilt or innocence would be palatable.

The difficulty I have found with the court is that there are a number of factors, other than facts, that seem to affect the outcome of the case once

the prosecutor presents the facts. In the era of 1896 to 1903, only white men sat on the grand jury and trial juries. It seemed that the actual amount of punishment given to whites was less than blacks received for similar homicides. From 1986 to 1993, there are cases that the police developed that went to the grand jury who returned "no true bill." In other words, they found that the case was not worth prosecuting. If I went by this finding, I would have to mark it unsolved and delete race and sex of perpetrator from data collected in those cases. Frankly, I was more surprised with the court actions in the era of 1986 to 1993 than in the earlier era. There were cases in which it seemed almost an absolute certainty that the police had the right suspect and overwhelming evidence of his guilt, but the grand jury did not indict. The following two examples will illustrate this.

two cases without a true bill returned.

case 1.

The first case concerned the murder of a 69-year-old black female retired school teacher. She was stabbed through the chest on a Friday. Her neighbors did not see her for two days. They tried to call her but the phone line was always busy. They had not seen her car since Friday night. When the police arrived, the door was not locked and the woman was found dead. Her two poodles had defecated all over the house, and the garbage was strewn over everything in their desperate search for food and water. A steak knife was found in the corner of the room, but it had been contaminated by the dogs and no evidence could be found on it. The victim had burglar bars on her windows and deadbolt locks on the doors. There had been no forced entry.

The neighbors said that the victim was very careful about letting people in her house. The only two men that she let in were those who helped her take care of the house. The first of these whom the police contacted was very old and had been in bed sick for a number of days. The second man was a black male, 33 years of age. When he was first interviewed, he admitted to being at her home on Friday. He had come over and repaired two lamps. She had handed him a steak knife to cut the wires. He then had a beer with her and watched television with her until 10 p.m. She said that she was having a problem with her car's transmission. He said he would take it to a friend who would repair it at little cost. She gave him the keys. He had driven the car around and parked it at his friend's. The police asked where the keys were and he said under the front floor mat.

The police continued the investigation. They found the only thing missing from her purse was her wallet. They also could not find any house keys in the residence. The police looked under the floormat of the car and found no keys. The car was impounded and taken to a garage. A police detective found the victim's wallet under the driver's seat and the keys underneath the wallet. The house keys were on the same key ring as the car keys. The police also interviewed a family member of the suspect who said the suspect had said that he had found the victim Friday night with a knife in her chest and left because he did not want to get involved. When the police reinterviewed the suspect, they asked why the wallet was in the car, and he said he had no idea. They then asked why the victim had given him her only set of house keys. He said she just wanted him to have them.

case 2.

The second case involved a married man who was separated from his wife. The black male victim was staying with his girlfriend when he got a phone call at night. His wife told him that her car had broken down on her way to pick up their daughters and she needed a tow. He left his girlfriend's and was never seen alive again. His body was found two days later, with one shotgun blast through his back. The police found an informant who said that the wife's boyfriend had told him that he and the wife were planning to murder the victim for his \$50,000 insurance policy. This conversation took place two weeks before the murder. When the police interviewed the wife and boyfriend separately, they asked them where they had been for the two days that the husband had disappeared. They both gave the same alibis. When police contacted some of the people who were to supply the alibi, their statements differed from the statements by the suspects. The wife said that she never called her husband for a tow that night. The wife was then asked if her husband had any insurance. She said no. The police learned that she had \$16.17 taken out of her paycheck every month for a \$10,000 life insurance policy. After further investigation, the police found people who witnessed the boyfriend threatening the husband's life on various occasions.

In both of these cases, the grand jury failed to indict the suspects. It may be that some of the facts listed above could not have been presented for various legal reasons, but it is also true that a grand jury does not decide guilt or innocence--merely whether there is enough evidence to try the accused. After reading the approximately 200 pages of each case file, I think that the police had the right suspects and modus operandi. Each file was much more factual than the outcome of the case. This is akin to the Chief of Police of the Los Angeles Police Department, on the day O.J. Simpson was acquitted of killing his ex-wife and her boyfriend, stating that the case was closed. The police certainly were not going to expend any energy looking for another suspect.

Other Challenges

Maxfield (1989) examined the variety and validity found in supplementary homicide reports. These are reports that ultimately go to the FBI which

then generates homicide statistics. In 15 cities he studied, a wide disparity was found on how homicides were classified. One example was in the way different cities classified "drug-related" murders. In New York, a check-list of sixteen attributes is used, and if any four are evident, it is then classified as a drug-related murder. In Miami, a "drug rip-off" does not qualify as drug-related, though it accounts for 20% of the murders. This points out the difficulty in comparing jurisdictions.

A number of other challenges have also been postulated when examining homicide cases. The data with the highest reliability and validity may not be as exact as would be hoped. For example:

1. Date of Homicide: Is this the date when the victim was first injured, the date when the victim died, or the date that the body was found?
2. Place of Occurrence: Is the place where the person was injured, the place where the body fell, or where the person expired (i.e., an emergency room, since it is not a homicide until death occurs)?
3. Time of Death: Is this the time when the person was injured, the time the police were called, or the time the body was found?

The cause of the homicide and the relationship of the actors is much more subjective, but usually is the most interesting part of the crime to researchers.

Limitations of the Study

There are a number of limitations when undertaking a study such as this one. First, the data that were recorded 100 years ago varies from the data recorded more recently, in that there have been changes in every facet of the system in dealing with homicides, from police investigations to court procedures.

Second, the reason behind the homicide will always be somewhat uncertain. In a homicide the victim is always dead, and the suspect is fighting for his freedom in court. The adversarial system that exists in court has attorneys on either side trying to make their best case, with the judge/jury attempting to decide the truth.

Third, even in the modern era, it is impossible for any homicide researcher to obtain all the data needed. A number of statutes and organizational rules will forbid those outside the agency from examining files. At a minimum, a researcher needs to see the following files on the subject and victim: complete school files, psychologists/guidance counselor reports, complete juvenile history of infractions, intelligence testing, criminal record (including arrests, plea bargains, convictions, police case files, homicide trial transcripts, and sentences), and current correctional/probation/parole files if applicable. The shield that has been used to keep researchers out has been the right to privacy. While this has been successful, I think it specious. A criminal forfeits his right to privacy as to his illegal activities. The majority of criminal justice agencies do not want the public to know what is going on. They want to protect their own turf, and fear the exposure of certain facts may hurt their future. In addition, if every charged criminal was given a number, and all of the relevant information was put in one file, a number of agencies would have to coordinate their data input. At this point in time, it would be a nightmare (even though in the long run, it would save a huge amount of time and money). I believe that researchers should respect human subjects and do everything possible to protect their anonymity. In the

modern era, I have not used names, except when they are absolutely essential to the narrative. However, this protection of subjects should not be at the cost of reliable, valid, and complete research. Even with the above limitations, I think that the data collected have been as complete as possible.

Appendix C

**Civilian Versus Civilian Homicide Cases Not Mentioned in Text By Case Number
Prefixed by a Letter**

1896 to 1903

Black Male Perpetrator

black male victims (A1-A43).

Case A1-Ball was running from the police when an unknown black male fired a shotgun blast of birdshot at him (SMN, 2/7/96). His left arm had to be amputated (SMN, 2/8/96). According to the police officer chasing him, Ball slashed at him with a knife as he fled. A great deal of target practice goes on in the field where Ball was shot. It is conjectured that the shooter was trying to help the police. Ball died about two weeks after the operation (SMN, 2/17/96).

Case A3-Perkins and a few friends, some carrying guitars, met Gibson, who was also with a group about an hour before midnight. The two 18 year olds got into an argument of unknown cause and Perkins shot at Gibson three times, but missed him. Fifteen minutes later, Perkins saw him again and shot him once through the heart. Perkins then shot at the feet of one of Gibson's companions and ran. He was chased by an unknown person and fired once at him. The police arrested him (SMN, 12/25/96).

Case A5-Carraway was the night watchman at the Savannah Lumber Company. He said that Jackson attacked him with a stick and he fired two shots, one shot hitting him in the left breast piercing the heart. Jackson said that he had a fight with his wife, and often slept in the lumber yard. Carraway had replaced the other watchman a week before and was unaware of this. Carraway was described as a "simple" Negro who acted hastily (SMN, 4/4/97).

Case A7-Robinson was a constable, and Fields was accompanying him on "official" business. In point of fact, the justice who saw Robinson would not let him go to work because he was inebriated. He went out anyway. Fields was also drunk. Fields had just purchased a quart of liquor and charged it to Robinson at Hartage's store. Fields said that he was going to kill a woman, and Robinson referred to an earlier killing that Fields had been implicated in. Fields became enraged, and he tripped Robinson and then shot him three times in the abdomen when he was on the ground. After Fields was arrested he told police, "If I didn't kill that man the pistol was no good" (SMN, 2/2/98). Before Robinson died, he admitted having his own revolver out, but said he had no intention of fighting (SMN, 2/3/98).

Case A9-Both men were naval stores hands employed by the same company. Wright had a banjo he had failed to return to Wilcox. Wilcox told Wright he owed him 10 cents because of this. Wright cursed him and grabbed a crowbar and stabbed him once in the jugular vein (SMN, 8/28/98). Wright was found guilty of murder and sentenced to life.

Case A12-The two men had argued previously and then had met in front of a

bar. Jackson said that Graham cursed and abused him, saying that he had seen a white man abuse him on election day, even though he was armed at the time. Jackson said that it was a lie, and that Graham should leave. Graham picked up a rock and broken bottle and advanced toward Jackson. He threw the rock and Jackson ducked before it hit him. He kept coming and Jackson drew a revolver and shot him once in the breast. The coroner's jury found this to be justifiable homicide. Seven witnesses corroborated the story with two of the witnesses being white men (SMN, 3/9/99). Jackson was rearrested when another witness took out a warrant charging that after Jackson had an earlier argument with Graham, he went home and armed himself. He then returned and taunted Graham until he attacked (SMN, 3/15/99).

Case A13—Two young blacks viciously kicked Evans' dog in front of his house because his dog barked at them. Evans, approximately 50 years old, rebuked them for their act and they attacked him. Evans was hit with a billy or slungshot behind the left ear. The event happened two weeks before being reported to the police because it did not seem serious. The two blacks were unknown in the community (SMN, 5/30/99).

Case A15—McGarvey had just gotten out of the military, and Hawkins and his wife plied him with liquor in their home, where McGarvey was living. They were trying to get his discharge money. McGarvey took a razor and cut Mr. Hawkins from ear to ear, severing his windpipe (6/29/99). He was sentenced to life imprisonment. He made two statements when arrested. First, he said that he wished the victim died. Second, he said that the victim was taking drinks too big (SMN, 7/1/99).

Case A17—Jenkins, a convicted burglar, had just been released from prison. He was staying with Bird, who had a room in his restaurant. Bird had accused Jenkins of theft and, when Bird went to sleep, Jenkins tied him up. He then took an ax and hit him twice in the head, fracturing his skull (SMN, 10/24/99, 11/4/99). Jenkins was convicted of murder and given life imprisonment.

Case A18—Brown and Mays had had previous difficulties and were drinking in Weitz's bar. When they left the bar, Brown verbally insulted Mays with the "vilest phrase" he could utter. Mays said that Brown should retract it. They were almost touching when Mays drew his revolver and fired four shots from the hip, two of which struck the torso (SMN, 11/10/99). Mays was arrested in Beaufort, South Carolina (SMN, 12/14/99).

Case A19—Dias West shot Handy Holmes once in the abdomen with a revolver in the hold of the ship Itasaca while it was loading at the wharf. West said that he had been shot by Holmes because he had told him to get to work and given him a slight push. Holmes claims that West attacked him with a cotton hook, beat and abused him, and as he lay on the floor fired in self-defense (SMN, 12/28/99). Holmes was found guilty of manslaughter and given 10 years (SMN, 1/12/00).

Case A21—Bell was shot twice with a revolver, in the mouth and in the clavicle. Before he died, he admitted that during an argument he advanced on Holmes with a heavy hammer and was shot (SMN, 7/17/00).

Case A22—A witness said that Powell and Fields had argued earlier that

evening. As the witness and Powell walked away, Fields said, "You all know who I am. I am 'Eyes,' and I won't stand for no fooling." Fields was seen following them. Fields threw a brick that hit Powell in the back of the head and fractured his skull (SMN, 8/27/00). Fields was finally arrested in Philadelphia under an alias (SMN, 10/29/02); he was found guilty of manslaughter and given 10 years at hard labor (SMN, 3/11/03).

Case A23-Thomas Jenkins said he saw Walter Jones making a nuisance of himself and stopped to warn him that, if he were caught, he would be fined and imprisoned. Jones supposedly replied that it was none of his damned business, punched him in the mouth, and drew a knife. Jenkins said he drew his own knife in self-defense. Jenkins made one cut at the lobe of Jones's left ear and brought it down the neck, severing the artery. Two of Jones's companions caught Jenkins as he tried to leave the scene, and told police that attack on their friend was unprovoked. The grand jury did not have enough evidence to hold Jenkins for trial. Jones had been arrested a few months earlier for killing a black man a few feet from where he died (SMN, 12/25/00).

Case A24-Maxwell was employed in a bar where Lucas had been drinking. They had a quarrel and, when the bar closed, Lucas renewed the argument on the street. Maxwell shot twice with a .32 caliber revolver, and hit him once in the stomach (SMN, 3/13/01).

Case A25-The Newsome brothers were playing stringed instruments at a place in Frogtown. A man named Wardlaw was with them. Jones came up and tried to get Wardlaw to go with him. They argued and then drank together at a bar. They then went outside and Jones convinced Wardlaw to go home because he was drunk. After Wardlaw left, the angry Newsomes argued with Jones. One of the Newsomes cut Jones with a razor, but he took it from him and cut him back. The other Newsome, William, came at Jones, and Jones drew his .38 caliber revolver and fired two shots, one shot hitting him in the heart (SMN, 5/23/01). The first trial was a mistrial with the jury being out for 24 hours. Eight jurors were for acquittal and the other four supported different grades of homicide (SMN, 6/27/01). In the second trial Jones was convicted of manslaughter with extreme mercy, and he was given four years (SMN, 6/25/02).

Case A28-Two men possibly bumped into one another. The younger man, Green, was a newspaper carrier, and the older man, Williams, was a fireman on the Seaboard Line. Williams, without uttering a word, fired two shots into his back as he ran. Williams was caught by an ex-city detective and fireman, and was beaten into submission with a billy and pistol butt. A huge crowd of blacks formed, with half wanting to free Williams and the other half wanting to lynch him (SMN, 8/20/01). Williams was found guilty of murder, and got life at hard labor. He seemed relieved with the verdict (SMN, 10/6/01).

Case A29-A drunken brawl occurred among three men. All the men worked together as coopers, had gotten paid earlier that day, and had been drinking. Lawrence had kicked Proctor earlier in the day and Proctor said he would hurt him if he did it again. Lawrence and the other man thought they saw a bulge in Proctor's pocket, said they were going to find out what it was, and, if it was a gun, they were going to tell the police. Proctor

shot Lawrence one time with a .38 caliber revolver through the heart. The coroner's jury returned a charge of murder (SMN, 8/31/01).

Case A31-Foreman was eating in a restaurant owned by Bowen's uncle. Foreman was in a seat by the fire. Bowen's sister worked in the kitchen, and she sent Bowen for water. When he returned he asked Foreman to move so he could sit by the fire and get warm. Foreman refused, and Bowen used foul language. Foreman warned him to keep quiet and, when Bowen repeated his curses, Foreman hit him with the back of his hand. Bowen then stabbed him twice with a knife in the right shoulder. The coroner's jury charged murder (SMN, 12/30/01, 1/9/02, 1/10/02).

Case A32-Williams and Hooks had been ejected from a stable when it appeared they were going to fight over who was a tougher man. Hooks said that Williams went into a house, and came out with his hand in his pocket. Hooks thought he had a gun, and then threw a brick, hitting Williams in the head. Williams walked home, went to bed with his wife, and died from a fractured skull. (SMN, 4/9/02). The grand jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide SMN, 4/15/02).

Case A33-Robinson and Watson were rival saloon owners. Watson approached a police officer and told him that Jackson had threatened to kill him, and he wanted him arrested. They found Jackson, and Jackson told the officer that he would have to kill him to arrest him. Both the officer and Jackson pulled revolvers, but Watson convinced them to put their guns away. The officer arrested him but Jackson physically resisted. Robinson happened by and helped Jackson resist, which stopped the officer from disarming him. Jackson fired at Watson three times, and Watson returned fired. Jackson and Robinson were both hit. Robinson was hit fatally with one shot from a .38. Jackson told a totally different story. He said that he had a friend who had been charged with theft by Watson. They went to talk to Watson and Watson was outraged that Jackson was involved. Jackson heard that Watson had sent a man out to buy a gun so that Watson could kill him (SMN, 6/5/02). At trial, Watson was convicted of shooting not in his own defense. The police officer's testimony was torn to shreds by the Solicitor General (SMN, 8/12/02).

Case A36-This homicide occurred in front of the victim's home. The perpetrator, Johnson, acted drunk and was standing by a fruit stand with a cord whip in his hand. He would strike people with it as they passed by. He struck 20-year-old Fraser with the whip and they fought. A friend gave Johnson an ordinary kitchen fork, and he stabbed Fraser once in the heart (SMN, 2/15/03).

Case A37-This homicide occurred in Williams' home, where Reynolds, his brother-in-law, cut him with a knife four times (SMN, 3/30/03).

Case A38-This incident involved two brothers in the victim's home. Charles Taylor shot Sam Taylor once with a revolver. He told people he was going for a doctor, but instead fled (SMN, 7/1/03). He was captured and charged by the grand jury with murder (SMN, 10/16/03).

Case A39-Alexander Paris was shot once in the heart with a revolver by Sam West. West was working as a night watchman at Ferguson's lumber yard. According to West, Paris told him he was going to steal a piece of wood.

West told him that he would not allow him to do that. Paris grabbed a piece of wood and tried to strike him. A witness came forward and said that Paris had not been shot in the lumber yard but in front of his house, where the body was found. A woman said that she saw the two men talking amicably an hour before the shooting (SMN, 8/30/03, 8/31/03, 9/1/03). West was found guilty of manslaughter and given five years (SMN, 11/17/03).

Case A41-Henry Glover had been living in the same house as the victim, Augustus Sheppard, and a woman. Glover came home early in the morning and tried to get in and Sheppard would not open the door. As they talked through the window, Glover became angry, and hit him. Glover was charged with assault and carrying a concealed pistol. Sheppard was in the hospital and could not testify about the assault, but Glover was convicted of the weapons charge and sent to convict camp. Sheppard died, but nobody informed authorities, and he was buried (SMN, 10/21/03). After his body was exhumed, Glover was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and given seven years (SMN, 12/16/03).

Case A42-Four blacks were out skylarking with a pistol. One of them shot a revolver at Wyllly Jones's feet and then hit him once in the left breast near the heart. There was considerable controversy over who actually did the shooting, with witnesses identifying different suspects (SMN, 12/26/03). Willie Jenkins was convicted of murder, and given life (SMN, 5/12/04).

Case A43-John Brown, who worked on the schooner Jennie Thomas, accompanied two women to a "dime party." Judge Walker shouted for everyone to stand aside and fired two shots killing Brown instantly (SMN, 12/27/03).

black female victims (A44-A57).

Case A46-Radcliffe Grant and his wife, Marie, got into an argument and he struck at her with a woodsaw. She threw her arm up and received a cut, which resulted in her death from blood poisoning. Her husband escaped (SMN, 8/28/97).

Case A47-Minerva Brown and Pomp Thomas had been living together. When Thomas came home very drunk, they argued. He hit her with a rock in the forehead, and she died two months later (SMN, 10/15/97). Thomas was arraigned in police court on January 7, 1998 (SMN, 1/8/98).

Case A49-Rosa Bowens was staying out late and leading a wayward life, according to her husband, Toby Bowens. When he confronted her shortly after she came home at 1 a.m., she informed him that she would do as she pleased. He took a bar of railroad iron and hit her three times (SMN, 8/31/98). He was convicted of murder and hanged (SMN, 5/13/99).

Case A50-Isaiah Scott killed his wife Marie Scott in their home. He hit her one strike with the sharp edge of an ax on the left side of the head. Isaiah left and gave the key to a neighbor. The neighbor was told to give it to his mother when she returned. His mother found the body on the bed in a pool of blood (SMN, 5/6/99). Scott turned himself into the police the next day and said he had accidentally killed his wife. He said he was chopping wood and the ax head came off, hitting his wife. He then carried

her to the bed. The blood trails the police found contradicted this story (SMN, 5/7/99). Scott changed his story and confessed to the police. He said his wife would taunt him about him being a black man, while she was nearly white (SMN, 5/8/99). He had a "chronic disease" that was not defined but he could not walk far (SMN, 5/9/99). He was convicted of murder and hanged (SMN, 7/22/99).

Case A51-A drunken husband, Alexander Young, fired at his wife, Louisa Young, out of anger. Louisa Young tried to run from her husband, Alexander, when he was clicking his gun at her. She screamed and her next door neighbor Ida ran to her aid. Alexander fired five shots from a .32 caliber revolver. He hit Ida twice and his wife three times. Ida died, while his wife survived (SMN, 8/31/00).

Case A54-John Burke had a number of female friends, though he liked Hattie Bruen the best. She had gotten into a fight with one of his female friends, and he went to talk to her about it. He shot her three times with his revolver, once through the brain. It was later thought that Burke was going to commit suicide after he shot Bruen, but lost his nerve (SMN, 4/4/02). The jury took 18 hours to reach a verdict, due to divisions regarding the degree of guilt and sentence. He was found guilty of murder and given life imprisonment (SMN, 4/15/02).

Case A55-Robert Farmer was playing with a revolver on a stoop. He said it accidentally went off and killed a woman. On examination of the revolver, it was found that it was broken and could not be fired by just pulling the trigger. It had to be deliberately cocked. The woman's dying statement was that he had been pointing the gun at her all evening, and she asked him to stop. The police court held him for murder (SMN, 5/21/02, 5/24/02, 5/27/02).

Case A56-Susie Rogers and Abe Cohen had been living together for two years, when Cohen took a job in Florida. He received word that she was unfaithful. He came back, and they argued. She left their home and went to a place on Olive Street. He followed and asked her to come home. She said she did not have a home. He shot at her five times with a revolver. Cohen's only excuse was jealousy. He said he had left his wife for her, and she should treat him as good as the wife he had left (SMN, 7/4/02). He was found guilty of murder and hanged (SMN, 7/11/03).

Case A57-Willie Calvin felt that his paramour, Annie Pierce, was unfaithful. They had been living together for two years and had constant fights. She would flee into the night, but return the next morning after he was gone, keep house, and prepare his supper. Calvin cut her throat with one stroke of razor severing her neck from ear to ear (SMN, 9/9/02). Calvin was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang (SMN, 12/10/02).

White Male Perpetrator

white male victim (A65-A78).

Case A66-This incident began as a brawl that broke out between two groups of drunken men outside a "disreputable house." William Titcomb was an innocent

bystander who was walking along and he received one blow on the forehead with a club or possibly the side of an ax handle. George Dyer, a barkeeper, and James Brown, an ex-fireman, were arrested. Dyer was charged with the crime. (SMN, 12/25/96, 12/26/96). The recorder of police held him over for trial, but the coroner released him. The recorder signed a second order of arrest for murder (SMN, 12/28/96, 12/30/96).

Case A70-William Mell fired two shots from his revolver at his 15-year-old brother-in-law, Buzbee, in front of Mell's house. One shot hit the boy in the stomach. Buzbee was trying to retrieve his sister's daughter and, when he picked her up, he was shot (SMN, 10/3/99). Mell was sentenced to hang (SMN, 3/2/00). In second trial, Mell received 20 years at hard labor for manslaughter (SMN, 12/12/00).

Case A73-Francis Dieter came home drunk and abusive. He beat his wife and tried to shoot her and her brother, 19-year-old John Scholl, with a shotgun. He dragged his child from bed, and then tried to set the house on fire. Scholl fired a revolver three times, killing him. The coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide (SMN, 2/25/01).

Case A74-John Scott, an alcoholic not living with his family, invaded the family home. He was drunk and cursed his wife and daughter. His son-in-law William Johnson followed him out of the house and threw some rocks at him. Scott supposedly came toward him with a knife. Johnson pulled out his pocketknife and cut Scott repeatedly, including a stab wound to the heart. Witnesses said that the suspect killed the victim when he was on his back and helpless. On the other hand, the suspect described a life-and-death struggle, and only cut the victim while he was standing and fighting (SMN, 5/20/01, 5/22/01, 5/24/01, 5/25/01). The victim's wife also presented damaging testimony. She said that the suspect came downstairs after Scott had gone. She told him not to follow him, but he went in the yard, picked up two bricks, and said he would kill him even if he was to be hanged. The jury was out an hour and half. On the first ballot, 10 were for acquittal and two were for manslaughter; the final verdict was justifiable homicide (SMN, 7/9/01).

Case A75-A trolley car driver, J.L. Avant, was arrested for running over a five-year-old boy, Clarence Baker. Avant had injured people before this incident. The prosecution argued that the trolley car had been going at speeds in excess of 18 miles an hour, and it was prohibited speeds above six miles an hour north of Liberty Street. The prosecution further contended that Baker had failed to ring his bell. The defense argued that the car was going five miles an hour and the bell had been rung several times. The jury was out for 30 hours. Ten were for acquittal and two were for conviction. The deliberations were declared a mistrial, and it was decided Avant would not be retried (SMN, 8/20/01, 3/15/02, 3/16/02).

1986 to 1993

Black Male Perpetrator

black male victim(B1-B132; B240).

Case B1-The perpetrator suspected his wife of infidelity. Both had left their house leaving his two sons by a previous marriage, ages 10 and 11, to take care of their nine-month-old son. She returned home at 2:30 a.m., and he arrived at 5:10 a.m.. He went into a rage, doused his infant son with kerosene, and threw a match. The son died. He took his two other sons and left. Perpetrator found guilty of felony murder, first degree arson, and aggravated assault.

Case B2-Perpetrator and victim fought on the sidewalk. Perpetrator pulled a knife and stabbed victim. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B3-The victim lived at a restaurant where he worked as a security guard. He was proud of being from Philadelphia and felt he was tough. He was with a group of other black males and said he was "going to straighten out a lot of young guys before I leave." He then told one black male "Nigger, I am from 135th and we don't play." Somebody said, "Just because you are from Philly don't mean nothing." A fight ensued. Witnesses said the victim pulled a gun and shot himself. In reality, the perpetrator was never identified.

Case B4-The victim was told by a group of black males that the perpetrator was going to kill him because he had sold phony gold chains. The victim was searching for the suspect. The suspect said he owed him \$65. The victim tried to give him \$23. The suspect killed him. The suspect was found not guilty of murder.

Case B5-The suspect, his stepfather, and the victim (suspect's uncle) went for a ride. The victim and suspect were drinking beer. When the car stopped in front of the victim's home, the victim said to the suspect, "I didn't like the way you talked to me boy, I am your uncle." The suspect said, "I didn't like the way you talked to me either." They both got out of opposite sides of the car. The victim pulled a .22, and fired five times, hitting the suspect once in the neck. The suspect fired back with a .38, putting two rounds in his chest. This was ruled a justifiable homicide.

Case B6-The victim and suspect were at a party. The victim was threatening people, and the suspect intervened. The victim went home, and got a butcher knife. He returned and the suspect pulled a revolver, as he retreated. He fired some shots at the victim and the victim said he would have to kill him. The suspect did. The charge of homicide was dismissed.

Case B7-The perpetrator and a woman had been lovers off and on for four years. He stopped by her house and found her in bed with the victim, whom she had been seeing off and on for six months. Both the woman and her new beau were passed out. The perpetrator went across the street and got her uncle and brought him over to the house. The perpetrator started tussling with the victim, and then pulled his gun and shot him. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B8-A group of black males were drinking beer and talking. The perpetrator and victim were among them. They all agreed to pitch in \$5 for some beer. The suspect accused the victim of taking his \$5. They fought, and the fight was broken up three times. They both left and came back and fought again. The victim ended up stabbed to death with a knife. The perpetrator pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B9-Two men saw a car they wanted, driven by a 17 year old they thought "acted gay." They ended up getting a ride from the victim. They went to perpetrator #1's apartment and the suspects planned to choke the victim and tie him up. They drove out to a vacant lot and perpetrator #1 choked the victim and put him in the trunk. They thought he was dead. Over an hour later, the car stopped, and the suspects heard a noise. Perpetrator #1 opened the trunk and found the victim alive. He got him out of the trunk, walked him into some woods, and shot him behind the right ear. Perpetrator #1 was convicted of felony murder, and perpetrator #2 was convicted of murder and kidnapping.

Case B10-The victim owned a chihuahua, and his next-door neighbor had a husky. They both were arguing about whose dog was a "fag." The victim said when he went to Germany, he was going to get another little dog. The neighbor said, "Well, when you leave your little fag, I am gonna fuck your little fag." The victim accused him of meaning his wife instead of his dog, and an argument ensued. The neighbor's uncle intervened and shot the victim four times. He was convicted of murder.

Case B11-The suspect took a shotgun out of the trunk and said "this will get a nigger off you." He took the spent shell and threw it in the bushes and said "well, I am going to kill a nigger anyway." The victim told the suspect's ex-girlfriend that he would make the suspect kill him. The victim reached under his shirt, as if to get a weapon. The suspect hit him with the gun butt and, as the gun came around, it went off. The charges were dismissed.

Case B12-The victim and his brother bought some marijuana from the suspect. When they got home they found out that the substance was tree moss. They went back and confronted the suspect, who pulled a gun. As the victim ran, he was shot in the back. The brother said he went to the car and took out a gun and shot it in the air to scare the suspect. The suspect pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B14-The suspect and victim had been partying. The suspect gave the victim some money to buy some crack from a woman. The woman says she gave the money back. The suspect became upset when the victim did not have any drugs. He shot him three times when they were in a car.

Case B15-The victim was 11 months old. His father beat him to death and tried to make the crime scene look like a break in. He even wrote "I beat your son, your next" on the wall. He pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B16-The suspect and victim were brothers. The suspect got home and told the victim that he had too many lights on in the house. The suspect then said to a friend "watch this, I'm gonna mess with him." The suspect

got a butcher knife and advanced on the victim who picked up a chair. The victim was not able to block the knife thrust. The suspect was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B17-The suspect and victim had been involved in stealing clothing. The suspect said he went by the victim's girlfriend's house to wish her a Merry Christmas, and the victim started shoving him. A witness said he saw the suspect chasing the victim around the neighborhood. The suspect stabbed the victim with a knife, and the victim fell through a restaurant window. He was convicted of murder.

Case B18-The victim was found lying on the suspect's porch, with a knife and shotgun beside him. He had between 50 and 60 pellets in his body. The suspect said that he and victim got in a scuffle and the gun went off. Witnesses said they heard someone say "I got a knife," then they heard a shot, then someone said "I'm not shooting blanks so if you've got a knife you better use it," then another shot. The charges were dismissed.

Case B19-The suspect was a manager of a sausage shop, and was arguing inside the business with the victim. The suspect asked him to leave. The victim was very disorderly as he left, and asked the suspect to come outside and talk. The suspect went outside and was knocked down by the victim. The suspect was helped back inside by two witnesses. The victim came back into the business after a few minutes and hit the suspect again. The suspect pulled a gun and told him to stop. When the victim swung again, he was shot. Charges were dismissed.

Case B20-Two black women had a history of arguments and fights, primarily over their children. One of the women told her brother, the suspect, that the other woman's boyfriend, the victim, had threatened their family. The suspect and his brother found the other woman and, while talking to her, she said, "Kiss my ass" and was slapped in the face for her comment. Her boyfriend, the victim, came around the corner with a pistol in his waistband. The suspect pulled his gun and shot him. The charges were dismissed.

Case B21-The victim had a number of enemies. He and an accomplice had robbed a man, and taken his liquor. He told his aunt that this man was looking for him. Another man was looking for him for breaking into his car. This man admitted to shooting at him a couple of times before the murder. Both men agreed to take polygraphs, with negative results. The victim had been shot twice, and was found near the rear gate of a house.

Case B24-The victim was lying in a yard with two pieces of crack in his hand and \$102 in his rear pocket. Five black males had done a drive by. They argued they were selling drugs in the project, were fired on, and fired back. The shooter pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B25-The victim was found with a cocked pistol under his body. He had threatened the suspect's life if he ever caught him with a certain girl. The suspect was in bed with that woman when, at 1:30 a.m., he heard loud knocking on the door. The suspect ran out the back and the victim pulled the slide back on his gun. The suspect pulled his own gun and shot him. The killing was judged self-defense.

Case B26-The victim had a fight with a black male named Jones. He took three other black males back to avenge his beating. The victim took some guns from the trunk and gave them to his friends. The suspect was in this group. Shooting began by this group; some say they shot in the air and some say they shot at a house. The victim was shot once during this incident. The suspect was found not guilty of murder, but was found guilty of aggravated assault.

Case B27-The victim allegedly took \$30 from the suspect earlier in the day when he asked the suspect for change for a \$50 bill. He snatched the money out of the suspect's hand and ran. The suspect left, returned home for his revolver, and went looking for the victim. He demanded his money back and the victim reached for his gun, which he had a history of carrying. The suspect killed him. He was found not guilty of murder.

Case B28-The suspect and three other black males confronted the victim, who was disabled. The suspect hit him in the head with a pistol because he had supposedly stolen a bicycle from the son of one of the other black males. The victim's common-law wife found him at home, complaining about a headache. He died of head injuries. Murder charges were dismissed.

Case B29-The suspect came to the victim's residence and asked him to come outside. Once outside, the suspect said to the victim, "You goddamned motherfucker" and then shot him. The suspect said that the victim owed him money for drugs and called him on the phone to come over. The reason the suspect was armed was because of his involvement with the victim's girlfriend. The suspect said the victim reached behind his back and he thought he was going for a gun. The suspect was allowed to plea and was fined.

Case B30-Two drug dealers, standing together, were shot by three black males driving by in a car. The victim who died was shot by one of the suspects a number of times. According to the suspect, he and his friends had been robbed earlier that evening and they were trying to settle the situation. Everybody started firing at once; the car did have its window shot out. The suspect was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B32-The incident began when the victim was in front of a residence, shouting profanity. He told everyone on the porch that he was going to "cook" them; he had told a woman earlier that day that he was going to die. The victim came back with a gun and three black males, who also were armed, started chasing him. The suspect shot and killed him. The suspect was found not guilty of murder.

Case B33-Two black men were shot in a drive-by. The incident started the night before when the suspect would not move his car for a young lady and got out of his car and called her foul names. Another black male beat him up for his lack of manners. The suspect and two friends drove by the home and shot two people related to the person who beat him. The victim who died was shot once. The suspect was found guilty of murder.

Case B34-A black female said her brother (the victim) and her husband (the suspect) had not come home the previous night. When she arrived around 11

p.m. she found broken glass and blood in the bathroom. She found blood on the kitchen stove. Her husband was in drug rehabilitation. According to the suspect, the victim and he had an argument over cocaine, and the victim pulled a gun, they struggled, and it went off. The suspect pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B35-The victim was on a street corner when he was shot in the left forehead by the suspect. The suspect was convicted of felony murder.

Case B36-The suspect told his girlfriend earlier that the victim had beaten him and taken his money, making him cry. He got a gun, went to the victim's house, and shot him in the face. The murder charge was dismissed in court.

Case B37-The suspect was dealing drugs and talking about how "he was going to fuck somebody up." He was also using his own product, crack. The victim allegedly tricked him out of a \$20 piece of crack. The suspect found him and shot him three times. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B38-The suspect and victim had a fight on the dance floor of a lounge. The suspect left, and the owner's son was ejecting the victim when the suspect came back in with a gun. He shot the victim several times as he tried to get out a locked door. When the victim went down, the suspect picked up some bottles and a phonograph and threw them at him. The suspect said he did not want to kill him, but he had to do something, because he felt "ganged." He was convicted of murder.

Case B39-A black male fired several shots from a vehicle at a group which included a black female, the suspect, and two other black males. He said that the suspect had earlier hit him on the head with a gun. He missed and exited the vehicle, chasing the black female. The fleeing black female met other members of the shooter's family. At this point the suspect shot into the crowd, and killed the victim who was an innocent bystander. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B40-The victim had been drinking and visited a black female who gave him a beer. They went over to the suspect's house and, when the female started talking to him, the victim got mad. She tried to get the victim to leave, but he broke away and tried to strike the suspect. The suspect, whose nickname was Knuckles, punched the victim once. The victim hit his head on the sidewalk and died. The grand jury returned no bill.

Case B41-The victim was walking with his common-law wife, her mother, and two infants. A group of black males across the street made some comments, with the suspect making comments about the victim's woman. The victim went over and said if he wanted to fight, he would go get James. The suspect pulled a gun and shot him twice. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B42-A complainant, who lived in the house, had called the police earlier because she found a man there. A gin bottle fell out of his pocket. He jumped out a window before the police came. Her boyfriend went to his home and got his gun and put it on the night stand. Later that night, he got up to go to the bathroom. As he came out, he saw a leg by the bed. He grabbed his gun and yelled "what are you doing there?" as he turned on the

light. The suspect shot the burglar once, and he went down on his knees. The suspect shot him twice more. When police arrived, the burglar was found face down on the floor in the shooter's bedroom, was wearing a t-shirt and pants, but no shoes. The grand jury returned no bill.

Case B43-A man went to his daughter's apartment because she and the man she had been living with until two months before were fighting. The man had broken into her house. He hit the father with a water meter cover, killing him. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B44-A man found three black males in a car, all drinking. One of these men, according to the suspect, had previously told the suspect he was sleeping with the suspect's wife while he was in prison (though he did not know his name). Witnesses say he came up to one of the black males, and hit him in the head. The assaulted man said, "Man, I ain't done nothing to you." The suspect said, "I want to kill you niggers anyway." He then walked around the car to the victim and said, "I'm going to kill you niggers right now." He then shot him. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B45-Shortly before the incident, the victim's son had a confrontation with the suspect, over a traffic situation. The suspect beat him so badly, a lung was collapsed. The victim drove his son to the hospital, in the same truck the son had been driving. The suspect and a friend found the father and shot him with a shotgun, killing him. He was found not guilty of murder.

Case B46-Two cocaine users, one a security guard, were at the other man's home. The man took the security guard's gun from his holster, robbed him, and then shot him. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B47-The victim was partying in a motel room when he left to get a Coke. When he got back to the door, he was shot. He was still alive when he got into the room, but said he did not know who shot him. The people at the party were drinking, smoking marijuana, and doing crack.

Case B48-The suspect was at the victim's house. According to the suspect, they got into a fight. The victim tried to choke him. He pushed the victim away and the victim said he was going to get a gun. The suspect grabbed a four-foot metal pipe and hit him repeatedly, killing him. He pled guilty to aggravated assault.

Case B50-According to the brother of the victim, a CD player had been stolen from his and his brother's car. They found it on the front seat of the suspect's car that was parked at the high school. The brothers followed the suspect's car as he left, and they were fired on. The brothers then rammed his vehicle. The suspect then shot the victim through the head. This killing was ruled self-defense.

Case B51-A black male and female were at her house when two men came over. One man wanted to borrow the black male's car. The woman said okay, but the man could not get it started, and the two men left. The man then started his car and drove around. When he got back, the other man was there. A loud argument arose, and the car owner was shot. It is possible that the suspect had sold the victim crack, and was trying to take the car as payment. The

jury found him not guilty.

Case B54-In this murder, both a white female and black male were killed, a prostitute and her apparent client. The two suspects considered the woman their "crack bitch," obliged to turn over her earnings to them. The male victim was laying naked on the floor on his stomach next to the bed. His wrists were tied together with a rope. There were 73 cuts and stab wounds all over his body. She was asphyxiated. The suspects were found not guilty.

Case B55-A woman told another woman that the first woman's boyfriend was no good. During the next two weeks, the two women's boyfriends exchanged words. The "no good" boyfriend and some friends left a barbeque, and were confronted by the other boyfriend in a housing project, where second boyfriend shot the "no good" one. He was convicted of murder.

Case B57-Two men worked for a poultry company. One of them took a poultry truck and was selling chickens to individuals, and pocketing the money to support his cocaine habit. The police were looking for him for the theft of this vehicle. The thief and the other employee got into an argument, and, as the other employee tried to get in on the passenger side of the truck, he was stabbed and killed. The thief pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B58-A man argued with his wife over his son, because each wanted him to do something different that weekend. The wife's brother, who was living at the residence, objected when the man grabbed the newspaper out of his wife's hands, saying, "Hey man, that's my sister." The two men started to shove each other, and the husband ran and got a knife and stabbed his brother-in-law in the thigh. The suspect pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B59-A retired house painter was found in his living room with a pillow over his face. He had been hit with a hammer on the right side of the head. The suspect's fingerprints were found on a mirror, though he said he had not been in the house for a month. The murder charge was dismissed.

Case B60-Two brothers and a woman were on the street when a man walked by and was staring at them. One of the brothers exchanged words with the man, who went home and got a rifle. The brothers convinced him to take it back home. The man returned and confronted the brothers again. One brother got into a physical fight with the man, who received a beating when the other brother joined in. The man escaped, got the rifle, came back and shot the first brother. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B62-A 20-year-old woman who was in a house before the police arrived said she heard the perpetrator and victim talking, in different languages, about karate and who had the most money. The perpetrator came upstairs and told her to get the victim out of the street because "I done knocked him out and I think he's dead!" He died of a brain injury. The perpetrator pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B63-A man and his common-law wife no longer lived together, but they had an eight-year-old son. The man called her about 10 minutes before he was killed, and said "Are you gonna let the nigger shoot me?" She said she did not understand. He said he was calling from a pay phone, and wanted her to come and get him. She went to the scene and found him dead. According

to the suspect, the victim of accused him of owing him \$4 for hamburgers he never got. The victim called him a punk and reached toward his back. The perpetrator shot him twice. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B64-Two men were arguing in a house with about 10 people. Five years earlier, one had had shot the other causing him to lose an eye. This time, the one-eyed man shot the other as he tried to leave the house. No other party goers pulled their guns and chased him. The killer was no billed on the murder, but found guilty of a probation violation, and possession of a firearm by a convicted felon.

Case B66-A man had told his brother earlier that evening that he was going to kill himself over his breakup with a girl. He went to an elderly man's house, and pounded on the door. When the elderly man opened the inner door, the man demanded money. When told no, he opened the screen door and went in, and, as he reached toward his back pocket, the elderly man shot him, in what was judged to be self-defense.

Case B67-The problem began when a black female left her baby to be watched by three black males. When she returned home, one man was angry at one of the other black males for smoking marijuana around the baby. Later, the other two black males knocked on the door of the angry man, who got his shotgun. He was shot at twice with a handgun, and returned fire, killing his assailant. He was found not guilty of murder.

Case B68-As a man left his vehicle, three black males drove up, jumped out, and shot him down, with one suspect doing the killing. It was rumored that the three men worked for the main drug dealer in Savannah, and that the victim owed him \$10,000, so a hit was ordered. All evidence pointed to this, but there was not enough to secure an indictment.

Case B69-A group of black males took the victim behind a fence and one shot was heard. Witnesses say the perpetrator was selling drugs and the victim came to buy some. He decided not to buy any and left. The perpetrator said they should rob the victim. The perpetrator was found guilty of murder.

Case B71-The victim was found on the street by the police lying on his back. He had \$960 in his left sock and two valuable rings on his hand. He was in town for the funeral of his father, who had died of AIDS; the victim was HIV positive. A black male was seen shooting him as he tried to go over a fence. This was part of the continuing drug war.

Case B72-It was rumored that a drug lieutenant had the victim killed because he did some shoddy repairs on his girlfriend's car. The victim was watching television with some friends, and there was a knock on the door. He said he knew them and opened the door and stepped out. The visitors were two black males. One of them shot him twice. One female witness said that the victim would give her crack for sex, and had a large amount of money a few days prior to the incident. Nobody was ever arrested for this crime.

Case B73-A witness said a big brown car with three black males in it drove up to the victim and asked if he knew "Face." He said no. The black male in the front passenger seat shot him. The car went around the block and they came back and shot him again. The victim had recently messed up on a

drug deal.

Case B74-The eventual victim had had a confrontation with a drug dealer, and the ripped him off. A week later, the victim was having a cookout in his backyard and went to the store. He came back running away from some black males. His friends threw bricks at them, and a police cruiser came by and the men went away. After the victim went inside, his front window shattered. The victim and his relatives went out the front door and a number of shots were fired, one hitting the victim. Two perpetrators pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B75-"Peanut" said that he and his friend were talking when a man came up and said they were talking about his brother. They denied this, but the man began punching "Peanut." The man's mother and another man tried to stop it. But the man pushed the intervening guy twice, and then pulled out a knife and stabbed him. He was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B76-The police were called to the scene where a car was still running after hitting a house. The victim was inside the car and had been killed with a shotgun. The suspect said that he saw someone stealing his car and shot at him. The suspect said he had just got the vehicle back from the police because it had been stolen. He also said he saw something in the victim's hand. He pled to involuntary manslaughter.

Case B77-A man's garage had been broken into a number of times. He heard a noise and found someone breaking into his garage. He asked the apparent burglar to leave but he would not go. So he fired a shotgun at the man through the screen of his window. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B78-The fight started between the two alleged members of the Jamaican Posse and locals at the American Legion Club. The locals busted the side windows out of the Posse members' car. One of the Posse threw a bottle at them, and the other approached the victim, who had not been involved in the vandalism, and fired.

Case B79-Two brothers got into a fight over money. The suspect said the victim owed him money, and the victim denied it. The victim was unemployed, and was using his food stamps to pay his mother, who lived with them taking care of the suspect's daughter. The suspect felt that the victim was eating the food his mother got with the food stamps, therefore making his payment moot. He shot him once, and was found guilty of felony murder.

Case B80-A man went to speak to his wife, and tried to take the vehicle she drove. But she bent the key. After he left, her father arrived. Later, the husband went to the daycare to look for his wife. His father-in-law pulled up, and took a baseball bat from his truck. The husband convinced him to put it away. But, as his father-in-law put it away, he came out with a revolver and shot the husband once. The husband got the gun away and shot his father-in-law. The husband died. The grand jury returned no true bill.

Case B81-The victim's wife called police and said her husband, who had a crack problem, had been missing for 10 days. The police found a witness who was in a room next to the room where the victim was last seen. She heard the suspect say, "Shut-up, you're going to get fucked and killed tonight."

She knocked on the door and, when the suspect opened it, she saw the victim tied in a chair with his head down and blood coming out of his mouth and ears. His leg was folded back under him and his artificial leg was gone. Blood was found in the suspect's van. Three years later, the victim's skeleton was found. The suspect was arrested a year later and convicted of involuntary (sic) manslaughter.

Case B82-The victim, his common-law wife, and another woman were in back of their residence that was used to sell liquor illegally one drink at a time. A black male exited his car and walked toward the house. A car of black males pulled up and threatened him. The man locked himself in a restroom by the house. The group retreated and the man ran out. Two shots were fired. One wounded the man and one penetrated the wall killing the victim. Before dying the wounded man said this all started when he took \$10 from a distant relative. The suspect was found not guilty of murder.

Case B83-The victim came out of a bar. The suspect went up to him and shot him three times. The suspect was on parole for selling drugs. The case is still pending.

Case B87-The sister of the victim heard three shots, and saw two black males in a green car going by. Her brother was in the street, hit twice. Blood on the victim's shirt did not match his blood type.

Case B88-Two black males walked in the back door of the victim's apartment. They grabbed the victim, shook him, and asked where the money was. When he told them he did not have any money, they threw him on the floor, and kicked him in the chest and shoulders. They then placed him on his back, tied his arms with an extension cord, and gagged his mouth. They then ransacked his apartment. He was discovered three hours later. He died of a heart attack caused by the beating. No suspects were arrested.

Case B90-The victim was found at the bottom of the stairs inside the front door of his uncle's home. He had been shot three times with a shotgun. There had been a family dispute between the victim's mother and uncle over their mother's missing money. The victim came over, and a heated argument ensued. The victim said he would get his gun and spray the house, killing everyone. His uncle went up to his room, got the shotgun, and shot him going downstairs. The uncle's first trial resulted in a mistrial; in the second trial, he was found not guilty of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B91-The wife of the victim said she was walking with her husband when he was shot. She told police that her husband was forcing her to prostitute herself to get money for crack. She ended up breaking down with her "john," telling him she had five children, and did not want to do this. The john called two other black males who were nearby and one of them, the suspect, said "I should terminate the motherfucker." He ended up shooting him with a shotgun. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B92-The suspect and victim were arguing about the victim's ex-girlfriend, with whom he had had a child. He saw her in the car with the suspect and began following them. One of them hit the other's vehicle with his vehicle. The suspect jumped out and started shooting into the driver's side. He was convicted of murder.

Case B95-The victim told his girlfriend that the suspect and six of his friends wanted to start a fight with him for no reason. He went outside the house to walk a dog with another girl. She said the victim was shot and three black males ran from the scene. The woman recognized one of them because he used to date her niece. She said that one of the men said to the victim "are you ready to start what you started last night?" He then hit the victim in the face and a fight ensued. The victim was winning when the other black male and the suspect joined in. The two black men held the victim down while the suspect shot him in the head. The three assailants said that the victim was bothering one of their girlfriends and had an ongoing argument. They said that the victim had earlier pulled a handgun on them. One said that the gun went off when he tried to strike him in the head. The accomplices were found not guilty of murder, and the suspect was found guilty of possession of a firearm in commission of a crime and sentenced to five years.

Case B96-A deputy sheriff was falling asleep with his wife in their home. Just after 1 a.m., a burglar came in through the kitchen window. The husband got up and chased the burglar down the hall, firing two shots. The burglar headed toward the deadbolted front door and the suspect fired three more times. This was ruled a justifiable homicide.

Case B97- A black male and black female met the victim, and the three of them bought \$80 worth of crack. They went back to the Economy Inn to smoke it. The black female and victim went out to get more crack for which they gave three men \$100. After they took the drugs and were walking away, the three men came up behind them and said, "Give it up!" They did not, and both were shot through their legs, the victim being shot in the femoral artery. All three suspects were nolle prossed for murder.

Case B98-According to the suspect, he had given a bottle of wine to the victim to hold for him. When he got back, the wine was gone. When he complained, the victim punched him in the nose. He went and got a knife. Then, as he came upon the victim walking with a black male, according to the black male, the suspect came up from behind and stabbed the victim in the chest saying, "this is payback, motherfucker." The suspect flagged the police down because he wanted them to drive him to the hospital to have the injury to his nose treated. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B99-The victim asked his father to give him \$1.00 to go to the store. As he was going to the store, he was shot by the suspect, who was with another black male. They said the gun went off by accident, but after the first bullet hit the victim's leg, the shooter went over and shot him in the head. He pled guilty to murder.

Case B100-According to a black male, the suspect allowed him to drive his car. As he was driving, he saw the victim and another black male and picked them up. He drove to the other black male's house. As soon as he pulled in, the suspect and his brother drove up behind them. The suspect's brother started fighting with the driver. The victim ran, and the suspect shot at him. According to the suspect, the man driving his car had stolen it. He was found guilty of murder.

Case B101-Suspects had been involved earlier that evening in an armed robbery. They had put a man and woman on the ground, kicked the woman in the head, taken her purse, and shot at them. A short while later, a black female and the victim were walking in front of a residence. Suspect #1 got out of a car and shot both of them. Suspect #2 shot the female once in the arm with a shotgun. She was taken to the hospital, and said she had tried to intercede in an altercation between suspect #1 and the victim before being shot. She said that there was a long-standing problem between the two men. According to suspect #1, he was angry with the victim because he failed to jump start a car battery. The victim had five pieces of crack on him. Suspect #1 was convicted of murder, and suspect #2 was convicted of felony murder.

Case B102-Earlier in the evening, the suspect was drinking champagne with witnesses, and shooting his rifle in the air. The victim and another man stopped to talk to the suspect. They wanted to buy some rock, but he did not have any to sell. They left, and the suspect said he was going to "rob those dudes." The victim was beaten by three youths before being shot eight times by the suspect. The suspect was convicted of murder.

Case B103-A black male gambler reportedly ordered a hit on a black male who had stolen \$1600 from him. It actually was probably drug related. A number of men were involved, and 25 shell casings and a number of guns were found at the scene. A father, son (victim), and the son's girlfriend were outside. The father was in a vehicle and the other two people were by the trunk. The victim was hit three times. The suspect asked a girl by whom he had fathered a child to provide him an alibi. But he was convicted of murder.

Case B104-The suspect told his girlfriend not to talk to the victim's girlfriend. The suspect then told the victim's girlfriend to keep his name out of her mouth and punched her. The victim rushed up and a fight ensued. A witness separated them, stopping the victim from choking the suspect. Suspect went back inside the apartment, and got a butcher knife which he concealed. He stabbed the victim. The suspect and the victim's girlfriend had been sexually involved, which actually was the basis for the whole disagreement. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B105-A woman said that the victim came to see her, and said how depressed he was because nobody loved him and all women were the same. The victim went outside and began to tease the suspect. Abusive language was exchanged and they fought, with the suspect grabbing the victim around the neck. When he let go, the victim was bleeding. He had been cut twice. The victim said, "I was just playing with you." The suspect said, "he shouldn't have messed with me." The suspect had a history of psychotic disorders. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B107-The suspect was sitting on the sidewalk with numerous cuts on his face and head. The victim was lying dead in an alley nearby. They had been involved in a knife fight for an unknown reason. At the hospital, the suspect received 55 external stitches and an unknown number of internal stitches. The suspect said that the victim came to his apartment and pulled a knife. They fought and he dragged the victim's dead body outside. The grand jury returned no bill for voluntary manslaughter.

Case B108-A mother said she had come down from New York with her baby and her boyfriend, who was not the baby's father. According to the unemployed boyfriend, while he was watching the baby, the child was "top heavy and clumsy and always hitting his head." He said the child fell down four steps. The autopsy showed the child having 30 to 50 bruises on the abdomen, seven on the head, and bruises on the bottom of his feet. The boyfriend got a hung jury on murder, but was convicted for cruelty to children.

Case B109-This case involved drugs and is somewhat confusing. Three men were victims of an armed robbery, one of whom was shot by one of the two suspects. The victim was found in the southeast corner of an intersection with a \$20 bill and a bag with crack in it. It seems that the suspects wanted to rip drugs and money off of the dealers. The suspect who did the killing pled to involuntary manslaughter while the other suspect pled to armed robbery.

Case B110-An unknown black male suspect shot the juvenile victim, who had gone to Frazier Homes to buy some marijuana. The juvenile was shot in the leg, and the bullet hit the femoral artery. He ran until someone stopped his car and drove the juvenile to the hospital. An intelligence report said the juvenile was working for a drug dealer who was involved in a turf war. The juvenile died.

Case B111-The victim had been divorced from his wife for a month. He told the man he rented a room from, shortly after midnight, that he was going to get a "skeezer" (low class whore). He was seen leaving his room with her around 2:30 a.m. He was found dead shot in the back. The suspect was an unknown black male.

Case B112-The victim's girlfriend said that she was dancing with suspect #1 at a club when the victim came in. The victim confronted her, and suspect #1 intervened. They went outside and continued to argue. The girl said that a beat-up Cadillac came down the road, and suspect #2 gave suspect #1 a gun from the car. He shot the victim four times. Suspect #1 was nolle prossed for murder but pled to aggravated assault. Suspect #2 was convicted of possession with intent to sell narcotics.

Case B113-The victim was lying on the floor in the living room with a hammer lying next to the body. He had a fractured skull. The victim and the suspect, who lived together, had gotten into an argument over food. A witness, who lived there, said he heard the victim say to the suspect, "I'm going to kill you." The suspect then told the witness "you get back further 'cause I don't want no blood to get on you." After the suspect was arrested and handcuffed, he said to police "take these off and I'll go finish him off, if he ain't dead, 'cause I meant to kill that monkey." The suspect said the victim had lived there two weeks and he felt taken advantage of. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B114-Early one evening, the police had arrested two of four black males they stopped. Later, a bicycle rider saw the body of the victim, one of the two not arrested, inside the fence of a horse pasture. Two pagers (one functioning) and five shell casings were found inside the fence. The working pager was rented by a woman for a casual friend, and ended up with the victim. The victim had been known to sell fluke, and had tried to get a

gun earlier. The street talk said he was killed over a bad drug deal.

Case B115-A female said she spoke to the victim who was driving a green Cadillac Seville. As she walked away she saw him talking to the suspect, saying, "What's up big man?" The suspect replied, "Ain't nothing up but that fucked up shit you did yesterday." The suspect pulled a gun, firing numerous times. The suspect fled with a woman who used to be the victim's girlfriend. When she got out of prison, she went with the suspect, who was jealous. He had beaten her the day before when he could not find her. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B116-A friend had just given the victim a ride to a house on Waldburg, where he bought some crack. The victim wanted to light up in the car, but his friend would not let him. The friend let him out of the car and he smoked the crack in a vacant house. When he came out, he was shot by two young black males who came up to a streetcorner looking for the victim.

Case B117-A man's wife paged him to pick her up at work. When he arrived, two suspects were in the back with her. They all went to her mother's residence to pick up the couple's two youngsters. The man then took his family home, and told the suspects to wait outside. His wife said that he went to the separate garage and she heard two shots. The two suspects were walking away. Police found triple beam scales, zip-lock bags, and a cordless phone in the garage. A witness said that earlier, the two subjects talked about buying two ounces of powdered and one ounce of crack cocaine from the victim for \$3,300. According to another witness, they were planning to rob him. Suspect #1 shot him in back of the head. They only got \$2, but all of his drugs. Suspect #1 pled to voluntary manslaughter. Suspect #2 had charges dismissed.

Case B118-Three homeless men were involved in a fight with a knife. Suspect #1 was bleeding from both arms, and suspect #2 did the killing. The victim was stabbed to death. Charges were dismissed in recorder's court.

Case B119-Two witnesses told police that the suspect told them he shot the victim, and left the gun inside the front door. The suspect told a convoluted story that involved the victim wanting cigarettes and a drink, bringing in a hooker whom another man took upstairs, and then threatening the suspect. The victim was found lying to the right of the front porch, shot twice. The grand jury no billed the suspect.

Case B120-When police arrived they saw two people trying to put a sheet over the victim outside the house. An officer saw the suspect on the street and told him to place his hands on the vehicle. As the officer checked him for weapons, the suspect said, "Man, I ain't kill nobody." According to the suspect, he was talking to the victim, with whom he lived, and asked him why he would not work and was such a freeloader. The victim pushed him. The suspect went to the kitchen and got a steak knife and stabbed the victim. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B123-The suspect was riding with a friend and he saw two men, and said, "I'm going to buy that nigger out now, I'm about to go get that money." He got a sawed-off pump shotgun from under a house and, wearing a ski mask, tried to rob both victims. The victims were using drugs, and did not give

up the money. The suspect shot both of them, killing one. He was convicted of murder.

Case B124-Three suspects were in a car they had gotten from a black female, whose mother's male friend was the lawful owner. (The mother had taken the car, but he did not report its theft because he was married.) The suspects saw three men on the street, and one of them yelled "die fucking nigger," and fired at them with two shotguns and a rifle. One victim was shot in the thigh and fled; another was shot in the leg and ankle; the third was dead when the EMT's arrived. At victim #1's autopsy, a .22 bullet was recovered, but it did not match the rifle. It was then discovered that the bullet was from an old shooting. The body was exhumed, and the right bullet was taken from the body. One suspect was convicted of voluntary manslaughter; another pled to aggravated assault; and the third was found guilty of murder.

Case B125-The suspect shot the victim in an argument. Murder charges were dismissed.

Case B126-The victim was found in his living room, lying on his side. Someone had been eating a bowl of cereal at the table. Two .25 caliber casings were found in the hallway. The victim's wallet and a .38 revolver were undisturbed on the dresser in the bedroom. The victim had defense wounds on the right hand. The entire house was locked up when the wife returned from church. All the possible suspects are black males.

Case B128-The victim was found between two cars with blood on his face. He had a cellular phone under his body. A witness said he had traveled to a club with the victim and, while inside, the victim's pager went off. The witness loaned the victim his cellular phone, and the victim went outside. He came back in about 20 seconds and wanted his car keys and cigarettes. Minutes later, people came into the club and said a body was outside. The witness said that he had earlier given the victim \$1700 for his car. A female told police that she had talked to the victim earlier that day, and he said he was going to sell his car because he needed money. Intelligence points to black males hired by a jailed drug dealer being involved in the killing. One bullet went into the victim's brain, and another into the cellular phone. A few months later, the witness was shot on the street.

Case B130-A woman heard shooting and looked out the doorway and saw the victim leaning up against his porch. He said, "Oh man, nigger shot me!" The suspect's sister told police her brothers were involved. One brother said that earlier that morning, the victim robbed him, and he was going to his home and get a stick and hit him with it. The other brother accompanied him. The brothers waited until the victim came out of his house. One brother said, "Nigger, where my stuff at?" Victim said, "What, nigger," and one brother pulled a gun. The victim ran and the brother shot him. The victim yelled, "Oh, I'm hit!" and suspect said, "Nigger, don't try me like that. I should shoot you some more." The other brother said the shooter did this because while he was asleep, the victim had cut his pocket taking his money and drugs. The suspect argued self-defense, and was found not guilty of murder.

Case B131-The victim was found lying on his back on a section of ground between the sidewalk and the curb. Witnesses said the victim had driven to

his house with a friend, who stayed in the car. The victim came out of his house 20 minutes later, and was fired on from the underside of his residence. The next day a witness told police that she heard the victim arguing with his cousin over drugs, and his cousin said he would kill him. Another witness said the victim had ripped off someone over drugs the day he was shot. An unknown black male did the shooting.

Case B132-According to one witness, one suspect approached the victim and said "Sucker, I told you." He then turned away, pulled out a .9mm, racked the slide, and turned back around. He shot the victim and, as he fell, shot him again. Other witnesses said two suspects tried to rob the victim. The victim gave up his wallet but tried to grab the gun. The victim's wallet, with \$220, was on the ground. The suspect tried to sell the gun the next day, for a reduced price, because there was a "body on it." The shooter pled to voluntary manslaughter, the other suspect to robbery.

Case B240-No case file was found. The suspect and possibly a black male accomplice chased the victim across a street. The suspect shot at the victim, hitting him in the chest. The victim tried to duck down behind a occupied car at the Pennysaver, and the suspect jumped on top of the car and continued to shoot down on him, hitting him in the buttock. The suspect fled. An anonymous report said the shooting involved a bad drug deal. An informant named three black males as being involved.

black female victim (B133-B160).

Case B133-A mother and her son got into a fight. The mother stabbed her son in the stomach, and he stabbed her eight times, killing her. He was convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

Case B136-After a woman was found dead in her bedroom, her brother, who had a broken left leg and was on crutches, told officers that he shot her because she threatened him with a knife. He then said, "You goddamn motherfucking faggot, I just killed my sister and you are asking me stupid shit. I want my lawyer." He pled guilty to manslaughter.

Case B137-At the crime scene, the police found blood splatters throughout the apartment, where a woman had been stabbed 17 times. The suspect was believed to be at his girlfriend's house, but when the police questioned her, she initially denied it. She later called the police, who found him in the attic, wearing only underwear. He had put his clothes in the hamper. The victim worked at a radio station, and the suspect was a disc jockey in the military. They knew each other. He was found guilty of murder.

Case B138-The mother was at work and while her boyfriend was taking care of her two children, he beat her infant daughter to death. According to the suspect, the victim kept waking him up, and she started crying until he put his foot on her stomach. He thought she was crying because she was hungry, and he did not have the food to feed her and was tired. He was found guilty of murder.

Case B139-After a woman had not been seen by neighbors for days, they found her car gone and the door to her house ajar. She had been stabbed once with a kitchen knife, but the police found that her two poodles had impaired the

crime scene. Her billfold was gone, and her purse had been dumped out. A suspect admitted being there the night she was killed. He said he fixed some lamps for her, got paid, and then she gave him her car to get repaired. The car was impounded, and her house keys and contents of her purse were found under the front seat. The suspect had told a family member that he had found the victim with a knife in her chest. The grand jury returned no true bill.

Case B140-The two-year-old victim's father began fondling her vagina, causing vaginal bleeding. When she started crying, and victim would not quit crying, the father punched her in the head until her skull fractured. He pled to aggravated battery.

Case B141-When a woman's current boyfriend answered a knock on the door, the ex-boyfriend confronted him with a gun. They fought over it, and it went off a few times. The boyfriend ran for help, and the ex-boyfriend shot the woman on the stairs. When help arrived, the victim was found with one shot in her forehead, and the suspect was found to have committed suicide in the bedroom with one shot through his right temple.

Case B143-A woman was found in the living room, face down, legs spread, no underwear, in a torn red dress with blood on it. Blood was splattered all over the room. Earlier that evening, she had stabbed a man in the chest, which was reported to the police. His first story about this incident was that three robbers came in and beat both of them. The second story was that he came home and saw a man with an erect penis with her; when he rushed in, the man ran out, and he and the victim fought. She then stabbed him. After the police left they got into a fight again, and he beat her with a chair leg and stabbed her with a knife. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B144-A woman's daughter found her mother stabbed a number of times. The victim's son and the suspect, her nephew, were standing over the body. The suspect said he stabbed her to get money for crack. He took \$19.50 from her corpse. He had two pieces of rock on him when arrested. He pled to murder.

Case B145-A man shot two people at an arcade, a black male, who was wounded in the arm, and a woman, who died. According to the shooter, he had had a previous argument with the black male, and the woman had intervened with a small knife. He went out and got a gun and went to the back of the arcade, where the black male worked. The woman joined them. The suspect said he thought she was going to pull a knife, so he shot both of them. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B148-A mother had an argument with her son in the kitchen. She was haranguing him about getting a job and doing something with his life. He got his gun from his bedroom and pointed it at her. She ran down the hallway to her bedroom, locking the door. He forced his way in and she went into the connecting bathroom. He shot her three times. He pled to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B154-A witness saw a woman come out of a grocery store and a man reach in her bag. When she resisted, he shot her and took her purse. Three days later, the suspect was involved in another shooting. The bullets from his

gun matched the bullets in the victim. The suspect told the police that he had to kill the woman because she had a voodoo curse on him. He robbed another lady and took her car because she would not take the curse off of him. He hated black women because he said they had sex with white boys. He was convicted of murder and a number of other charges.

Case B155-A woman was throwing a party at her home for a black male. Another black male interrupted some gambling, pulled a gun, and demanded some money. A man gave him some money, and another man said, "Why do niggers always come to people's house and like to start trouble, pulling guns out and everything?" Supposedly, the man who took the money shot at the woman and missed. The other man went to his truck, got a .45, used the truck hood to rest his hands on, and opened fire. The woman hostess was killed on her porch, the black male guest of honor and the thief were both injured. The suspect had a prior murder conviction.

Case B157-A black male came home and found his girlfriend with another black male in his mother's bedroom. He slapped the new boyfriend, a friend of whose started to go to his car to get a gun. The new boyfriend talked him out of it, and the man and the old boyfriend then fought. The friend then went to his car, got the gun, fired at the old boyfriend, who was running away, and accidentally killed the girlfriend on the porch.

Case B158-A convicted felon was lying in bed with a woman. There was a knock on the door and, when she answered it, she was shot. She staggered back in and told him, "they're here." The felon laid her on the bed, jumped out the window and went for the police. Her brother said her ex-husband was always abducting and beating her. As a result of an unrelated case, the ex-husband was captured the next day with two handguns in his possession, one of which had been used in the homicide. A witness was found who had heard the ex-husband brag with another man about "cooking the bitch" and taking some jewelry. His accomplice pled to voluntary manslaughter, and the ex-husband was found guilty of murder.

Asian male victim (B182).

Case B182-A man had been working with the victim's brother renovating a restaurant in Savannah. The victim arrived around 4 p.m. and they continued working until around 8 p.m. The suspect was drinking beer. No argument was heard except the suspect told the victim he would kill him, pulled a gun and shot him in the head. The suspect escaped and was captured the next day. The suspect's story was that he went to his bag, took out a revolver to show the victim and then the victim yelled at him. The suspect spun around with the gun, and when his arm hit the suspect's hand, the gun fired. There was no explanation for this crime. He pled to voluntary manslaughter and possession of a gun by a convicted felon.

Black Female Perpetrators

black male victims (B183-B197).

Case B183-A woman got into a fight with her husband over a car belonging to her son by a previous marriage. The son was away in the military and the

car was at their home. The woman went into the kitchen and got a butcher knife, which she began to sharpen. She told police she was going to make a sandwich. She stabbed her husband twice. There had been four domestic violence calls in the previous year at this address. In one, the woman had fired a pistol in the air and stabbed her husband in the arm. She pled guilty to voluntary manslaughter.

Case B184-A man took a woman to a cemetery where he tried to have sex with her. When she refused, he slapped her and tried to pull down her pants. She took a kitchen knife out of her purse and stabbed him in the chest. Murder charges against the young woman were dismissed.

Case B188-A man's body was found in a wooded area where he had been shot in the back with a shotgun. He was separated from his wife, pending a divorce and had been living with a roommate. The roommate said that the wife's current boyfriend had terrible fights with the husband and they had threatened each other with lethal force. The wife and boyfriend were both suspects. The decedent's girlfriend said that he received a call from his wife on the day of the homicide. The wife asked him to help tow her broken-down car. He left and never returned. The wife told the police she had no insurance on her husband, but she paid monthly on a \$10,000 policy. An informant told police that the wife's boyfriend said that he and the wife were going to kill the victim for the insurance money. The grand jury returned no bill.

Case B189-A 79-year-old woman shot a man as he tried to break in to attack her granddaughter. Numerous domestic calls at the address had resulted in a peace bond placed on the victim. The granddaughter said that he had a club. Murder charges were dismissed, even though the body of the victim was found in a different place from where the shooting occurred.

Case B191-When a woman found that a female friend was alone, she and her boyfriend drove her over to her house. When the friend's fiancé came home, he was outraged to find the other couple there. He took his fiancé into the other room and said, "we aren't running a whore house here." He then told the couple to get out. They got into the car but the woman got out and started arguing with the man and her boyfriend jumped out and fought with him. The woman ran into the house and got a butcher knife but her female friend talked her into putting it down. More words were exchanged and when the two men fought again, the woman retrieved the knife and stabbed the victim. The murder charge was nolle prossed, but the suspect was convicted of possession of a firearm in commission of a crime. It was not clear why this charge was appropriate.

Case B194-A man was found on the kitchen floor with a shotgun wound to the rear of his body. He and the daughter of his common-law wife (who was in jail) had been arguing outside the apartment. He had told a witness he was afraid the daughter might set him up by planting drugs in his car. She had told her sister that the man had trashed her room, she was tired of him messing with her and that he said "the suit hanging in your bathroom upstairs...is that the suit that I'm going to wear to your funeral?" She ran out of the apartment, got a gun and waited for him to come outside. A number of domestic complaints had occurred at the residence.

Hispanic male victim (B221).

Case B221-The victim was confined to a wheelchair. He and the suspect were in the victim's apartment with a friend. Both the suspect and the friend were in the military. The victim and the suspect had been out drinking, and they argued about military rank. The suspect twice put a pistol in the victim's mouth. The third time he put it in the victim's mouth, the victim said, "This time you're going to do it." The victim lunged forward and he was shot.

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