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East St Louis Riot Investigation

Thurs Oct. 18. 1917
Fri. " 19. 1917

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PROCEEDINGS OF A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, APPOINTED

UNDER AUTHORITY OF H. R. 128;

65th Congress, 1st session.

East St. Louis, Ill., Thursday, Oct.18, 1917.

The Committee met at 10:30 o'clock a.m., Hon. Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

Present also: Congressmen John E. Baker, of California; Martin D. Foster of Illinois; Henry A. Cooper of Wisconsin, and Geo. E. Foss of Illinois.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will please come to order.

The stenographer will please insert in the record House Resolution 128, under which the Committee is acting.

The resolution follows:

Statements

Coyle. Philip W. Traffic Manager St. Louis Chamber of Commerce. Showing how traffic between St. Louis and Eastern points was affected by riot. Questions by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Foster, Mr. Baker. Mentions Mayor Wallman

Extract from St. Louis Star, July 5, 1917.

Extract from report of Interstate Commerce Commission.

Hunter. Frank A. General Manager, Swift and Co. St. Louis, Mo. Showing how traffic between Ill. & Mo. was affected.

Questions by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Foster, Mr. Foss, Mr. Foster. Runs to blow up plants. Immigration of negroes. Account of riot.

65TH CONGRESS, 1st SESSION. } H. RES. 128.

RESOLUTION

Appointing a committee to investigate conditions in Illinois and Missouri interfering with interstate commerce between said States.

By Mr. POU.

AUGUST 3, 1917.—Referred to the Committee on Rules and ordered to be printed.

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65TH CONGRESS, 1st SESSION.

H. RES. 128.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

AUGUST 3, 1917.

Mr. POU submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and ordered to be printed.

RESOLUTION.

Resolved, That a committee of five members be appointed by the Speaker of the House to investigate and make report as to whether conditions existing in the State of Illinois and the State of Missouri at any time during the year nineteen hundred and seventeen, or in either of said States, obstruct or interfere with interstate commerce or render unsafe to person or property, travel from other States into or out of either of said States, and particularly as to whether there is or has been danger of violence to persons traveling from or into either of the States named.

Said committee shall also investigate and report whether travel from or into either of said States is, or has been, obstructed or rendered dangerous by reason of riots,

strikes, mob violence, or failure of State authorities to enforce the law during the year nineteen hundred and seventeen; and if said committee shall conclude that commerce between said States is, or has been, interfered with, or that travel of citizens into and out of the States aforesaid is, or has been, obstructed or rendered unsafe, it shall fully investigate and report the causes of such conditions, particularly the riots, murders, arsons, and other violations of law, strikes, and disturbances, alleged to have occurred in the city of East Saint Louis, Illinois, during the months of May, June, and July, of the year aforesaid, and the causes thereof.

Said committee shall also inquire and ascertain whether obstruction of or interference with travel or interstate commerce between the two States aforesaid affects or has affected in any way contracts made by persons or corporations with the Government of the United States for the manufacture or delivery of war supplies; and for the purposes aforesaid the committee shall have power to send for persons and papers and enforce their appearance and to administer oaths.

Said committee also is hereby authorized and empowered to require witnesses to answer all questions propounded by any member thereof touching the investigation ordered and to require any witness called before it to testify fully as to any information in his possession, whether

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in the nature of hearsay testimony or otherwise, relative to the inquiry ordered; and it may hold hearings at any place in the States of Illinois or Missouri, as well as in the city of Washington, and shall have power to report at any time.

The Committee desires to say to you, Mr. stenographer, that no witness will be permitted to correct what he says on the witness stand by correcting the typewritten transcript which you may make of his testimony. If any witness desires to make a correction of what he has said he will come back before the Committee and make it, so that the Committee may be advised of any corrected statement which he may make.

Mr. Coyle, will you take the stand?

STATEMENT OF PHILLIP W. COYLE,

TRAFFIC MANAGER OF THE ST. LOUIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Coyle, please give to the stenographer your full name, address and occupation, together with the capacity in which you appear before the Committee.

Mr. Coyle. Phillip W. Coyle, traffic manager of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Johnson. Now, Mr. Coyle, the Committee would be very glad to have you make a statement setting forth any knowledge that you may have concerning the interference with interstate commerce between the states of Missouri and Illinois at any time during the year 1917; and the resolution under which we are acting authorizes the Committee to gather from each witness not only facts within his actual knowledge, but also such hearsay information as he may have. In detailing your knowledge of facts it would be well to advise the Committee when you depart from that and give hearsay statements, so that we may be able to separate the two. You may proceed now in your own way.

Mr. Coyle. In order to show you in what way the traffic between St. Louis and eastern points was affected by the riot, perhaps I can best lay the foundation for that by giving you a few facts covering the general situation with respect to such transportation.

There is moved in and out of the city of St. Louis annually about 65,000,000 tons. According to the report of the Merchants

Exchange for 1916 the tonnage received at St. Louis by all railroads was 38,000,000 tons; forwarded from St. Louis by all railroads, 27,900,000 tons. Or in round numbers 66,000,000. Of that tonnage it is quite safe to say that the eastern lines--- or the lines serving St. Louis in the movement of traffic to and from points east of the Mississippi River---handled substantially half. Those railroads that must necessarily cross the river in order to handle traffic between the territory I have described are as follows: Chicago and Alton Railroad; Illinois Central Railroad; Louisville and Nashville Railroad; Mobile and Ohio Railroad; Southern Railroad; Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis; Vandalia---or now the Pennsylvania; Wabash, as it is designated, East, as distinguishing it from the Wabash West; Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad; Chicago, Peoria and St. Louis Railroad; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad East; Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad.

That includes carload and less than carload shipments. The carload shipments were not to any great degree interrupted by the riot. I mean by carload shipments, shipments that are loaded at the factory of the shipper, and those carload shipments were not greatly interrupted. Our less than carload shipments were interrupted to a great extent, but I have no exact figures with reference to the tonnage.

Mr. Johnson. At what time did the interruption commence?

Mr. Coyle. It began in a slight degree some time in the latter part of , I believe, March---just a slight interruption when there was some trouble over here, but the material interrupption occurred on the second, I think, of July, and continued very acute up to about the tenth of July.

Mr. Foss. This was March of this year?

Mr. Coyle. My recollection is it was March of this year. There was some interruption there, so they had to close the

freight houses for a very short time.

Mr. Cooper. You said up to the tenth; do you mean the tenth of July?

Mr. Coyle. The tenth of July, that it was very acute.

From the figures I have obtained I am able to make this estimate of the tonnage that was thus interrupted. It amounts to substantially 100,000 per month.

Mr. Johnson. And can you tell us of what that tonnage consisted?

Mr. Coyle. All kinds of merchandise that is shipped in less than carload lots.

Mr. Johnson. The interference then was just with general shipments, and was not with any particular character of shipments?

Mr. Coyle. Not at all; all classes.

We have a very peculiar situation here, which I believe would be illuminating to you gentlemen, in order to have you clearly understand how dependent St. Louis is upon the freight depots that are situated at East St. Louis, in the movement of this class of traffic to which I refer. I do not wish to burden the record, but I believe if you will permit me to read from a decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, I can best illustrate how we are thus affected by any interruption of traffic through the freight houses on the east bank of the river.

Some six or eight years ago, on their own motion, the Interstate Commerce Commission investigated the conditions here with respect to the transfer of freight between St. Louis and East St. Louis; and for fear I may not find in here and give to you just exactly the history of the case, previous to 1906 all rates pertaining to St. Louis shipments, both in and out, were made to and from East St. Louis, plus whatever

it might cost across the river. After long negotiations it was so arranged that all rates now are published directly to and from St. Louis, both carloads and less than carloads, to and from all points east of the Mississippi River. When that was done, of course the carriers were obliged to protect their through rates, and their through bills of lading to the west bank of the river; and ten railroads not having any freight house facilities on the west bank of the river were obliged to make arrangements with companies having those facilities on the west bank of the river. The only companies having such facilities were the Terminal Railroad Association, with two freight depots; and two wagon transfer companies. Those two transfer companies had each three to five---one had five I believe and the other had three---freight houses on the west bank. From that I think you will understand what the Commission means---

Mr. Foss (interposing). Well, I understand that most of the railroads have their terminals on this side?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I can give you a list of those that have their terminals on this side only. The Baltimore and Ohio---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). That is on the west side?

Mr. Coyle. On the Illinois side. I am giving you now those who have freight houses only on the east side; Baltimore and Ohio; Chicago and Alton; Big Four; Mobile and Ohio; Cloverleaf; C. P. and St. Louis; Southern; Illinois Central.

The following have freight houses on both sides of the river: Wabash; L. and N.; C. B. and Q.; Vandalia, or Pennsylvania.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Coyle, may I ask you a question there? I don't know whether I get this clear or not. A through shipment from the east, say from New York, can be shipped to East St. Louis---the freight would be the same to St. Louis

as it is to East St. Louis, except the expense across the river?

Mr. Coyle. No.

Mr. Foster. That is what I want to get.

Mr. Coyle. It is just the reverse of that.

Mr. Foster. Let me ask you this: Do they make the rate then from New York to St. Louis, and East St. Louis is not a terminal point?

Mr. Coyle. Exactly. From all points outside of what is termed the 100-mile zone, all freight rates to and from eastern points to St. Louis are made the same to St. Louis as to East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. The same to St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. The same to St. Louis as to East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. So the expense across the river is what?

Mr. Coyle. That is borne by the carriers. That is expense; a certain arbitrary charge made by the Terminal Railroad Association, with which of course the shippers have no concern, because their rates are made direct.

Mr. Foster. So that a shipment from the east would go to St. Louis, across the bridge by the Terminal Association---whatever it is called---at the same rate as it would to East St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir; and whatever the Terminal Railroad Association might charge for making that haul from East St. Louis to St. Louis is absorbed in the St. Louis rate.

Mr. Baker. Is that the same with shipments coming from the west---from Kansas City?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. That is what I want to find out. Shipping from the west a great deal of stock, as I understand it, goes across the river to East St. Louis. Now the rate across the river to East St. Louis is the same as it would be if

it stopped in St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. Yes.

Mr. Foster. I mean coming from the west.

Mr. Coyle. On all commodities originating or having destination outside of the zone that is zigzag---runs in some cases 200 miles west; then again comes in within 75 miles. Or, in other words, practically all shipments to or from points west of Jefferson City. And the Chicago and Alton must necessarily cross the river in order to get to St. Louis with Kansas City shipments or any shipments handled west.

Mr. Foster. Let me ask you this: A shipment from the east, destined for East St. Louis, ~~which~~ pays the St. Louis rate, as I understand it?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Then would that be a higher rate than if East St. Louis had a rate of its own, which would be less the expense in going across the river? In other words, do they make the rate high enough to pay the expenses of the Terminal Railroad going across the river?

Mr. Coyle. Well, we assume that they do.

Mr. Foster. And East St. Louis is discriminated against on account of fixing the rate on St. Louis? I am asking for information.

Mr. Coyle. Yes, I can answer your question and give you the information you want if I tell you how that was brought about.

Practically all of the rates in what is known as official classification territory---that is the territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio and Potomac---are made on what is known as ---in railroad parlance---the McGregor scale. That is, they take the rate from New York to Chicago as the unit rate, and all other rates are made on a percentage of that unit; and the territory west of Buffalo is divided

up into zones known as percentage zones, and all points within those several zones take their fixed percentage of that unit rate. It so happened when we were negotiating with the railroads for the establishment of the rates to and from St. Louis directly for all that territory I have described, that the percentage scale applicable to East St. Louis was 116 per cent of the Chicago-New York rate; and as a compromise, and in order to give us a uniform rate to this entire St. Louis district---which we contend is commercially one---including St. Louis, East St. Louis, Granite City, Madison and Venice---they made that scale to cover St. Louis and all of this territory I have just described, 117, we will say, and that is practically the basis of all of the rates to and from this St. Louis territory and the territory outside of the 100-mile zone which I have described.

Now when the carriers made those rates applicable to St. Louis, as I have said, they assumed the responsibility then of protecting those rates to the west bank of the river; and having no freight houses of their own they were obliged of course to protect them through such connections as they could make. The only real connection they could make was the Terminal Railroad Association. Now the Terminal Railroad Association facilities are limited to this extent---just to illustrate: In a recent investigation I made I found that the Terminal Railroad Association has in the city of St. Louis team tracks or delivery tracks that will accommodate substantially 2000 cars. Now there are ten lines on the east bank of the river whose rails terminate there, that are thus dependent upon the facilities of the Terminal Railroad Association, and those east side lines all together have on this bank of the river about 42,000 car lengths of track for the handling of similar traffic.

Now on the west bank the terminals could only offer the use of two freight houses at the most; so that it became

incumbent upon these lines whose rails terminate on the east bank of the river to arrange with these transfer companies. The St. Louis Transfer Company was the oldest and had the greatest amount of facilities---that is, freight houses---on the west bank of the river. Then the Columbia had perhaps half as much at that time. So they arranged to publish their tariffs in connection with those wagon transfer companies, just the same as with the Terminal Railroad Association, and those tariffs were recognized by the Interstate Commerce Commission as legitimate as far as they applied to shipments to and from their freight houses on the west bank, but after a time it developed that those accommodations were not sufficient to handle the traffic between East. St. Louis and St. Louis---I am speaking now especially of less than car lot shipments---so the railroads devised a plan of their own to prorate their rates with several other transfer companies who did not have freight house facilities on the west bank of the river, but they made their rates in a very peculiar manner.

Now the Commission starts with the transfer companies that had freight houses on the west bank of the river:

"These freight stations in St. Louis, hereinafter often referred to as 'off-track' stations because they are not reached by the rails of any carrier, are in buildings owned or leased by the transfer companies and are operated by the transfer companies as agents of the carriers. x x x.

"This arrangement was made by the carriers only with such transfer companies as had warehouses that could be used as freight stations. These are the St. Louis Transfer Company, the Columbia Transfer Company, the Fidelity Transfer Company and the Central Transfer Company."

These two last came in after the arrangement was originally made.

"These freight stations proved to be a substantial

aid in the prompt handling of traffic into and out of St. Louis. It was thought desirable, however, in order further to facilitate such traffic to undertake another and different form of service. Arrangments were made by the eastern lines with the same transfer companies, and also with others, as hereinafter explained, for hauling the traffic by wagon between the East St. Louis rail stations and the store doors of shippers and consignees in St. Louis, without passing it through the off-track stations hereinbefore described, but through what is referred to by the carriers as their 'constructive' stations on the west bank of the river. These stations are simply an undefined point on the river bank. They have no corporeal existence where the clerical work and manual labor incident to the forwarding and receiving of freight may be physically accomplished. No station agents are there to attend to the needs of the public. Nevertheless, by employing the transfer companies as their agents to haul the freight, both carload and less than carload, by wagon between their East St. Louis terminals and these imaginary stations, the eastern lines perform a 'constructive' station service, making at the undefined point on the west bank a purely nominal or constructive delivery of the inbound shipment and in the same manner an imaginary acceptance of outbound traffic, the freight not being moved from the wagon in either case. At this undefined point the relation of the transfer company to the carrier undergoes a change. On the inbound traffic the transfer company there ceases to be the agent of the carrier and at the same instant becomes the agent of the shipper, and on the outbound traffic it there ceases to be the agent of the shipper and becomes the agent of the carrier. At that moment and in that sense

the constructive station service by the carrier occurs. The rail rate takes the traffic to and from the constructive points on the west bank of the river, the cartage charges of the transfer companies being paid by the carriers; but the shippers and consignees pay the cartage charges between the incorporeal station and their store doors. The contracts between the transfer companies and the railroads provide that the transfer companies shall charge the shippers and consignees as much for carrying their shipments between store doors and the constructive station as they would charge for carting freight a like distance to and from the regular rail stations and off-track stations in the city of St. Louis."

Mr. Cooper. Let me interrupt you there, please. You speak of "constructive" stations---or rather, the Interstate Commerce Commission does. Coming over this morning on the cars we looked down and saw many boxes of freight apparently, out doors there. Is that one of those constructive stations?

Mr. Coyle. No, there would be no constructive station on this bank of the river, Mr. Cooper.

Mr. Cooper. No, it was on the other side.

Mr. Coyle. On the other side?

Mr. Cooper. Yes, along on the wharf there. It looked like freight.

Mr. Coyle. That is steamboat freight. These constructive stations---or these off-track stations---are located farther up town. These constructive stations you can't see, because they are simply imaginary.

Mr. Cooper. What are they; just ordinary out of doors?

Mr. Coyle. No, they are this, Mr. Cooper, as explained by the Commission here: it is in the mind of the man who is

driving the team. The teamster at a certain undefined point in the city of St. Louis ceases to be the agent of the carrier on inbound freight, and at that instant becomes the agent or drayman of the consignee.

Mr. Baker. Without unloading or changing his freight at all.

Mr. Coyle. Without any process at all of any kind---more than the mind. Now we don't know where that exists, and I testified before the Commission describing the situation. But it is here and you can see that necessarily a large percentage of our less than carload shipments---and they amount to what I have said, substantially 100,000 tons a month---must pass through the freight house at East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Well, in passing through those freight houses, it then of necessity must pass over the river to this imaginary station, and then from the imaginary station to the store door, on these trucks.

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Across the river.

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. From Illinois to Missouri.

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir. And in a way that is interrupting that traffic in transit so far as the shipper is concerned, because his rate carries it---the rate of the carrier carries it beyond these freight houses to that imaginary point, or through one of those off-track stations on the west bank of the river. But as a physical proposition they must first necessarily pass through the freight house at East St. Louis, or outbound they must pass through the freight house at East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. And is that where the interference during this riot took place, with that kind of freight?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir; in addition of course to all that passed through the off-track stations at East St. Louis, and to the less than carload shipments that passed th. ugh the Terminal Railroad Association depot on the west bank, and considerable to points east of the river by these railroads who have no terminals on the west bank of the river.

Mr. Baker. How would that same thing apply if you started to ship from St. Louis east, that you have just described?

Mr. Coyle. No, and I will tell you why. I was just coming to that. That class of freight handled by the Terminal Railroad Association is handled without regard to what is termed in loading freight, being loaded in "station order." To illustrate, the Terminal Railroad Association will accept freight for the Big Four Railroad, for all points on the Big Four Railroad, and put that freight into a car and forward that promiscuous loading to East St. Louis. That car is then placed at the freight house at East St. Louis and transferred into through cars which are loaded in "station order." So that it is nothing more nor less than a pick-up car on the west bank of the river for final loading through the freight houses at East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Now just what do you mean by the "pick-up car" in East St. Louis? Just how is that done?

Mr. Coyle. That is done as I described, by the Terminal Railroad Association. The Terminal Railroad Association receives at its Tenth Street depot freight for all railroads on the east bank of the river. That is hauled across the bridge and each car is delivered to its specific road on this bank of the river. Then those cars are taken to the freight houses of that road and the freight is distributed into cars running to different points reached by that railroad.

Mr. Baker. What I wanted to know, does part of that freight come across in the regular car and part on the wagons

too, from St. Louis to East St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. Oh yes. Of that I estimate that there is hauled across by wagon about 80,000 tons a month.

Mr. Johnson. What percent of the total is that?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I haven't the exact figures as to the total tonnage across the river. You mean the percent of less than carload business?

Mr. Johnson. No, I meant the percent of the total tonnage across the river.

Mr. Coyle. The total tonnage, carload and less than carload?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. What is the total? We can figure the percent ourselves.

Mr. Coyle. Well, I would have to estimate the total tonnage of these lines. I should say about half a year they would handle 30,000,000 tons.

Mr. Foster. That would be about one-third of it wouldn't it?

Mr. Coyle. No, it wouldn't. You see this would amount to about 1,200,000 tons a year. Now I should think those would be about the figures. That is including the carload and less than carload. Of course the less than carload is a large percentage of the general tonnage, because included in that 30,000,000 tons would be all kinds of basic commodities, steel, iron and coal. Of the general merchandise it would be quite a large percentage---of the merchandise that we forward and receive to and from points east of the Mississippi River.

Mr. Baker. Suppose a man wants to ship 500 pounds of grain from East St. Louis up here to Alton. Does that come across the river now in these drays?

Mr. Coyle. vou want to ship it from East St. Louis?

Mr. Baker. From St. Louis.

Mr. Coyle. That could be done, yes.

Mr. Baker. Hardware the same way?

Mr. Coyle. Oh yes.

Mr. Baker. It comes across the river in a wagon, is loaded on the train and is then shipped up to the point of destination?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That is what you call the broken car lots?

Mr. Coyle. Broken car lots, or less than car lots.

Mr. Foss. What bridges carry that traffic?

Mr. Coyle. It is divided between the Merchants Bridge and the Eads Bridge, but both are under the control---the management---of the Terminal Railroad Association.

Mr. Foss.. What about the Free Bridge?

Mr. Coyle. There are no rail connections with that.

Mr. Foss. No rail connections there?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You have three bridges across the river here?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, we have three in operation. We have the McKinley System bridge, over which the interurban cars pass. The other two are operated by the Terminal Railroad Association. They operate those for their own convenience.

Mr. Foss. Is there much ferriage of traffic? I suppose only local freight would be transferred that way?

Mr. Coyle. There is a great deal of freight crosses the ferries on wagons. All of these transfer companies that I have referred to use the ferries more or less.

Mr. Johnson. Was that interfered with?

Mr. Coyle. That traffic was, oh yes, because they carry the freight across in these wagons. They ferry the wagons

loaded with freight, and those wagons are either coming from or destined to the freight houses on the east bank of the river. The ferries are used by the wagons .

Mr. Foss. Well, are there any statistics as to the amount of freight carried by the ferries?

Mr. Coyle. No, because there is no record kept by the ferry company of that. They charge a toll, so much per wagon, one horse or two horses; just the same as the toll on the upper deck of the Eads Bridge. That tonnage is carried across there and the owners pay a toll to get to the east bank of the river.

Mr. Baker. Is there much freight that passes just from St. Louis to East St. Louis, and from East St. Louis to St. Louis---that is, just between the two towns, local freight?

Mr. Coyle. Well now, I have no means of knowing that. That is, where our merchants sell to someone here, and someone here sells to someone in St. Louis?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Coyle. No, I have no record whatever of that.

Mr. Baker. Well, is there more or less of that?

Mr. Coyle. Oh yes; our merchants in St. Louis, I know, keep delivery wagons.

Mr. Baker. Was that interfered with too during this time?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I don't know, and I can't see really how that could have been interfered with to any extent. Our freight was interrupted through these freight houses, due to the fact, as stated to use by the local freight agents association when we raised the question with them, that they were obliged to employ---or had been employing---colored labor, and that as soon as the riot occurred that class of labor left them and they were unable to get white labor. And the result of that was that for practically ten days there was

no movement through the freight houses on this bank of the river.

To illustrate to you just how serious that was: acting for the Chamber of Commerce I asked for a conference with these principle team owners and the representatives of the Terminal Railroad Association, with a view to having some action taken that would relieve the situation. On July 5th, as the record states, a conference was called at the request of P. W. Coyle, Traffic Commissioner of the Chamber of Commerce; held in the office of Mr. I. L. Burlingame, General Manager of the Terminal Railroad Association and Chairman of the local committee of the American Railway Association, at 11 a.m., Tuesday. The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that in order to properly handle the interstate commerce and intrastate business through the railroads whose depots are located in the city of East St. Louis, that protection is necessary from the federal government. The experiences of the past few days, as shown by the number killed and wounded, and the number of homes destroyed, indicate that the local police and state militia are unable to render proper protection or cope with the situation.

"It is further resolved that Mr. Coyle, Traffic Commissioner of the Chamber of Commerce, be requested to lay before the local members of the National War Board on Transportation these facts, and the statement as set out in the noon edition of the St. Louis Star, July 5th and an alleged interview with Mayor Mollman of East St. Louis that he could not offer safety or protection to the negro laborers should they return to East St. Louis, and request the War Board representative to take this matter up with the proper authorities in Washington for such action as they think fit in the light of facts as

herein set forth."

That resolution was offered by Mr. G. J. Tansey, President of the St. Louis Transfer Company, and seconded by Mr. S. A. Townsend of the Big Four.

The following were present:

S. A. Townsend, Assistant Gen. Freight Agt. of the Big Four; R. L. De Pew, Commercial Agt., Mobile and Ohio, representing B. B. Tolson, Superintendent; F. H. Law, Assistant General Freight Agent, Illinois Central Railroad; L. W. Childress, Columbia Transfer Company; Ed Keane, Assistant General Freight Agent, Chicago and Alton Railroad; E. W. Scheer, General Superintendent, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; G. J. Tansey, President, St. Louis Transfer Company; Edward Hart, Jr., Western General Freight Agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; P. W. Coyle, Traffic Commissioner, Chamber of Commerce; 1. L. Burlingame, Chairman St. Louis Committee on Car Service.

Mr. Johnson. I notice in that resolution the statement is made that the Mayor of East St. Louis had said that he could not give protection to the colored laborers. To whom did he make that statement?

Mr. Coyle. The statement is set out in the noon edition of the St. Louis Star of July 5th. I have the copy of the St. Louis Star.

Mr. Johnson. You have no information as to whether or not the Mayor of East St. Louis did make that statement, or if so to whom he did make it, except from the St. Louis Star?

Mr. Coyle. No, I haven't.

Mr. Baker. Might he read in that connection, and let it go into the record, that article from the St. Louis Star of July 5th, to show what it is? He said he had it, I understood.

Mr. Coyle. Yes. We didn't know anything about it, of course, at our meeting.

Mr. Baker. Give it to the reporter, and he can insert it and return it to you.

Would you give me right in this connection the name--- it is Columbia Transfer Company?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And who is the president of that?

Mr. Coyle. L. W. Childress.

Mr. Baker. And the superintendent?

Mr. Coyle. I don't know the superintendent.

Mr. Baker. Well, does Childress have charge of it?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir; he is president of it.

Mr. Baker. He will know the facts?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now who is the superintendent, the man that really had charge of this freight and knows about it?

Mr. Coyle. That I don't know.

Mr. Baker. Tansey would know, would he?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now give us the third transfer company--- there are two more---that handle this freight back and forth, this interstate commerce that you have described in your testimony.

Mr. Coyle. I can give you the names of all, including those that have the corporeal stations.

Mr. Baker. I wish you would.

Mr. Coyle. Well, to begin with, the St. Louis Transfer Company; the Columbia Transfer Company; Becker Drayage Company.

Mr. Baker. Now give us the superintendent or president of that company.

Mr. Coyle. That I don't know.

Mr. Baker. What is the other company?

Mr. Coyle. The Bonded Express and Transfer Company; Central Transfer Company; Eilerman Transfer Company; Kinney Transfer Company; McMahon Transfer Company; Mobile Express and Transfer Company; Perkins Transfer and Forwarding Company; The Remmler Transfer Company; Rhodes Transfer Company; Standard Transfer Company; Swartz Bros. Express Company; Webber Drayage and Warehouse Company.

Mr. Baker. Have you any method by which you could furnish the names of the men in charge, the head man, superintendent or the president of each of those companies?

Mr. Coyle. Why, I think I could. I will undertake to do that.

Mr. Baker. I wish you would, and let it go into the record.

The matter referred to follows:

23-G

TRAFFIC BUREAU

ST. LOUIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
510 LOCUST STREET
PHONES:
MAIN 4620
CENTRAL 7568
(FORMERLY THE BUSINESS MEN'S LEAGUE OF ST. LOUIS)

October 18th, 1917.
File A-18

Hon. Ben Johnson, Chairman,
Congressional Committee,
Jefferson Hotel,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir:-

Complying with request of your Committee, I am pleased to advise that the committee to which reference was made in my testimony today as having made report to the Chamber of Commerce on July 5th, with respect to the East St. Louis riots, consisted of Mr. Albert von Hoffman, President, Wilson Printing Company, 9th & Walnut Sts., and Mr. Robert E. Lee, Secretary, Sales Managers Bureau, of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, 510 Locust St. This Committee did not make written report to the Chamber.

The list of freight agents in charge of the depots at East St. Louis, which I agreed to send you is as follows:-

G.H.Singer	B.&.O.R.R.	East St. Louis, Ill.
W.E.Thomas	Big Four.	" " " "
C.M.Morris	C.B.&.Q.	" " " "
C.J.Conley	C.P.&.St.L.	" " " "
W.Pratt	C.&.A.	" " " "
W.H.Rhedemeyer	I.C.	" " " "
S.J.Cashel	L.&.N.	" " " "
A.L.Pollard	M.&.O.	" " " "
E.J.Coffey	Southern	" " " "
H.C.Weber	T.St.L.&.W.	" " " "
J. Fitzpatrick	Vandalia	" " " "
C.E.Mosley	Wabash	A " " "

I will furnish you information with respect to the personnel of the drayage companies as soon as possible.

Yours very truly,

Traffic Commissioner.

C.L.

Are these companies all engaged in this line of business that you have told the committee about, transferring back and forth from St. Louis to East St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. Not all of them, however, have this joint arrangement with the carriers, and not all of the carriers have the arrangement with any of these off-track companies. For instance, the Wabash has no arrangement with any drayage company that does this imaginary business.

Mr. Raker. What I was trying to get at in this connection was: Each one of these companies, through its president or superintendent, or the man in charge, would know just how his freight was interrupted, if at all, during the time that you have testified before the committee.

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And we could get that in addition generally from you, but specifically from each of these companies.

Mr. Raker. And you will try and furnish those names to us?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir. I want to add to the others the Fidelity Transfer Company. That concludes the list.

Mr. Raker. Now these men that were present at this meeting that you read there, passed that resolution. Did they purport to know from their own knowledge as to the interruption of traffic during this time? Was that the discussion?

Mr. Coyle. Well, of the drayage companies you refer to?

Mr. Raker. No, the one that you read, the resolution. You passed a set of resolutions there in regard to the freight being interrupted seriously---interstate as well as intrastate---did those men---did you understand that they were personally familiar with the condition of things?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir; it had been going on then three or four days.

Mr. Baker. And they are so they can be gotten as witnesses?

Mr. Coyle. Oh yes. They were asked to attend that conference because it was assumed that they did know. That is why I asked them to come.

The article from the St. Louis Star, Thursday, July 5, 1917, is as follows:

"OUSTER OF EAST SIDE OFFICIALS WILL BE SOUGHT.

"Severe Criticism of Mayor Mollman and Requests for Resignations of Police and Detective Chiefs Promised.

"Chamber of Commerce Meets to Take Action.

"Known Death Toll in Rioting now is Thirty-three.

"Militia Commander says he had too few men to Handle Mobs.

"The Star today was informed by a negro in East St. Louis that he was offered $500 by a prominent negro professional man in the East Side city a week ago last Tuesday if he would 'head a movement for the upbuilding of his race.' The Star's informant, formerly was a soldier in the U. S. Army. He said the negro professional man wanted him to train and lead an army of negroes. He refused to do so. He prepared today to tell his story to Adjutant General Dickson.

"The East St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, which adversely criticized the militia in connection with Monday night's race rioting which claimed a death toll of six white men and twenty-seven negroes, today met to consider asking the resignations of Chief of Detectives Tony Stocker and Chief of Police Ransom Payne, on charges of inefficiency.

"The Chamber of Commerce members also prepared to adopt resolutions criticising Mayor Mollman, and the fact that for three years there has been a reign of lawlessness in East St. Louis.

"Daniel McGlynn, an attorney; L. C. Haynes and D. E. Parsons, officials of the East St. Louis and Suburban Railway; Maurice V. Joyce and twenty other of the city's most prominent citizens, went into secret session at 10 a.m. Besides Chamber of Commerce members the Commercial Club was well represented.

MOLLMAN MISTAKE CHARGED.

"The business men said Mayor Mollman made a grave mistake in remaining inactive, and that he at least might have formed a Citizens' Committee, headed them and attempted to disperse the mob. The committee members indicated that while their attention was turned chiefly to the race rioting, there would be a general housecleaning in the East Side city, embracing recent city and county graft, which it is alleged has kept the city poor and in debt.

"Coincident with the Chamber of Commerce action in turning toward city officials to place the blame, Col. S. D. Tripp, Governor Lowden's personal representative in the riot-torn city, said he would report to the Governor that East St. Louis citizens had been "very unappreciative" of the efforts of the militia.

"He explained that contrary to general belief, there were only 167 militia men in East St. Louis Monday and until late Monday evening. He said he personally took his life in his hands several times and went out to disperse the mob and to rescue negroes. He added that in his estimation the militiamen more than did their duty.

GOVERNOR ASKED REPORT.

"Governor Lowden was in East St. Louis a short time Tuesday night, en route to a Fourth of July celebration in another city. Col. Tripp said the Governor asked for a detailed report.

"Adjutant General Dickson today declined to comment

on the criticism of the militia. He pointed out that he was not in East St. Louis Monday. 'I think the soldiers did their duty,' he said.

"Residents of Lanedowne, an exclusive residential section, were badly frightened last night when a rumor spread that 500 armed negroes were marching from Brooklyn, a negro town. The residents ran from house to house awakening families and asking them to dress. Several hundred came to St. Louis to spend the night.

"Mayor Mollman discussing today the race rioting Sunday and Monday nights, said that negro refugees would not be asked to return to East St. Louis because he could not offer them safety or protection.

"It is estimated that more than 7,000 negroes left the East Side city, coming to St. Louis. Large industries are crippled today, and negro household help cannot be obtained.

"Mayor Mollman said he would ask that the militia be left in the city for an indefinite period.

"Various investigations into the rioting, promised during the height of excitement, had not been begun today. Col. George H. Hunter, Chief Quartermaster of the Central Division, U. S. A., Chicago, said to have gone to East St. Louis to begin a federal investigation, was said today by Adjutant General Dickeon, to be there merely to inspect the federalized troops stationed there.

"Calling of witnesses by the St. Clair County Grand Jury has not started. Coroner C. P. Renner postponed the Coroner's inquest until Monday, that additional evidence might be obtained.

"Twelve men charged with rioting are to be tried in Justice of the Peace Clark's Court tomorrow.

"The bodies of two negroes, riddled with bullets, were taken from Cahokia Creek yesterday, bringing the known number of dead blacks to twenty-seven."

Mr. Cooper. Speaking of that interruption to traffic, Mr. Coyle, did you actually see any rioting on either of these bridges, or near the various termini of the bridges--- the ends of the bridges?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir. I happened to be passing through here as I do often, at the time of the fire, and I passed through on my way to Alton without knowing really what was happening. I saw the buildings burning, but that is all I knew of it.

Mr. Baker. What building was that, the Opera House?

Mr. Coyle. No, that is one little building that can be seen in the vicinity of the Southern Railroad freight house. I saw it as we were passing over the bridge here in the city, just after we came off the Eads Bridge.

Mr. Johnson. Was that a freight house or a residence?

Mr. Coyle. That was a residence.

Mr. Johnson. A negro residence?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I don't know about that. I was on the Interurban car passing. We were not interrupted and didn't stop. I just knew that there was a fire. There were a great many watching it.

Mr. Baker. Could you tell the Committee now from what you know personally just how this interruption occurred, as to this freight, during any of the time?

Mr. Coyle. You mean the cause?

Mr. Baker. No, not the cause. I will get that later, but how did it prevent the freight going over and coming back? There were a great many thousand tons of freight that didn't move as it should have moved; now how was that prevented? What was done to prevent it? What method was taken?

Mr. Coyle. The in-bound cars, loaded with these less

than carload shipments of merchandise were held out in the yards and not brought down to the station for delivery to the consignees.

Mr. Johnson. Why were they held out?

Mr. Coyle. Because the agents told us that they could not get the labor. They had been dependent upon the colored labor, and they couldn't get the colored man to work, nor could they get white labor to take its place.

Mr. Johnson. Why could they get neither? Let us have that.

Mr. Coyle. That I haven't been able to determine.

Mr. Johnson. Well, there was some reason why they couldn't get colored labor was there not?

Mr. Coyle. They couldn't get colored labor because the colored people deserted the city. Several hundred of them came over to St. Louis as soon as they could get over.

Mr. Johnson. Then why did they desert the city?

Mr. Coyle. From newspaper reports it was because some of their number had been killed the night before, and their property destroyed.

Mr. Johnson. And why could they not get white labor?

Mr. Coyle. Well, that I don't know.

Mr. Johnson. Well, if you don't know it of your own knowledge but know it by hearsay, please tell us.

Mr. Coyle. Well, one of these superintendents stated at this meeting---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Superintendent of what?

Mr. Coyle. One of the railroads.

Mr. Johnson. Which railroad ?

Mr. Coyle. I think it was the Big Four---that they had succeeded in getting some white labor to take the place of some of the colored, but they were obliged to work them both in the same freight house, and the whites refused to work

with the blacks, and they for a time at least separated them, put the white men into their inbound and the black men into the out-bound station. They overcame the difficulty of working them both for that railroad by separating them in that manner.

Mr. Johnson. Was that at the beginning of the trouble?

Mr. Coyle. No, oh no; that was after the riot that he made that statement.

Mr. Baker. This matter commenced long before the 2nd of July. This paper here is July the 5th. Didn't it start some time in May? Didn't they have a riot here in May, about the 28th or 29th?

Mr. Coyle. They had one here earlier than July, but I don't remember the date, whether it was March, April or May.

Mr. Baker. Well, During that time in May and following, in the latter part of May and up until July, when the main occurrence happened, was there an interruption of the freight traffic as well?

Mr. Coyle. Very slight, to this extent: they said they were obliged to close their freight houses one hour earlier, due to that riot. They sought to let their colored labor out of the freight houses early enough so they would reach their homes before the white labor was discharged from the other factories here in the city. That was what the agent said to us.

Mr. Baker. Why the necessity of that?

Mr. Coyle. They said that the colored labor was afraid to go on the streets. That is what the agents told us when we asked for a reason why they closed their freight houses one hour earlier than heretofore.

Mr. Baker. Can you furnish the Committee with the names of the agents that had charge of these houses during that time, that made these statements?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Of course if they had to close their freight houses an hour earlier, would it have any effect upon their handling freight which they had been handling?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, it interrupted our freight, because we had to hold it on in our own warehouses on the west bank of the river; and that coming on without any particular warning we weren't prepared for that. And due to the fact that we have to deliver such a large percentage of our less than carload shipments by wagon across the river, it had the effect of closing our freight houses, as it were, on the west bank of the river along about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. At the best we can do now, in consequence of this method of delivery by wagon, a freight shipment started from St. Louis after 3 o'clock is rarely handled and gotten out of East St. Louis that day. Before this disturbance occurred, the regular hour of closing the freight houses on the east bank of the river was 5:30, on the west bank 5:00, which allowed 30 minutes additional for this additional longer haul from the shipper's warehouse to the warehouse on the east bank of the river. They notified us that they would close one hour earlier, and that was the reason they gave for closing an hour earlier.

Mr. Baker. Well now, since July first---say for the next couple of months---has there been any interruption in addition to what you have described, in regard to handling the freight because the men could not get at their work?

Mr. Coyle. They tell us that they are not yet able to restore the old closing hour of 5:30; and they are now temporarily---and have been ever since this trouble---closing their freight houses at 4:30; that they have to do that because of the fact that they cannot yet get labor in a satisfactory manner.

Mr. Baker. Why can't they? What is the reason that the

men will not work up to regular hours and go and come to their work in the usual way, as they did before any of these disturbances occurred?

Mr. Coyle. They give to us as their reason that these colored laborers are still in a way intimidated, to that extent that they must let them out earlier.

Mr. Johnson. Do they begin work earlier in the morning, or at the same old hour?

Mr. Coyle. They begin at the same old hour, I believe. I am not positive about that.

Mr. Baker. What has been the custom, if you know---if you don't know, then what you have heard---in regard to these men who have been working, irrespective of color, as to their places of residence?

Mr. Coyle. I don't know.

Mr. Baker. You don't know whether they live in St. Louis or East St. Louis; or whether or not they were compelled to go to St. Louis over night and come back?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I have heard that some of them live in St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. For what reason?

Mr. Coyle. That I don't know. For a time just after the riot---the last riot---I understood that a good many of them---in fact it was said to us as representing the Chamber of Commerce that there were so many of them that they needed protection over on the east side, and they were protected there for a few days in the old Four Courts building, which was vacant.

Mr. Foss. Do you know in what numbers?

Mr. Coyle. I don't know exactly.

Mr. Foss. Could you state approximately?

Mr. Coyle. It was stated a great many times in the newspapers---several hundred.

Mr. Foss. And they were moved back and forth every day?

Mr. Coyle. Well, the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to investigate the situation, and they reported that General Dickson, representing the state of Illinois---I think he was in charge of the troops---had given assurance to the committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce that if the colored laborers who were housed in the Four Courts would come over, they would have ample protection. That was conveyed to the colored people, so I understand, and by degrees some of them did come back. I undertook to convey the information we had received from East St. Louis to the railroads that that protection would be given to them here, and that there were a number of them in this building being cared for practically by the city. So I called up Mr. Burlingame, the general manager of the Terminal Railroad Association, who at that time was chairman of a local committee of the Railroad War Board, and with whom we had been working in order to prevent congestion---to have traffic moved through here as freely as possible---and he said that he would convey that to the railroads who were in need of this help.

Mr. Baker. What is this man's name?

Mr. Coyle. I. L. Burlingame, General Manager of the Terminal Railroad Association. His office is at the Union Station.

Mr. Baker. Now would you give the Committee the names of the committee that made this special investigation for the purpose of arranging so that labor might be had to handle the shipments back and forth across the river from Missouri to Illinois---the committee of the Chamber of Commerce which was appointed?

Mr. Coyle. That was for general purposes, not for the purpose of looking after our traffic but very general conditions, so that they might deal with that great number of

colored people who were on the other side for protection. I can give you the names of that committee.

Mr. Foss. Did they make any printed report?

Mr. Coyle. I don't believe they did. They may have, but I rather think not.

Mr. Foss. If they did, would you secure it?

Mr. Coyle. Yes.

Mr. Foss. Showing the condition that existed at that time.

Mr. Baker. Now before leaving that, if the labor could not be had and they were driven from their work in handling the shipments from East St. Louis that went to St. Louis, would that interfere with the interstate traffic in any way, if they could not get the necessary labor or the men that had been working?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir; it affected it just as I have described it.

Mr. Baker. And the purpose of this committee and of your Association and others was to find the conditions and then try and arrange it so that the men could get protection, so that they might go on with their labor?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well, what did you want to protect them against? What was there to protect them against? Just tell us right out.

Mr. Coyle. Well, from all we had heard from the conditions over here they were liable to lose their lives and property. They were afraid to come across to this side of the river.

Mr. Cooper. Well, Mr. Coyle, all that you are testifying now is from hearsay?

Mr. Coyle. Absolutely, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Chairman, we can get all of that by direct testimony.

Mr. Coyle. I am giving you what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. Cooper. I think direct testimony would be most effective on that point, and the other we can get from the witnesses that know the facts. Isn't that so, Mr. Coyle?

Mr. Coyle. Most assuredly. I don't know anything but what I have said to you as facts. All the rest is practically newspaper reports.

Mr. Johnson. What is the name of the officer that was in charge of the state troops?

Mr. Coyle. My recollection is it was General Dickson.

Mr. Johnson. Upon the date of the last riot I mean.

Mr. Coyle. General Dickson.

Mr. Cooper. Wasn't there a man by the name of Tripp?

Mr. Coyle. I think he was here previous to that time, but I am not sure about that. I am giving you still what I have gotten from the newspapers.

Mr. Johnson. And who was it that General Dickson gave the assurance to that the colored laborers would be protected if they returned? Was it the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Coyle. That was the committee appointed by the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Foster. I would like to ask one question. Mr. Coyle, I understood you to say some time ago that beginning in July, for ten days there was an interruption which amounted to 100,000,000---something like that.

Mr. Coyle. The estimate for the month.

Mr. Foster. On that estimate---now that existed for ten days you say?

Mr. Coyle. Eight or ten days that the freight houses were closed.

Mr. Foster. As I understood you to say, that was caused for the reason that the colored laborers could not---or would not---work there.

x

Mr. Coyle. That was the reason given by the agents for refusing to---

Mr. Foster (interposing) At that meeting that was said?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. After the end of that ten days then did it resume something near its normal condition?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir. They were still closing one hour earlier than heretofore.

Mr. Foster. How did they resume with the colored laborers again?

Mr. Coyle. I think some did and some did not. I am not just sure about that.

Mr. Foster. You don't know what proportion of those colored men returned? You have no idea of that?

Mr. Coyle. No.

Mr. Foster. But you think there were quite a number of colored laborers returned to the freight houses, handling freight as they had before the riot occurred?

Mr. Coyle. I have been told that by the agent in some cases they got some of their colored labor back.

Mr. Foster. You stated that the Mayor of East St. Louis told the committee that he couldn't give any assurance that these men would be protected in their work.

Mr. Coyle. Oh no, Doctor, I didn't say that.

Mr. Foster. How what was it you said?

Mr. Coyle. I read from a resolution that was adopted at the meeting.

Mr. Foster. Well, then, that is where I got it. In that resolution then, that he had said he couldn't give the protection.

Mr. Coyle. The resolution refers to an article in the Evening Star.

Mr. Foster. Oh well, then that just came up that way?

Mr. Coyle. Oh yes; I know nothing about that.

Mr. Foster. You didn't get it from the Mayor?

Mr. Coyle. No.

Mr. Foster. Were the militia here at that time?

Mr. Coyle. Yes.

Mr. Foster. They were here during the time that that meeting was held at the Chamber of Commerce with these railroad agents?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I rather think so.

Mr. Foster. Did you have any information then as to what the militia were doing to protect---to quiet this mob and restore order again in East St. Louis? Did you investigate that at that time?

Mr. Coyle. When I returned from that meeting, which was about 12 o'clock, the committee that had been over here , appointed by the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, came to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce and made their report.

Mr. Foster. They made their report. Do you know what that report was?

Mr. Coyle. No, that is what I undertook to furnish.

Mr. Foster. That is what you are going to furnish?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Well now, do you have any knowledge of what the militia were doing at all?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. For the protection of these colored people during the time this riot occurred, or some days after?

Mr. Coyle. Nothing but what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. Foster. But the militia you think were here during that time?

Mr. Coyle. My recollection is they were.

Mr. Foster. Was there any armed guard provided for the escorting of these colored people from East St. Louis to

St. Louis during that time, that you know anything about?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you know that there ever was?

Mr. Coyle. I do not.

Mr. Foster. That they were brought across the bridge from St. Louis to the eastern side and there furnished with a guard to conduct them to their work---see that they arrived there safely?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. You know nothing about that?

Mr. Coyle. I know nothing about that.

Mr. Foster. Are you familiar with what efforts are being taken in East St. Louis to provide protection for these laborers so they could work?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Where did this statement come from, and when was it made? It is found in the St. Louis Star of July 5th, 1917, at this meeting you spoke of:

"Mayor Mollman discussing today the race rioting Sunday and Monday nights said that negro refugees would not be asked to return to East St. Louis because he could not offer them safety or protection."

Where was that statement supposed to have been made?

Mr. Coyle. I don't know anything more than what is stated in the paper.

Mr. Baker. It wasn't made before your committee?

Mr. Coyle. No, not at all. That newspaper was handed in by some member of the committee and embodied in this resolution here.

Mr. Cooper. I want to ask you one question. Were you here at any time during the rioting, except the time you spoke of a little while ago, passing through?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is the only time you were here?

Mr. Coyle. Oh no; I passed through here every morning and every evening.

Mr. Cooper. well, passed through on what?

Mr. Coyle. On the interurban cars that move between St. Louis and Alton.

Mr. Cooper. Didn't you get out of the cars in East St. Louis?

Mr. Coyle. No.

Mr. Cooper. Were your cars stopped?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Did they meet with any unusual delay?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Or haste either? They went along in the ordinary way?

Mr. Coyle. They made their schedule, so far as I could see.

Mr. Cooper. So then all that you know of your own personal knowledge of what took place here is what you saw from the car window?

Mr. Coyle. Exactly.

Mr. Johnson. You have no further statement to make?

Mr. Coyle. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. I just want to ask one question. Those resolutions, as I remember hearing them read a while ago, were that your committee---the railroad agents---were at that time asking that the Federal Government take charge of this?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, that is the substance of the resolution.

Mr. Foster. They thought, did they, that the matter was beyond the control of the state and of the local authorities?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And that they were calling on the Federal

Government that they should come here and take charge of this situation; that it had gotten beyond the control of the state?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And yet at that time had Adjutant General Dickson said to you that he would give protection?

Mr. Coyle. No.

Mr. Foster. Or did that come afterwards?

Mr. Coyle. The committee that was here met me at the Chamber of Commerce after this resolution was passed. Within an hour after this resolution was passed I met that committee of the Chamber of Commerce and they gave me then that assurance; and instead of taking any action directly with the federal authorities---more than directing the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission to it---I went over and had an interview with a member of the War Board, Mr. Shaff, receiver of the M. K. & T. Railroad, who is the only member here of the War Board which sits in Washington, and he was going to Washington the next day, so he assured me that he would convey to Mr. Fairfax Harrison's committee the situation here, so that they might in some manner possibly bring some pressure to bear to have the freight moved more expeditiously than was being done.

Mr. Foss. Did I understand you to say there was some interference with interstate traffic back in March?

Mr. Coyle. Well, I don't remember just whether it was March or May; but there was a little trouble some little time previous to the riot of July.

Mr. Foss. What was the cause of that, do you know?

Mr. Coyle. Well, it was some trouble between the colored people and the whites. I don't remember just what it was at that time.

Mr. Foss. There was a strike on here, was there not, and had been for some time?

Mr. Coyle. I don't know about that. You see I was interested all the time in trying to get our freight moved, and I dealt entirely with the local agents here; and what I have said to you was largely what they have said to me as the reason why they couldn't get our freight through these freight houses.

Mr. Foss. How long have you been traffic manager for the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Coyle. A little over eleven years.

Mr. Foss. So that it has been your duty, I suppose, to make a study of the business here?

Mr. Foss. That is all.

Mr. Coyle. Would you like to have reference to that decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. Foss. Yes.

Mr. Baker. I wish you would give it to the reporter.

Mr. Coyle. I brought that so you could put it in your record if you wished.

Mr. Baker. I wish you would put it in.

Mr. Foss. This was an inquiry, as I understand it, that was initiated by the Interstate Commerce Commission itself?

Mr. Coyle. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. And you read from what page? I would like to get the citation there if you could give it.

Mr. Coyle. Beginning at page 457, Interstate Commerce Commission report, 1. C. C. 34, beginning at page 453. Case No. 1515, decided June 28, 1915, St. Louis Terminal Case, In the Matter of Terminal Allowances and Rates at St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill.

I have also brought along a brief interpretation of that which I made myself, giving some additional facts, simply to throw light on this peculiar condition. If you wish to have that, I can insert it also.

Now what you expect me to give you is the officers of the

tranefer com_anies and the report of that committee?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

The documents referred to follow:

HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE

OF

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION CASE No. 1515

IN THE MATTER OF TERMINAL ALLOWANCES AND RATES AT ST. LOUIS, MO., AND EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

KNOWN AS THE DRAYAGE CASE

DECIDED JUNE 28, 1915

JULY 29, 1915

ST. LOUIS TERMINAL CASE

No. 1515

IN THE MATTER OF TERMINAL ALLOWANCES AND RATES AT ST. LOUIS, MO., AND EAST ST LOUIS, ILL.

Decided June 28, 1915

The main facts in this case are as follows Prior to 1906 St Louis rates were based upon the East St Louis rates and were made by adding to the latter the charge for transferring of traffic across the river The different companies operating the bridges and car ferries across the river did not apply the same classification that was applicable east of the river, this caused confusion and produced a general rate condition so unsatisfactory that the Mayor of St Louis, under the authority of a city ordinance, appointed a representative committee, known as the Municipal Bridge & Terminals Commission, for the purpose of taking measures looking to relief.

St. Louis Zone.

The result of their conferences with the carriers having terminals in East St. Louis was an agreement whereby St. Louis and East St Louis, together with Madison, Venice and Granite City, were to be grouped together and take common rates to and from points east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers and outside a radius of one hundred miles from St. Louis In thus making St Louis a definite rate point the carriers laid themselves under the obligation of receiving traffic for through movement to and from St. Louis under through bills of lading The lines having terminals in East St Louis only first undertook to do this by moving their freight across the river under an agreement with the Terminal Railroad Association. They found, however, that the Terminal Railroad Association did not have sufficient facilities in the city of St. Louis.

Off-Track Stations.

The east side lines were, therefore, compelled to make arrangements with drayage companies This arrangement at first was confined to the drayage or transfer companies having freight house facilities in St. Louis, these drayage companies thus operating their freight stations in St. Louis as agents for the rail carriers, and these stations are designated as "off-track" stations.

"Constructive Stations."

Shortly after this was done, arrangements were made by the Eastern lines with the same transfer companies, also with others for hauling the traffic by wagon between East St. Louis rail stations and the store doors of the shippers and consignees in St. Louis without passing it through the "off-track" stations, but through what is termed their "constructive stations" on the west bank of the river

Using the language of the Commission, "These stations are simply an undefined point on the river bank. They have no corporeal existence where the clerical work and manual labor incident to the forwarding and receiving of freight may be physically accomplished. No station agents are there to attend to the needs of the public. Nevertheless, by employing the transfer companies as their agents to haul the freight, both carload and less than carload, by wagon between their East St. Louis terminals and these imaginary stations, the Eastern lines perform a "constructive" station service, making at the undefined point on the west bank a purely nominal or constructive delivery of the inbound shipment and in the same manner an imaginary acceptance of outbound traffic, the freight not being moved from the wagon in either case At this undefined point the relation of the transfer company to the carrier undergoes a change. On the inbound traffic the transfer company there ceases to be the agent of the carrier and at the same instant becomes the agent of the shipper, and on the outbound traffic it there ceases to be the agent of the shipper and becomes the agent of the carrier. At that moment and in that sense the constructive station service by the carrier occurs The rail rate takes the traffic to and from the constructive points on the west bank of the river, the cartage charges of the transfer companies being paid by the carriers; but the shippers and consignees pay the cartage charges between the incorporeal station and their store doors."

Eighteen or more transfer companies are engaged in receiving and delivering freight in this manner.

Attitude of the League.

This case was instituted by the Interstate Commerce Commission on its own motion about six years ago, and the Traffic Bureau of the Business Men's League was invited to participate in the proceedings. The attitude of the League is outlined in the following extract from the report of the Commission in the case:

"A report filed of record dated June 7, 1912, of the special committee of the Business Men's League, which has long been making efforts to secure improved terminal conditions at St Louis, has this to say on that point:

> "The transfer allowance made by the railroads terminating at East St. Louis to certain drayage companies for hauling freight between East St Louis and St. Louis in the protection of the rates between St Louis and Eastern points, regardless of whether or not such drayage companies have depots in St. Louis, is, in the opinion of your committee, a great menace to the rate adjustment obtained by the Municipal Bridge and Terminals Commission, and retards the development of terminals in St. Louis, as it removes the incentive to the quick handling of freight directly to and from St.

Louis proper by rail. The discriminatory privilege granted by the Terminal Railroad Association and the railroads to individuals and drayage companies hauling freight over the roadway of the Eads bridge and the ferries, whereby under certain conditions free transportation across the river is given, also retards the development of terminals in St. Louis, and both of these practices are serious obstacles to the work of the League through its Traffic Bureau in securing improved merchandise or package car service for this city, and should be discouraged, and the terminal facilities of the railroads in St. Louis used to the fullest extent possible.'"

Inadequate Facilities.

Quoting again from the Commission: "St. Louis has long been suffering from inadequate terminal facilities; in addition to a lack of sufficient freight stations and team tracks, the general track facilities are more or less restricted and the terminals are, therefore, subject to congestion that is sometimes serious."

Conclusions.

It is our interpretation of the report of the Commission that the carriers may lawfully use the freight stations of the transfer or drayage companies, but that the practice which is termed "constructive" station service is an unjust discrimination which must be corrected. Obviously, this decision of the Commission will require the development of freight house and team track facilities in St. Louis by all of the east side lines in keeping with the five who now have their freight houses here. This is most desirable and very important to the commercial interests of this city. While our shippers may avail themselves of the improved and expeditious service of the five lines having their freight house facilities on this side of the river, it must be borne in mind that there are thousands of shipments leaving here daily for local points, or points reached only by some one line from St. Louis, which must necessarily be re-handled at East St. Louis, whereas with track station facilities all shipments might be loaded here in station order and such transfer avoided. All of this illustrates the importance of west side stations and emphasizes the conclusions of the special committee of the Business Men's League, who reported on this subject, June 12, 1912, as follows:

"We feel that what St. Louis needs today, and needs badly, is prompt terminal development. Development and unification of the union terminals as represented by and through the Terminal Railroad Association, the Manufacturers' Railway Company, and the terminals of the individual lines.

"In our judgment, there never has been and is not now any valid excuse for withholding the enabling legislation necessary for the development in St. Louis of the terminal facilities of all railway companies who wish to serve this community."

P. W. COYLE,
Traffic Commissioner.

Mr. Johnson. Without objection the committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:07 o'clock p.m., the committee recessed until 2 o'clock p.m., this day).

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at 2 o'clock p.m., pursuant to recess.

Mr. Johnson. The committee will please come to order. Mr. Hunter, will you please take the stand?

STATEMENT OF FRANK A. HUNTER,
OF ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI,
GENERAL MANAGER, SWIFT AND COMPANY.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hunter, please give to the stenographer your full name, your place of residence and your occupation.

Mr. Hunter. Frank A. Hunter; Residence, St. Louis, Mo.; General Manager, Swift & Co., National Stock Yards.

Mr. Johnson. And where are those stock yards located, in St. Louis or East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. Now, Mr. Hunter, please tell the committee, in your own way, what you may know concerning any interferences with interstate commerce, particularly between the states of Missouri and Illinois, during the year 1917. Just proceed in your own way.

Mr. Hunter. Just after the riot we were about 600 men short. Being short that number of men we were naturally interfered with in our normal operation of the plant.

Mr. Johnson. Was that shortage occasioned by any increase in operation or by decrease in the number of your employees?

Mr. Hunter. That was occasioned by decrease in our employees. They were scared away by the riot.

Mr. Cooper. Fix the date of that riot.

Mr. Hunter. July 2nd. On account of the shortage we were forced to discontinue cattle---we were killing 100 cattle per hour just prior to July 2nd. Subsequent to July 2nd we dropped our killing to 40 per hour---decreased killing about 60 per cent. We also were forced to discontinue operations in our fertilizer business almost completely.

What we call our "peddler car" shipments---those are shipments peddled down various railroads, supplying people from day to day---that was decreased about 60 per cent.

Mr. Johnson. The committee prefers, Mr. Hunter, that you first go into interferences with traffic across the river.

Mr. Hunter. Well, about the only interference with traffic across the river that I know was the inability of the railroads to receive our freight on account of not having any labor.

Mr. Johnson. That is directly in point.

Mr. Hunter. I think perhaps that is all that I know of direct interference with traffic, the roads' inability---they simply served us notice that they couldn't receive our freight on account of having no labor to receive it. Our employes going to and from St. Louis and East St. Louis were intimidated and afraid to come.

Mr. Johnson. We want to know about that.

Mr. Hunter. Well, it was customary ordinarily for our help to come to work on street cars or walk, and after July 2nd they were driven to St. Louis, Missouri, for what they thought was their personal safety; and after they were there, they were afraid to come across the Eads Bridge here, on which runs the Interurban street car service. The Terminal Railway maintained a steam train from the Union Station to the yards, normally about two cars, and they put on about eight coaches to handle the extra traffic of these negroes who were driven to St. Louis. On account of that heavy traffic and the slow collection of fares, that train was usually half an hour to

three-quarters of an hour late, and our men whom we liked to have there at a quarter to 7, got there at 7:30 to 7:40.

Mr. Johnson. Now, because of these troubles over here at East St. Louis the passenger traffic between East St. Louis and St. Louis increased?

Mr. Hunter. The passenger traffic on this particular train.

Mr. Johnson. The interurban train.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, you might call it an interurban train. It started at the Union Station, runs direct to the stock yards and stops there.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, your idea is that that increased traffic was interfered with?

Mr. Hunter. Well, they weren't in shape to handle it, and they had just one conductor, and of course they tried to get all the fares and they would hold the train until they got them all; and that would make the train late getting to our plant. Then in the evening our men would quit early in order to get that train.

Mr. Johnson. Well, was there any interference at any time before or after the strike of which you have spoken, with any of those cars?

Mr. Hunter. Any interference with the cars?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. Not that I know of. I think not. There were a good many threats but I think nothing was ever actually done to interfere with them.

Mr. Johnson. Threats might interfere in the way of intimidation.

Mr. Hunter. Well, it was circulated that they were going to blow it up. That report had pretty general circulation, that they were going to blow up the "bull train." That is the name of that train that the Terminal ran over, the "bull train"

they call it. It is popularly known by that, and everybody knows what it is.

Mr. Johnson. That is the stock yards train?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You say the railroads notified your company they could not take freight. Did they do that in writing or was that oral notice?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I think they telephoned us. That is the usual custom in matters of that kind. We might have had written notice but I think their traffic men merely 'phoned us that they couldn't accept it. And they sent lots of it back.

Mr. Johnson. And that freight was consigned across the river, was it?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And because of this interference with labor, interstate traffic was interfered with by the railroad people declining to take the freight?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And that was interstate freight?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Did he give the reasons why they were interfered with, why they couldn't handle it?

Mr. Johnson. Largely by inference.

Mr. Cooper. I would like to ask one question. You say the freight was sent back. Can you approximate the amount of freight that was sent back? On how many days did they return shipments?

Mr. Hunter. Well, of course it was sent back only one day. When we knew they couldn't receive it we discontinued sending it. We simply held it until they raised the embargo on it. I presume the tonnage would not be much, maybe seventy-five or a hundred tons---something of that sort.

Mr. Cooper. About how long did that reduction continue?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I would say five or six days.

Mr. Baker. What is the present status?

Mr. Hunter. We are in good shape now. Everything is normal.

Mr. Baker. That is, you are in good shape so far as interstate traffic is concerned?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Are you having any trouble with your men?

Mr. Hunter. None at all now. They are in pretty good shape.

Mr. Baker. Where do your men live, here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. Well, originally about 90 or 95 per cent of our men lived in East St. Louis and on the Illinois side. Some of them lived in what is called Brooklyn, up north of the yards; but I presume 30 or 35 per cent of our men are living in St. Louis, Missouri---still do.

Mr. Baker. What is the cause of that?

Mr. Hunter. They are afraid to come back.

Mr. Baker. For what reason?

Mr. Hunter. Well, they are largely colored men.

Mr. Baker. But just tell us the reason.

Mr. Hunter. They are afraid to come back.

Mr. Baker. Well, where do they expect the danger to come from?

Mr. Hunter. Well, so many of them were man-handled and shot that they feel that it is likely to happen to them again.

Mr. Baker. From what source?

Mr. Hunter. From those who did it previously.

Mr. Baker. Well, so far as you know what was the source of that interference?

Mr. Hunter. Rioting.

Mr. Baker. Well, from what class of men?

Mr. Hunter. well, 1 couldn't say it was any class. It was general. All classes participated in it.

Mr. Baker. What instigated it? what caused it? 1 want to know if the same thing that existed then continues now, as it did before, only not broken out---sort of smoldering.

Mr. Hunter. well, my impression is that the whole thing was instigated by union labor.

Mr. Baker. Does that still exist?

Mr. Hunter. Yes it does.

Mr. Foss. How many men to you employ in your plant?

Mr. Hunter. We run 2200 to 2600.

Mr. Johnson. How many were you employing at this time?

Mr. Hunter. About 2300 at the time.

Mr. Foss. well, after this riot about how many came over on this bull train?

Mr. Hunter. About 800.

Mr. Foss. were they guarded at all by the militia?

Mr. Hunter. They were guarded by the militia as they got off.

Mr. Foss. were the trains guarded on the bridge by militia, as they came along?

Mr. Hunter. There were militia men on the bridge, yes.

Mr. Foss. Illinois state militia men?

Mr. Hunter. Well, they were guarded at both ends of the bridge. 1 presume Missouri militia guarded the Missouri end, and Illinois militia the Illinois end. There were militia men on both ends of the bridge.

Mr. Foss. What percentage of this number of men now who changed their residence at that time have come back to their old homes in East St. Louis would you say?

Mr. Hunter. Well, 1 think that not half of them are back.

Mr. Foss. In other words, there are about 400, are there?

Mr. Hunter. On the other side?

Mr. Foss. That formerly lived here in East St. Louis.

Mr. Hunter. Easily that, yes.

Mr. Foss. And who are employed in your concern?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. And these are colored are they?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I didn't understand what company you represent.

Mr. Hunter. Swift & Company.

Mr. Foster. You said a little while ago that you thought this was being instigated by union labor. What reason have you to believe so?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I have had those reports from so many sources that as near as I know anything I know it.

Mr. Foster. Is your institution a union labor institution?

Mr. Hunter. No.

Mr. Foster. Is it organized?

Mr. Hunter. No.

Mr. Foster. Open shop?

Mr. Hunter. Open shop, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Have you had a strike?

Mr. Hunter. Not this year.

Mr. Foster. When did you?

Mr. Hunter. We had a strike in July last year.

Mr. Foster. Has that continued from that time to this to some extent; or did the men go back to work?

Mr. Hunter. They all went back to work. They were just out two days.

Mr. Foster. Well now, what proportion of your labor, if you know, are colored people?

Mr. Hunter. What portion is colored?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. Now?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. 42 per cent.

Mr. Foster. What were they last July a year ago?

Mr. Hunter. About the same.

Mr. Foster. So that you have not replaced your labor there?

Mr. Hunter. Not at all.

Mr. Foster. It is running just about the same?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Did union labor make any threats against your institution?

Mr. Hunter. Against our plant?

Mr. Foster. Yes, did you get any notice or anything from them?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, we have had at various times.

Mr. Foster. I mean in the last six months.

Mr. Hunter. Yes.

Mr. Foster. Do you mind telling us what they were?

Mr. Hunter. Well, a good many reports sifted into the plant that they were going to blow it up.

Mr. Foster. That they were going to blow it up?

Mr. Hunter. Yes.

Mr. Foster. From the union or just from the outside?

Mr. Hunter. I don't know that I could say that I know it came from the unions.

Mr. Foster. Well, how do you know it came from the unions?

Mr. Hunter. I say I don't know.

Mr. Foster. Oh, excuse me. I didn't understand you. You couldn't say that it came from there?

Mr. Hunter. I believe I can't say off-hand that I know it came from the unions.

Mr. Foster. I understand. But you received those notices?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Could you give a reason why they were going to blow up your plant---if you care to tell?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I don't believe any reasons were assigned for it.

Mr. Foster. They just notified you that you were marked and they were going to blow you up?

Mr. Hunter. Exactly.

Mr. Foster. Do you keep guards there?

Mr. Hunter. They were going to blow me up along with it.

Mr. Foster. Do you keep guards at your plant?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. What are they, policemen? Sworn in are they?

Mr. Hunter. Yes.

Mr. Foster. Are they policemen or what?

Mr. Hunter. They are policemen.

Mr. Foster. No deputy sheriffs?

Mr. Hunter. No.

Mr. Foster. Were there soldiers around your plant during this time---militia men?

Mr. Hunter. Not immediately around our plant, but they were guarding the avenues that the men took to go home. There were no men immediately surrounding our plant.

Mr. Foster. Have you had any fires about your plant that were unaccounted for, in the last year?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. No, explosions; nothing of the kind took place?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you receive those kind of notices every once in a while, that your plant is likely to be blown up? Have you in the past?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So that it comes to you occasionally, even before they had any riot in East St. Louis? Is that it?

Mr. Hunter. Even before we had any riots?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. I don't just recall having any such notice as that before the riot, except---no, I don't know any occasion prior to that.

Mr. Foster. Did you ever have any prior to this?

Mr. Hunter. I don't recall.

Mr. Foster. These colored people that were working at your plant, were they interfered with during the riot?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Were some of them killed?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And some of them shot?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And they became afraid and went to St. Louis; is that it?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir. Not only to St. Louis; they scattered all over the country. A good many of them went back south.

Mr. Foster. A good many of them went back south?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. When did they come up here?

Mr. Hunter. They began arriving in here last fall.

Mr. Foster. And what proportion of these colored people before the riot lived in St. Louis, do you know that? In comparison to what they are now.

Mr. Hunter. What percent?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. I don't know as I know what the per cent is, but as I said a while ago, I thought fully 400 negroes were in St. Louis, in excess of what were there prior to that.

Mr. Foster. 400 now that were not there before the riot?

Mr. Johnson. You mean 400 negroes or 400 negro families?

Mr. Hunter. Employes of the plant.

Mr. Foster. And they commenced drifting up here last fall?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And seeking work and going to your plant?

Mr. Hunter. Everybody's plant.

Mr. Foster. Were they sent for down there? Did they send for them?

Mr. Hunter. I think not. I didn't send for any. I haven't heard of anybody who might have sent for any.

Mr. Foster. I thought you might have heard. I didn't think you had, from what you have told me about your plant.

Mr. Hunter. I think they very naturally would come here.

Mr. Foss. There was a demand for labor here, was there, a great demand?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; I think it wasn't so much demand for labor here as it was there was no demand for labor down there. These negroes began coming here when the farmers in the South, on account of the boll weevil, quit planting cotton. Of course their wages there were very small, and most of the roads tapping the cotton country center here in St. Louis, and I figure it was just the natural place for them to come. We had a surplus of labor all last fall and winter. It has been thought that negroes were sent for, but that absolutely is not true. It wasn't necessary.

Mr. Foss. There was no such thing as colonization of labor here, in your judgment?

Mr. Hunter. Absolutely not. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Has your concern had any contracts with the United States Government?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Since the declaration of war with Germany?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Has the fulfillment, to any extent, of those contracts been delayed or hindered by an interference with your plant in the way of labor or by transportation?

Mr. Hunter. Largely by labor; by reason of our not having the labor to get the goods out in time. Our shortage of labor.

Mr. Johnson. And one feature of that is your being compelled to reduce from killing 100 head of cattle an hour to 40?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. I would be glad if you would make a statement for the Committee, embodying any sort of interference upon the part of anybody with your fulfillment of the contracts that you have had with the United States Government.

Mr. Hunter. Well, I don't know as I just understand you, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. If the performance upon your part of your contract with the United States Government to furnish them supplies has been hampered or interfered with, I would be glad if you would state in what way that interference came.

Mr. Hunter. It has been interfered with, and by reason of our being short of labor.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, just come directly to it and tell us, as nearly as you know, what brought about that shortage of labor which interfered with your fulfillment of contracts with the United States.

Mr. Hunter. Well, the race riot of July 2nd was the immediate cause of the shortage of labor.

Mr. Johnson. Was that a race riot strictly? Or was it a jealousy between two different classes of labor?

Mr. Hunter. Do you want my opinion of that?

Mr. Johnson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Hunter. My personal opinion is that the race hatred was engendered by reason of union labor losing its strike, by reason of their being a plentiful supply of colored labor which they couldn't unionize. The fact that they couldn't unionize them; the fact that they couldn't get them into the union, lost them the strike.

Mr. Johnson. It is your opinion then that it resulted not only from this race hatred, but also from the fact that this particular colored labor was non-unionized?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You attribute it to both?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I attribute it directly to the fact that they were not union labor.

Mr. Johnson. That is the primary cause?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. In your judgment?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Now you have given the opinion that the operation of your plant---and consequence the fulfillment of your contracts with the United States Government---had been interfered with because of labor troubles. Will you please give us now some of the facts upon which you base that opinion---some of the happenings upon which you base that opinion?

Mr. Hunter. Will you kindly repeat that.

Mr. Johnson. Read the question.

(The question was read by the reporter).

Mr. Hunter. Well, the race riot was the immediate cause of our being short of labor. I guess that answers the question.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know of any other happening besides the race riot? Do you know of any sentinels being placed out to discourage or to prevent labor from coming into your factory, by which these contracts with the United States Government

were to be fulfilled? Do you know of any man or any set of men having set about to deplete your force of employees so that your contracts with the Government could not be fulfilled? When I say "any man or any set of men," I mean any man, any set of men or any organization of men.

Mr. Hunter. I can't say that any particular set of men prevented these colored men from coming to work in our plant.

Mr. Johnson. My question did not treat of colored men, but I used the expression in the question of depleting your force of employees, reducing it---reducing the number.

Mr. Hunter. Well, I just can't frame an answer in my own mind that will answer that, except to tell you that after the riot the negroes were afraid to come back to work. Now in that riot were all classes of people.

Mr. Johnson. And which was the primary class, if you can state, which resulted in all classes taking it up on the 2nd of July?

Mr. Hunter. Well, the class that initiated it, in my mind was union labor.

Mr. Johnson. Did you get any kind of notice, or have you any information which will enable the committee to take up and trace to any particular man or any particular set of men an interference with the fulfillment of Government contracts upon your part?

Mr. Hunter. If you accept the Government contracts being interfered with by our shortage of labor I can, yes.

Mr. Johnson. If you have a contract with the Government to supply provisions for the army, and you have labor with which to do it, and somebody by intimidation or otherwise reduces the number of your employees to the extent that you cannot comply with your contract with the Government, the Committee would be very glad to have it.

Mr. Hunter. I can give you information of that sort.

[illegible]

Mr. Johnson. Can you give it to us now?

Mr. Hunter. I haven't it with me.

Mr. Johnson. You are willing to come back to the Committee again and give us all the information you can upon that subject?

Mr. Hunter. I will qualify this by saying I will be glad to show you the source of my information on the subject.

Mr. Johnson. We would be glad to have that, so we can undertake to trace it up.

Mr. Hunter. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. Cooper. Was your strike before or after the strike at the Aluminum Company works?

Mr. Hunter. Well, sir, our strike was on the 22nd of July, 1916. I believe the Aluminum Company had one before and one after that. I am not just positive about that.

Mr. Cooper. Yours lasted two days?

Mr. Hunter. In 1916, two or three days.

Mr. Cooper. And the Aluminum Company strike lasted how long?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I believe their strike has never been settled, so far as I know.

Mr. Cooper. Never been settled? Now that we have gone into that, do you know why the men struck? What their complaint was?

Mr. Hunter. Our men?

Mr. Cooper. No, at the Aluminum Company.

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; only by hearsay. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. Cooper. Was it because they wanted more wages and better laboring conditions---conditions under which to labor?

Mr. Hunter. You are asking about the Aluminum Company strike?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

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Mr. Hunter. I'm sure I don't know anything about that.

Mr. Cooper. You were not having a strike at your plant at the time this riot broke out last July?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Your plant was guarded by sworn officers, policemen?

Mr. Hunter. Largely.

Mr. Cooper. Who administered the oaths? In what capacity were they sworn in?

Mr. Hunter. They were sworn in by the National City officials; the city officials of National City.

Mr. Cooper. What city?

Mr. Hunter. National City. That is a little municipality just north of East St. Louis, in which our packing houses is located.

Mr. Cooper. It isn't in East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. Not in East St. Louis, no, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Was that a separate municipality?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What is the population?

Mr. Hunter. I think about 220.

Mr. Cooper. How many officials has that municipality?

Mr. Hunter. You mean police officials?

Mr. Cooper. All together.

Mr. Hunter. I don't know; ten or fifteen I guess--- something like that.

Mr. Cooper. Has it a Mayor?

Mr. Hunter. Oh yes.

Mr. Cooper. Board of aldermen?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Chief of police?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And these men who guard your plant were

sworn in as officers of that municipality?

Mr. Hunter. I said largely. I really am not just sure. Our chief of police is, and I think perhaps the men under him are not. I am not just positive about that.

Mr. Cooper. Did you have any other guards besides these policemen?

Mr. Hunter. Not immediately around our plant, no, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well, how near? If not immediately around, how far away were they?

Mr. Hunter. Well, they were up and down what we call St. Clair Avenue. At. Clair Avenue at the point nearest our plant is about 300 yards. That is the street the men all use to go home. Guard duty around our plant was private. We did that ourselves.

Mr. Cooper. What?

Mr. Hunter. You understand this guard duty was not at the time of the riot especially. We have had extra guards on for some little time.

Mr. Cooper. Now, during these last riots, do you know what the guards were about the Aluminum plant?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; I don't know anything about the Aluminum plant.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know whether the state militia were down there?

Mr. Hunter. I know that there was a company encamped in that vicinity.

Mr. Cooper. How long before the riot broke out?

Mr. Hunter. I think several months.

Mr. Cooper. How far were they from the Aluminum plant--- their camp?

Mr. Hunter. I think about half a mile.

Mr. Cooper. How many were there of them?

Mr. Hunter. Well, at one time Major Kavanaugh told me

he had 200 men there. I think it varied from that---sometimes more; sometimes less.

Mr. Cooper. Were they in uniform?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know of any United States regulars being down there?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I will correct what I said. I believe Major Kavanaugh's men were regular army men.

Mr. Cooper. United States regular troops?

Mr. Hunter. United States regulars, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Were they from Fort Sheridan? Or where were they from?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I can't say. I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. Were these United States regulars employed to guard the plant of the Aluminum Company?

Mr. Hunter. I think not.

Mr. Cooper. Were they thrown about it at any time during the riots?

Mr. Hunter. Not that I know of.

Mr. Cooper. Or around your plant?

Mr. Hunter. They came to our plant the day after the riot---that is, they came down St. Clair Avenue. They patroled St. Clair Avenue from Collinsville Avenue to what we call the Black Bridge.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know who sent the United States regulars there?

Mr. Hunter. I do. I can't call his name. Captain somebody was the officer immediately in charge during Major Kavanaugh's absence. Major Kaganaugh was absent during the day of the riot.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know who ordered the Captain to take the troops there?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You don't know what superior officer issued the commands which resulted in the sending of United States regulars there?

Mr. Hunter. To this patrol duty?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. Cooper. How long did United States regular troops perform patrol duty there?

Mr. Hunter. I think about three days. I think the regulars were there about three days; and the militia relieved them, and the militia was there for two or three weeks.

Mr. Cooper. The state militia came and relieved the regular troops?

Mr. Hunter. I think we had the militia there first; then the federal troops to reinforce them, and then later just the militia.

Mr. Cooper. How many of the militia came down, or approximately how many?

Mr. Hunter. Fifty.

Mr. Cooper. Of course the regulars were in uniform too?

Mr. Hunter. They were all in uniform.

Mr. Cooper. Did they have rifles?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Bayonets in place?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper When did you first see regular troops there patroling with rifles and bayonets in place? Do you remember ~~which~~ the day?

Mr. Hunter. I think it was the afternoon of July 2nd.

Mr. Cooper. That is the day the violent rioting began?

Mr. Hunter. The day the violent rioting began; about 6 o'clock in the evening of that day.

Mr. Cooper. And you saw them there before that?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. About how long before the violent rioting broke out did you see the United States regulars there with their rifles and bayonets?

Mr. Hunter. I think they came there about 2 o'clock---2:30 of that afternoon.

Mr. Cooper. That was about 4 hours before the outbreak.

Mr. Hunter. Well, you understand there was rioting all that day. There was rioting that day but it got what you might call violent along about the middle of the afternoon.

Mr. Cooper. Had the burning begun at that time?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; the burning began, I think, about 6 in the evening.

Mr. Cooper. Had there been anybody killed up to that time?

Mr Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Already killed?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. In the streets?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. Have you either information or knowledge to the effect of any out of town influences brought to bear towards reducing your number of employees, or otherwise, which ~~xxxxxxx~~ either rendered it impossible or delayed or retarded the fulfillment of your contracts with the United States?

Mr. Hunter. I think I have a report to that effect.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean by that that you have a report in writing to that effect?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Will you furnish it to the Committee?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That report leads to the opinion upon your part that there were out of town influences brought to bear to interfere with the fulfillment of your contracts with the United States Government in furnishing supplies?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I don't know as I attach enough significance to that report to hardly warrant that conclusion. It was merely reported. I can't say that I absolutely believe it. I will furnish the report and you can read it. I can't vouch for it absolutely.

Mr. Johnson. But you are very decidedly of the opinion that local influences and causes did hinder you in the fulfillment of those contracts?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And you will help the Committee in arriving at the names of such persons as did that?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Are you sure, Mr. Hunter, that those were regulars?

Mr. Hunter. I'll tell you, those troops were federalized militia. That's what they were. I presume there is a distinction there between the regular army, but they had been taken into the federal service just a short time before they came there.

Mr. Cooper. And do you know whether the officer in charge of them was a regular army officer of not?

Mr. Hunter. Presumably he was, but I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. What was his name?

Mr. Hunter. Major Kavanaugh was in charge.

Mr. Cooper. So it is now your opinion that instead of being what is called---and strickly so called---a part of the regular army of the United States here, there was what is called the federal militia?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir. I guess they become the federal

army after they are federalized.

Mr. Cooper. Part of the state militia turned over to the federal government.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you either knowledge or information tending to prove or disprove the assertion frequently made around here that those troops joined the mob?

Mr. Hunter. I didn't see them, but I heard it from so many sources that I am inclined to believe it.

Mr. Johnson. I asked if you had either knowledge or information to that effect.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir---not the federalized militia. It was not that bunch of soldiers.

Mr. Johnson. The federalized militia, in your opinion, did not join the mob?

Mr. Hunter. They did not. You understand the federal militia were quartered here for, as I said, several months, and then a call was sent for state militia, and the state militia came down.

Mr. Johnson. Then what was the attitude of the state militia towards the mob? Did it, in your opinion, preserve order and peace?

Mr. Hunter. Not entirely; no, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You answered before I got through with the question---or I may have put it badly---but what I meant to ask was not whether they stopped it or not, because we know it was not stopped, but did they make a bona fide effort, in your judgment, to stop the mob?

Mr. Hunter. Well, no sir; they did not.

Mr. Johnson. Now have you some instances---

Mr. Hunter (interposing). They did at times. You understand we would get after them and tell them we were not getting protection, and then some show would be made to pre-

serve order.

Mr. Johnson. Did you take this up yourself personally with those soldiers?

Mr. HUnter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. With whom did you take it up?

Mr. Hunter. Well, Captain Smith was the man who was in charge of the squad nearest us. I took it up with him, and I took it up with Colonel Tripp.

Mr. Johnson. Did you undertake to cite instances to either of these men wherein they had not performed their duty?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Will you tell the Committee of those incidents?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I don't know as I can just remember clearly enough to tell you all the instances, but I will say this, that I pointed out specific cases to them where ~~xxxx~~ their men were standing by and allowing negroes to be beaten; and I tried to identify the soldiers to the officers.

Mr. Johnson. Give us one of those specific instances of mistreatment of the negroes, where these troops did not undertake to prevent that and restore order.

Mr. Hunter. Well now, Mr. Johnson, you understand I don't believe that I personally saw a negro beaten in the presence of an officer, but my men would tell me of cases, and I would merely report them for the action of Captain Smith, or that anybody else cared to take.

Mr. Johnson. You said "in the presence of an officer." I was asking in the presence of a soldier.

Mr. Hunter. Well, I meant soldier too. I meant to say soldier too.

Mr. Johnson. Not being able to answer the question yourself, can you give us the name of---name or names of any persons we can call who can give us the specific instances

that I now ask you for?

Mr. Hunter. I will try to do it.

Mr. Baker. Just one question I would like to ask on that. Your plant here is in East St. Louis, in Illinois?

Mr. Hunter. Technically it is in National City, Illinois.

Mr. Baker. That joinsx East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Part of it is in East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; all of our plant is in National City.

Mr. Baker. In National City, Illinois?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Just across the river on the east side from St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. No, not exactly that either. It is just north of East St. Louis. You see East St. Louis runs up the river front as far as opposite St. Louis, and then National City comes in north of that. It immediately joins East St. Louis.

Mr. Foss. How far from here, from this point right here, is your plant located?

Mr. Hunter. About a mile and a half I guess.

Mr. Baker. North?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And the rioting was here in the city, south of where we are now, and continued on north, clear to your plant?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. On various streets and various blocks.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Indiscriminately.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; all over the town.

Mr. Baker. In the day time, broad daylight? 6 o'clock at that time of the year was broad day light.

Mr. Hunter. Why, yes; broad day light.

Mr. Baker. And these militia were scattered over the city, and police officers over the city?

Mr. Hunter. Supposed to be.

Mr. Baker. And the citizens.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Were part of these men that participated the citizens of this town---residents here?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. A good deal of drinking going on that day was there? Or don't you know anything about that?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; I do. It was generally commented on that there wasn't so much drinking going on. They seemed to be sober in that respect.

Mr. Baker. They went at it sober?

Mr. Hunter. That was the general observation that it wasnt drunken rioting at all. They were sober, generally speaking.

Mr. Baker. Now getting back to the point I was trying to get at---

Mr. Foster (interposing). Before you go past that, ask him if the saloons were closed that day.

Mr. Baker. Were the saloons closed that day the 2nd of July?

Mr. Hunter. The saloons closed, I think, at 2 o'clock on that day. The order was sent out to close them at 2 o'clock.

Mr. Baker. For what purpose?

Mr. Hunter. They were fearful of the condition. You understand we knew this riot was going to come.

Mr. Baker. Now how did you know that? I would just like to have you tell us.

Mr. Hunter. Well, that is the reports I get from the

sources I have for getting infomation of that kind.

Mr. Baker. There was a general feeling that there was trouble impending?

Mr. Hunter. There wasa general feeling that they were going to run the niggers out of town.

Mr. Baker. That they had to leave?

Mr. Hunter. That is correct.

Mr. Baker. Was it a sort of determined feeling?

Mr. Hunter. Very determined.

Mr. Baker. well, was it talked promiscuously among people that lived here?

Mr. Hunter. It was talked among the fellows that intended to start it.

Mr. Baker. Well, that is quite a part of it. It always takes a start to get anything going.

Mr. Hunter. I presume that among the people generally it wasn't known until it started.

Mr. Baker. Do you know of your own knowledge any of the class of men---I just want to get now not the individuals; I don't want to go into that just at this time---of the class of men that were agitating this rioting? Were they business men, or saloon men, or were they men working in these shops, or what?

Mr. Hunter. well, what we call the labor element.

Mr. Baker. well, I know, but don't generalize like that. Were they men here in business? Any of these business men?

Mr. Hunter. It wasn't business men who did it, no. They didn't start it. It wasn't business men who started it.

Mr. Johnson. You said it was the laboring element that started it. Now there are two sorts of labor at least, unionized and non-unionized. Which of them would you say it was?

Mr. Hunter. Union labor.

Mr. Baker. I want to still complete my first thought

when I asked you the first question. Was your product being handled or shipped into the state of Missouri during this time, any of it?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Every day?

Mr. Hunter. Every day, yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Then I understand from your statement that that general shipment was curtailed and interfered with by what preceded the riot, as well as what followed it?

Mr. Hunter. What precededit? We were all right until the riot.

Mr. Baker. Hadn't they had trouble commencing on the 28th of May? Didn't you have sort of a semi-riot when a number of people were killed here then?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; we did, but that was quieted down shortly, and we got normal again between the period of the first and second riots.

Mr. Baker. What do you mean by your "normal?" Is it normal when there are only half a dozen killed?

Mr. Johnson. He said he got them normal between the two dates.

Mr. Hunter. You were asking about the volume of our business. I say it got normal again between the two riots.

Mr. Baker. Well, did that first riot affect you to some extent?

Mr. Hunter. To some extent, but not to the extent of the second. We were interfered with at that time.

Mr. Baker. That is what I would like to know. Now on the 28th and 29th of May, 1917, when the first riot started, there was an interference with the interstate shipment of the products of your factory, which went over into the state of Missouri?

Mr. Hunter. That is correct.

Mr. Baker. And of course became more acute on July 2nd and for a number of days following?

Mr. Hunter. For a number of days following. we were not bothered on July 2nd very much. We were pretty normal on the 2nd. The rioting started as the men came home that evening and that night. Then the real trouble was the next day and following that.

Mr. Baker. Then from your statement I understand that to a greater or less extent---in other words, to some extent--- there has been an interference from that time down to the present time, which still continues?

Mr. Hunter. Oh no.

Mr. Baker. Now let us have an understanding of this. There must be something in that or it couldn't keep 400 men in Missouri, who have to cross this river, without interfering with your business. Now I understaood you to say that from the beginning, which would be July third, these men have been compelled to go over to St. Louis to live and to stop. They are doing it at the present time?

Mr. Hunter. That is correct.

Mr. Baker. Now is it a fact, or is it not, that to some extent that interference is continuing right up to date?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; but to a rather small extent.

Mr. Baker. I don't care for the degree. I just want to know if the thing still continues to exist.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; we would prefer to have it like it was.

Mr. Baker. Now say that so the Committee can understand it. Can't you get better results from your men? Wouldn't you get better results? Wouldn't you get out your product more satisfactorily if your men are normal, easy, at home, living close to the plant where they can come and go at their own free will without any trouble?

Mr. Hunter. Unquestionably.

Mr. Baker. Now that is not the condition, but at least half of your men are living in another state, and have to travel on a special train to go to and from their work.

Mr. Hunter. Well, not half of our men.

Mr. Baker. But of the colored men.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. So you could xxxx say then, and do now say to the committee that at the present time, and since the third of July there has been more or less disturbance and interference xxxx which continues to the present time?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. I understood you to state that about 42 per cent of your men were colored on July second. What per cent of your men were colored on July second, 1915?

Mr. Hunter. Two years ago?

Mr. Baker. A year ago last July.

Mr. Hunter. Well, that would be 1915.

Mr. Baker. Yes, 1916.

Mr. Hunter. About the same. We have maintained around 40 per cent colored for some years.

Mr. Baker. Would it be a safe statement to say that for the last seven or eight years you have maintained in the neighborhood of from 35 to 45 per cent of colored help?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And this last July, when this trouble occurred, you maintained approximately the same number?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well then, you haven't been increasing your negro assistance in your plant to any extent?

Mr. Hunter. You see, you are speaking of per cent now.

Mr. Baker. Well, I expect I ought to speak in general terms and not percentages.

Mr. Hunter. Well, there is a difference there you see. We are employing more men. We are employing more colored men and we are employing more white men, but our per cent of the two is practically stationary and has been for the last several years.

Mr. Raker. Then it would be a safe statement to say five years ago, or six years ago, you employed about the same percentage of colored people then as you employ now?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I guess I had better qualify that a little if you are going back five or six years.

Mr. Raker. Well, four years.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, it has been practically the same, 35 to 40 per cent.

Mr.Raker. Then do you take it that this trouble grew by virtue of the fact that there were more colored people brought in than there had formerly been?

Mr. Hunter. They were not brought in. They came in.

Mr. Raker. They came in?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. But not directed specifically to your plant?

Mr. Hunter. Well, we have our share of them. As I say, we are working more men and we have more colored men now than we had a year ago; and we had more a year ago than we had xxy two years ago, but we are working more men you see.

Mr. Raker. Yes, I see. And those people came directly from the southern states?

Mr.HUnter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did they bring their families?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; lots of them did. Some did not of course, but lots of them did.

Mr. Cooper. How many do you think came in in the last two years, Mr. Hunter?

Mr. Hunter. To East St. Louis?1 think perhaps there are 4000 more negroes here now than there were two years ago.

Mr. Cooper. How many have come in in the last three years?

Mr. Hunter. Well, they have come in largely in the last two years. In fact, they have come in largely in the last year.

Mr. Cooper. How many have come in in the last year?

Mr. Hunter. I would say 3000.

Mr. Johnson. What time last year did they begin coming in?

Mr. Hunter. In the fall.

Mr. Johnson. What time in the fall?

Mr. Hunter. In October.

Mr. Johnson. Were they mostly men or women?

Mr. Hunter. Well, generally a man comes, and a little later he brings his family. That is about the way they work it.

Mr. Johnson. The man came along in October?

Mr. Hunter. Yes sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not they voted?

Mr. Hunter. No, I don't.

Mr. Baker. Mr. Hunter, just why did you have guards around your place of business?

Mr. Hunter. We did it in line with the general policy of protecting the plants all over the United States; directly with a view of keeping out any pro-German element who might do violents to it.

Mr. Baker. Was the German element pretty strong in this riot?

Mr. Hunter. I saw no evidence of that at all in the riot.

Mr. Baker. Well, were any men killed within a reasonable distance of your plant, 100 yards or 200 yards?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, 200 yards.

Mr. Baker. Were many people around when this was done?

Mr. Hunter. Lots of them.

Mr. Baker. Were any arrests made?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was the militia in sight?

Mr. Hunter. They were supposed to have been in sight. I guess they were up the street a little ways though. They didn't do anything.

Mr. Johnson. You have said there were about 4000 more negroes here now---or at least at the time of the rioting---than there were a year ago.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; I would guess that many more.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean 4000 heads of families more?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That is what you meant when you said 4000?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you have an employment agency in East St. Louis, a free employment agency?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Who is the superintendent?

Mr. Hunter. Well, it is, I will state, a free employment agency. I don't recall his name. I knew his name but I just can't recall it.

Mr. Foss. Can you state what the population of East St. Louis is at the present time?

Mr. Hunter. I think about 65,000.

Mr. Foss. What percentage is colored?

Mr. Hunter. I judge thirty.

Mr. Foss Thirty per cent. Have any considerable number of the colored people moved away from this city since the riot, outside of those who have gone to St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. Well, a good many of them have gone up into Brooklyn, which is a colored---strictly a colored settlement up north of National City.

Mr. Posse. Did any go South?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir; some of them have gone home.

Mr. Posse. You don't know---or do you know---how many---could you tell the numbers?

Mr. Hunter. How many have gone back South?

Mr. Posse. Yes, or gone to other parts, other than St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. Well, that would be only guess work.

Mr. Posse. Other than those who were in your employ, and who are now in St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter. How many have gone?

Mr. Posse. Moved away.

Mr. Hunter. Oh, I would guess a thousand. That is merely a guess though.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Hunter, were those 4000 that came here during the last year employed at the time of the riot?

Mr. Hunter. Well, sir, I don't know about the 4000, but there was quite a good deal of idle colored help here.

Mr. Cooper. How many of them were employed, of that 4000, do you think?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I would say 3000. But I am just guessig at it.

Mr. Cooper. 3000 adult negroes came to the city of East St. Louis in a year and secured employment. Where did they get employment?

Mr. Hunter. All over East St. Louis?

Mr. Cooper. Did they displace white men?

Mr. Hunter. I think not. In fact, we are always trying to pick up more white men ourselves, and I think that it was just extra work here.

Mr. Cooper. Where did the most of them secure employment?

Mr. Hunter. Well, all of the larger industries had their share of them I presume.

Mr. Cooper. How many additional did you put on during the last year?

Mr. Hunter. Are you speaking of colored only now?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. I would say 200.

Mr. Cooper. That left 2800. How many did the Aluminum Company put on?

Mr. Hunter. I don't know, sir, about that.

Mr. Cooper. You have no idea?

Mr. Hunter. I just know in a general way that they have been very busy doing lots of building, doing lots of work, and I imagine they took their share of them.

Mr. Cooper. Have they been enlarging their plant?

Mr. Hunter. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. About how extensively?

Mr. Hunter. How extensively have they enlarged it? I think they have more than doubled in the last two years.

Mr. Cooper. Did a considerable proportion of this 2800 adult negroes go there to work?

Mr. Hunter. Well, I don't know about that. They have employed a lot of men in the construction ways, and of course negroes would be limited in that. He couldn't do very much in that, so just how many they would take I don't know.

Mr. Foss. Negro labor is unskilled exclusively?

Mr. Hunter. Not exclusively. I have some skilled negro help, but a very small amount.

Mr. Cooper. But in a large factory where the plant has standardized articles which are made by machinery it doesn't take any very great expertness in a man to learn to run one of those machines does it? That is, there are a good many different kinds of machines that they could learn to run very easily.

Mr. Hunter. Very little of our work is done by machinery.

Mr? Cooper. 1 mean in other plants.

Mr. Hunter. 1 am sure 1 don't know about that.

Mr. Cooper. Where they make standardized metal work, for instance.

Mr. Hunter. 1 am sure 1 don't know whether they employ colored labor at that or not.

Mr. Cooper. They could learn to run a machine without any particular necessity for expertness? 1 ask you if that is n't so. You don't know, 1 suppose?

Mr. Hunter. 1 am not in a position to pass on that. 1 can tell you about our machines but 1 don't know anything about the other people's machines.

Mr. Cooper. That was a very considerable influx of negro help, 4000 heads of families, adult negroes, to come to a city of this size exclusively of their own volition in one year.

Mr. Hunter. 1 think you will find that other cities have had about the same.

Mr. Cooper. You think there was any inducement, any effort made to get them to come here?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir; 1 am almost positive there was none at all from any source.

Mr. Cooper. Are you positive about all the other plants besides your own?

Mr. Hunter. Wd 1, 1 am positive about all the plants in our locality. 1 am positive about all the packing plants here.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you knew very little indeed about the business of the Aluminum Company---some other features of it you knew nothing about at all and were not prepared to testify. How is it you can testify so positively as to these other plants, as to what they did or did not do in that regard?

Mr. Hunter. 1 said 1 knew about the other packing plants. They are neighbors of mine.

Mr. Cooper. Oh, the packing plants. I beg pardon.

Mr. Hunter. The Aluminum Company is way over in the other part of the town. I rarely go by it and know very little about it.

Mr. Cooper. I misunderstood you. I didn't understand you to say packing plants. I thought you said other plants.

Mxx You are not prepared to swear positively that inducements were not made to get men to come here last year are you?

Mr. Hunter. Ready to swear that? I am ready to swear that the Swift Packing Company did not.

Mr. Cooper. I know that, Mr. Hunter.

Mr. Hunter. I am ready to swear that I have the statement of the gentlemen who run the other plants that nothing was done. I know as well as I know most things of that kind that nothing of that kind was done. We know what was going on, and negroes could not be induced to come up here without our knowing something about it. We would hear it from some source.

Mr. Foster. They had heard this was a good place to come, a very pleasant place to live?

Mr. Hunter. Well sir, I think that is a very natural thing. Negroes don't know very much about what he is going to do. He gets on a train that leads him to the town he hears most about, and that is the reason he comes.

Mr. Cooper. But these were heads of families, and that is an unusual thing, I should think, for a negro to take his wife and children, if he have them, and move off into a community that he didn't know anything about, if he were employed elsewhere.

Mr. Hunter. Well, if you would see some of them that will pick up and leave when they think they will get a nickel an hour more you wouldn't be surprised at it.

Mr. Cooper. How did he know he was going to get a nickel an hour more?

Mr. Hunter. How did he know?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Hunter. Well, usually those things come about by the negroes here writing their friends down there, that they are getting such pay.

Mr. Cooper. But these negroes here couldn't write that they were getting a nickel an hour more unless the negroes here had been promised they would get a nickel an hour more. How did they know they were going to get a nickel an hour more?

Mr. Hunter. I couldn't answer that. I didn't say that they did know it.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know anything about a railroad company advertising along down in Alabama and those places in the South that they could get employment up here?

Mr. Hunter. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. The Illinois Central or any other railroad?

Mr. Hunter. I heard the Pennsylvania was trying to get negroes to go on their lines, but I never heard of the St. Louis or East St. Louis raid roads advertising for men.

Mr. Cooper. How did it occur to you to say that it wasn't strange that negroes would pick up and come up here if they thought they could get a nickel an hour more? How did they know they were going to get a nickel an hour more here---or any other sum?

Mr. Hunter. I don't know how they knew it. I say that usually the information travels in some sort of channel like that; that the colored men who is from the South writes that he is making $2.50 a day in East St. Louis, and he writes to some relative, friend or something of that sort, and the relative down there figures that he is getting probably a dollar a day, and he will take a chance on coming up here.

Mr. Cooper. Well, he would have to have quite a considerable number of relatives to have 4000 heads of families, and it would take several letters.

Mr. Hunter. Yes, it would take a good many letters.

Mr. Cooper. That's all.

Mr. Johnson. Remember please, Mr. Hunter, that you are to supply the Committee with some information.

Mr. Hunter. Just when would you like that?

Mr. Johnson. As soon as we can get it.

Mr. Hunter. Will you be here Monday?

Mr. Johnson. Yes, we will be here Monday. You may stand aside now.

We will call Mr. Roger.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES ROGER,
720 Veronica Street, East St. Louis, Mo.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Please give the stenographer your full name, your residence and occupation.

Mr. Roger. Charles Roger; residence, 720 Veronica Street, East St. Louis. Occupation, President of the J. C. Grant Chemical Company; also President of the McMahon Transfer Company.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Roger, if you have either knowledge or information concerning any sort of interference with interstate commerce within the states of Illinois and Missouri during the year 1917, in your own way please state it to the Committee.

Mr. Roger. Well, even at the present time-- you mean as the result of---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). I don't mean as the result of anything in particular. If there has been any interference with interstate commerce from any cause.

Mr. Roger. I see. At the present time we have---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). In the first place, you say that you are President of a transfer company?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Does your transfer company operate across the river?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Back and forth across the river?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, state whether or not at any time during the year 1917 any transportation, either by your company or by any other, either of passengers or freight, has been interfered with. If so, state to what extent, and the interfering causes.

Mr. Roger. Well, on the first of July, at the time the riots took place in East St. Louis, we were not able to ship our goods at all for, I should say, three days. During the next approximately three weeks we were subjected to a great deal of delay and inconvenience. We would send our wagons to the depots, and quite frequently they would turn them back.

Mr. Johnson. Empty?

Mr. Roger. No, would not take the goods.

Mr. Johnson. You sent your wagons to the train with goods, not for goods?

Mr. Roger. With goods, and very frequently they ~~xxxx~~ would turn them back.

Mr. Johnson. Would not receive the goods?

Mr. Roger. Would not receive the goods.

Mr. Johnson. And what reason would they give for not receiving them?

Mr. Roger. They claimed they were short of help and couldn't conduct their business and clean up the platforms as they wanted to. Now to some extent that continues today.

Mr. Johnson. Now then do you know why, from what cause were they short of help?

Mr. Roger. They stated they were short of help on account of the riots, the help having left them, the platform men, truck men and so forth.

Mr. Johnson. Could you be more specific and tell us just why the riot made them short of men?

Mr. Roger. A great number of employees in East St. Louis moved away from the town.

Mr. Johnson. Why?

Mr. Roger. On account of the riots.

Mr. Johnson. Well, just because they were morally opposed to rioting, or because they were apprehensive of being victims of the riot?

Mr. Roger. They were intimidated, afraid.

Mr. Johnson. They went out of fear?

Mr. Roger. Scared to death. I speak advisedly when I say "scared to death." One of our men hasn't come back yet. He lives in St. Louis and comes back and works here through the day. You couldn't get him to live over here in East St. Louis. I have offered him even more wages to live here.

Mr. Johnson. Well now then, that interferes, if I understand correctly---has interfered---with the handling of freight on the Illinois side?

Mr. Roger. Both ways. You see we bring goods from St. Louis to ship in Illinois.

Mr. Johnson. You bring it in wagons across the bridge?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well, would you not have done the same thing if there had been no rioting?

Mr. Roger. Yes, but we could have delivered goods in East St. Louis. We would pick up a load of freight in St. Louis

and expect to deliver it to one of the depots on this side.

Mr. Johnson. But if you got it across all right, then there was no interference with interstate commerce. Interstate commerce is strictly the commerce between the two states.

Mr. Roger. Oh, I see. You mean if we get to the end of the bridge; whether we get to the railroad or not, that is another thing.

Mr. Foss. Well, if they couldn't deliver it, that was part of the interference.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I think if he understands the situation we can get to that. We are first undertaking to ascertain what interference there was in traffic passing back and forth across the river between the two states. Now a failure to load and unload would be, in my judgment at least, an interference, but the instance that you cited might not be. For instance, if the freight which you hauled across from St. Louis and undertook to deliver to the railroads on this side---and they wouldn't take it---now if those shipments were going east, then it would not be an interference with traffic between two states; but if those shipments were going west, then there would be.

Mr. Roger. There would be going west.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't say as to that, and that is what I am after. Now I want you to understand it and go ahead and tell us about it.

Mr. Roger. These shipments were going east, and we couldn't deliver them because the railroads wouldn't accept them. Then we had to haul them into our warehouses over night and send them out next day.

Mr. Johnson. The warehouses on this side?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And then those shipments were ~~delivered~~ delayed?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did the transfer company of which you are president haul freight only, or did it haul freight and passengers?

Mr. Roger. Only freight.

Mr. Johnson. Were any of your haulings across the river interfered with in any way?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; we had one wagon load burned up entirely. It was not interstate commerce, however. But it was entirely burned up, wagon and contents.

Mr. Johnson. Did you have any drivers who were intimidated and afraid to come from the Missouri side to the Illinois side?

Mr. Roger. I couldn't say as to that, absolutely.

Mr. Johnson. Did you have any handlers of freightwho were afraid to come over from the other side to this side?

Mr. Roger. No, sir. The help in the transfer company are allwhite men. We employ no negroes in connection with the transfer company.

Mr. Baker. I would just like to ask a few questions. Where is your place of business? Will you load and unload here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Roger. Our place of business is right straight through here, at 6th and Walnut. Now we do this general hauling for anyone.

Mr. Baker. To that place?

Mr. Roger. Not necessarily.

Mr. Baker. Where you handle your general business is down here at Walnut Street?

Mr. Roger. That is where the offices and stables and warehouses are.

Mr. Baker. Now from Walnut Street you send your ~~xxxx~~ teams out and gather freight and bring it to this depot?

Mr. Roger. Most of it would go direct from the plant where we picked it up to the depot.

Mr. Baker. You have your headquarters and you start from there and send teams around and gather up and gather up this freight, and they then take it down to the stations?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. At the particular depots along the water front?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And then it is there transferred to what?

Mr. Roger. Well, that would go right into the cars there.

Mr. Baker. On the cars?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir. Or if it is delivery to St. Louis--- for instance if we made a shipment from one of the industries here over to St. Louis we would haul it direct there.

Mr. Baker. Well, what I am trying to get at now is as to what kind of freight, and if you had freight that was going between East St. Louis and St. Louis during this time.

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; we did.

Mr. Baker. And that freight was delayed?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You couldn't ship some of it?

Mr. Roger. We couldn't ship some of it until the next day.

Mr. Baker. Well now, when you started freight from St. Louis, to bring it across to East St. Louis that went on to eastern points, was that delayed?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Just how?

Mr. Roger. When we went to deliver it to the depots on the east side they wouldn't take it.

Mr. Baker. For what reason?

Mr. Roger. Because they claimed they didn't have the men.

They closed up the depot at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, I remember, on account of not having men.

Mr. Baker. Why did they close up the depot at 2 o'clock?

Mr. Roger. They wouldn't receive any more freight because they said they didn't have the men to handle it.

Mr. Baker. Why didn't they get men?

Mr. Roger. They weren't there.

Mr. Baker. I have just understood from Mr. Hunter.that they had lots of men around East St. Louis here; that labor was plentiful.

Mr. Roger. After the riot; I am talking about after the 2nd of July.

Mr. Baker. I am talking about the roit---before the riot and just at the time of the riot.

Mr. Roger. This was after the riot. Immediately after we didn't see plenty of labor.

Mr. Baker. There was a difference between just preceding the riot and the day following the riot?

Mr. Roger. Most certainly.

Mr. Baker. The men had left?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. On account of the riot?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And is that the reason they closed up the places, because they couldn't get men ?

Mr. Roger. So I understood from the railroads.

Mr. Baker. Did they close any of them up earlier on account of their men not being desirous of working late because they were afraid to go home, or didn't you learn that?

Mr. Roger. They are still closing them up earlier.

Mr. Baker. And before the riot?

Mr. Roger. No, not before the riot.

Mr. Baker. Are they closing them up earlier now than they

did in the period before the riot?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; one hour.

Mr. Baker. For what reason?

Mr. Roger. I understand the reason is that they claim that the men want to get off and get home.

Mr. Baker. For what reason? You have an idea; now tell us. Get right down to it and tell us right out. There must be some reason that these men want to get away an hour earlier on account of this riot.

Mr. Roger. I presume they want to get away while the day light is good. That is only my personal opinion.

Mr. Johnson. Why do they want to get away while the day light is good?

Mr. Roger. So they won't be intimidated. That is my own personal opinion.

Mr. Baker. Isn't there anything farther than intimidation?

Mr. Roger. I don't think so.

Mr. Baker. You mean by this intimidation that they are afraid they will be mobbed?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That somebody will kill them?

Mr. Roger. That somebody will kill them---hurt them at least.

Mr. Baker. Now has that had a general effect along all these various wharves here, or these businesses that have been transferring freight back and forth between St. Louis and East St. Louis, to delay freight that has gone west as well as that that is coming east?

Mr. Roger. Going west I don't know. I don't think so.

Mr. Baker. But more particularly that coming east?

Mr. Roger. From the east. The east side railroads today are closing down one hour earlier than they did before the riot,

which means one hour a day from the working time.

Mr. Baker. Now does that affect all the freight, as you understand it, that goes to East St. Louis and on through to the eastern part of the United States?

Mr. Roger. Only that part of it which would be hauled from St. Louis by team.

Mr. Baker. Oh, I see. That is the particular part that is interfered with?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. But that which comes across in the cars, loaded over there, is not interfered with?

Mr. Roger. Not that I know of. I am in no position to know anything about that.

Mr. Baker. There is quite a large lot of this that comes across by team?

Mr. Roger. Quite a great deal, and that day has been shortened by one hour since the riot.

Mr. Baker. Where were you on the 2nd of July?

Mr. Roger. I was down in our plant.

Mr. Baker. Was there anything going on around there at that time?

Mr. Roger. That was a storm center; the only building in four blocks that isn't burned down.

Mr. Baker. Did they burn your building?

Mr. Roger. It was afire in half a dozen places but didn't destroy it---slight damage.

Mr. Baker. Did you have any colored men working for you?

Mr. Roger. We had just a chauffeur at that time.

Mr. Baker. What did they do with him?

Mr. Roger (continuing). And one old nigger pensioner.

Mr. Baker. What did they do with him.

Mr. Roger. Well the old negro we got him in a cab and sent him away. They scared him to death, but he got to St.

Louis all right.

Mr. Baker. What did they set your place afire for?

Mr. Roger. Well, our place was not intentionally sent on fire. It was scorched from the adjoining building. I will say this, however: I was out in fromt of our place, and a bunch of them was coming along together, and one fellow says, "There's a place that would make a good fire," and some other fellow in the crowd says, "Leave that alone; he's no nigger lover; he don't have any niggers."

Mr. Baker. Daylight was that?

Mr. Roger. This was about 6 o'clock.

Mr. Baker. Daylight?

Mr. Roger. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Were these men masked?

Mr. Roger. No. I know what you are trying to get at, but I'm sorry I couldn't identify some of them. I would give a whole lot if I could identify two or three fellows around there; but in a crowd, a man excited and looking after his own stuff and within an ace of losing something over $300,-000, he is not putting his attention particularly to trying to identify any particular individual.

Mr. Baker. Were there any soldiers around?

Mr. Roger. One.

Mr. Baker. What was he doing?

Mr. Roger. He was shooting niggers.

Mr. Baker. What?

Mr. Roger. Shooting niggers.

Mr. Baker. The soldier ?

Mr. Roger. Sure.

Mr. Johnson. You say there was one soldier there?

Mr. Roger. I saw one soldier, yes, sir; and I saw him firing at niggers. I have already testified to that.

Mr. Johnson. Could you identify him if the company to

which he belonged were put before you?

Mr. Roger. No, sir. I am not at all familiar with the different uniforms and I could not tell---in fact, I wouldn't know whether he was a militia man or a regular soldier.

Mr. Baker. Did he hit him?

Mr. Roger. Well, I saw the nigger drop.

Mr. Baker. You say you gave this testimony before another body?

Mr. Roger. Before, I think it was, the military investigation in East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. What was this negro doing that he shot at?

Mr. Roger. Just coming out of one of the houses along Sixth Street.

Mr. Cooper. And the soldier in uniform drew up his rifle and shot him?

Mr. Roger. Absolutely. The surrounding circumstances were these: There was a bunch of them standing there and they said something about a soldier, that he couldn't shoot, and he says, "The hell I can't. I'll show you." And he just put his rifle to his shoulder and he shot down the line and I saw a nigger drop.

Mr. Johnson. How far away was the negro who was shot from the soldier who did the shooting?

Mr. Roger. 300 feet---350 feet.

Mr. Johnson. Was there just one negro there, or several?

Mr. Roger. Several negroes.

Mr. Johnson. He seemed just to shoot into the crowd?

Mr. Roger. He just shot, yes.

Mr. Johnson. Did he fire more than once?

Mr. Roger. He had fired one shot before that.

Mr. Johnson. Did the military authorities give you an opportunity, or even suggest to you the advisability of your reviewing their men to see if you could identify that man?

Mr. Roger. They did not; no sir. However, they asked me if it would be possible for me to identify him, and I told them I thought not, because I couldn't say whether he was militia or regular.

Mr. Johnson. Were both kinds here that day?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; so I understand.

Mr. Johnson. His appearance before you might have refreshed your memory so that you could have recognized him, and it occurs to me you should have had that opportunity.

Mr. Roger. Well, of course I am not in a position to judge of that.

Mr. Baker. How far from the soldier were you when he fired?

Mr. Roger. Oh, about thirty feet.

Mr. Baker. You could hear him talking?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And what did he say?

Mr. Roger. He said---some one was jollying him that he couldn't touch them, and he said, "The hell I can't; I'll show you."

Mr. Johnson. Then raised his gun and shot into this crowd of negroes and one fell?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you go to see whether he was killed?or wounded?

Mr. Roger. No, I didn't. To that extent I---if you had been there you would have been just as big a coward as the rest of us. We didn't want to, not only for our own lives, but most of us I guess---I don't own all the property, you know. I have my duties to my stockholders to protect the property, and it wouldn't have done any good.

Mr. Cooper. You had $ 300,000 worth of property there too?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; and you know there was a great

many instances when really common humanity would urge me to go ahead and interfere, but what were you going to do? You knew well enough you would get killed yourself.

Mr. Johnson. You say the army officers asked you if you thought you could recognize the man who fired the shot?

Mr. Roger. My impression is that they did.

Mr. Johnson. That is only an impression with you?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was there any insistence on their part that you make the effort to identify him?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you call that due diligence upon their part?

Mr. Roger. ~~xxdxxxxxxxx~~ I don't know how that would be. I am not a judge of that.

Mr. Johnson. That isn't a diligent, active way to go out looking for a murderer is it, to simply ask a question like that and let it drop?

Mr. Roger. If I was boss of the army I wouldn't like them to come back to me with a report like that, ~~that~~ that was as far as it had gone.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know the name of the officer with whom you talked concerning the possibility of your being able to identify this soldier?

Mr. Roger. I don't, sir. It was the regular inquiry, and that would be easy enough to determine.

Mr. Johnson. Will you determine that for us and come back and tell the Committee the name of the officer?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sure, I will be glad to do it.

Mr. Johnson. We will be very glad indeed to have you give us the name of the officer who let this thing go with that trivial inquiry of you.

Mr. Roger. All right; I'll see what can be done. I think

we can determine the date on which I testified, and get it that way.

Mr. Baker. Did anybody else interview you? Have you made any other statement before any other body?

Mr. Roger. I made a statement before Governor Lowden.

Mr. Baker. Of what you are telling the Committee here?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. In that statement to Governor Lowden---

Mr. Roger (interposing). That was merely conversation.

Mr. Johnson (continuing) ---did you tell him of this incident?

Mr. Roger. I am very sure I did.

Mr. Johnson. You are sure you did?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he interrogate you for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it would be possible for you to identify that soldier?

Mr. Roger. Just how far he went I couldn't say, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well, if he had gone to the extent of giving you the opportunity to identify this soldier, you would recall that wouldn't you?

Mr. Roger. Oh, if he---certainly I would.

Mr. Johnson. Then you are of the opinion he didn't do any such thing?

Mr. Roger. That he didn't give me an opportunity to identify the soldier?

Mr. Johnson. That he evidenced no desire to give you an opportunity to identify that soldier, in your opinion?

Mr. Roger. I wouldn't go to that extent.

Mr. Johnson. How far would you go.

Mr. Roger. He seemed very very much put out about it.

Mr. Johnson. Certainly he was.

Mr. Roger. And he said,"Now here, you will be asked"---

I forget just the words he used, but the sense of it was, was I entirely sure what I was taking about, because this would undoubtedly come up.

Mr. Johnson. Has the Governor from that day until this communicated with you in any shape, manner, form or fashion, for the purpose of inquiring or ascertaining whether or not it was still possible for you to identify that soldier?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. When you recited the occurrence to xxx him, he asked you some questions about it and then let it drop, and you haven't heard from him since upon the subject?

Mr. Roger. No, sir; except this military investigation.

Mr. Johnson. Has any commanding officer of the soldiers who were here upon that occasion made any effort since the day of the inquiry about it to ascertain whether or not it was still possible for you to identify that soldier, if their soldiers were exhibited to you?

Mr. Roger. No, sir; I haven't heard any more about it.

Mr. Johnson. They too have been satisfied to let the matter drop, so far as you know.

Mr. Roger. Apparently, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Roger, what street was that on?

Mr. Roger. Walnut, at the intersection of Sixth.

Mr. Cooper. What company was located there?

Mr. Roger. I don't know.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was it?

Mr. Roger. Between 6 and 7 o'clock.

Mr. Cooper. What day?

Mr. Roger. The 2nd of July.

Mr. Johnson. The sun sets about 7 o'clock, I believe, at that time.

Mr. Roger. I should think so.

Mr. Johnson. We can ascertain that.

Mr. Baker. Before you leave that---who was there with you immediately during that time, from 5 to 6 and 7 o'clock?

Mr. Roger. Among others was young John Alec Stuntz, who is a clerk for the Transfer Company; and Miss Jessie Stuntz, who is my secretary.

Mr. Baker. Was she around there too?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Were these two parties present when this thing was going on?

Mr. Roger. When this soldier was shooting?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Roger. I don't think Miss Stuntz saw that, but I do know that John Stuntz saw it.

Mr. Baker. Now who else was there immediately around your building, that was looking after your property, interested in the same thing you were interested in?

Mr. Roger. Well, just at that particular time I don't know, but during the evening there was Harry Eldridge, who is Manager of the Transfer Company; and Henry Karpke, a teamster.

Mr. Baker. Anybody else you think of?

Mr. Roger. There were some more of our teamsters.

Mr. Baker. Have you talked this matter over with these people since this occurrence---with Stuntz?

Mr. Roger. Only with this young Stuntz. I asked him if he saw the soldier shoot.

Mr. Baker. What did he say?

Mr. Roger. He said he did.

Mr. Baker. Was he placed on the stand by the military authorities?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. He hasn't been called at all?

Mr. Roger. No. The military authorities didn't ask, by the way, if there was any body else there.

Mr. Johnson. I wanted to ask you that particular question. Did the military authorities in making this investigation ask you to give them the names of anybody else who saw this shot fired?

Mr. Roger. I think not.

Mr. Johnson. Did Governor Lowden ask you that question?

Mr. Roger. I think not.

Mr. Johnson. Can you give us the names now of somebody who heard this language used by the soldier and saw him fire?

Mr. Roger. Well, I am inclined to think that Stuntz would hear the language too.

Mr. Johnson. I apprehend that there was a crowd of people around; how many you didn't know, but was there anybody else?

Mr. Roger. Not outside of the rioters.

Mr. Johnson. I meant among the rioters. I take it for granted that a large number of rioters saw the shot fired, and that you didn't know them.

Mr. Roger. There wasn't a great number of rioters there at that time. I should say five or six.

Mr. Johnson. And you knew none of them?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And neither the inquiring officers, the army officers nor the Governor asked you to give them the name of anybody else who saw this shot fired?

Mr. Roger. I think not. That is my recollection. It is some little time ago. They may have and I may have forgotten it, but my impression is not.

Mr. Johnson. But the best of your recollection is that neither of them asked you that question?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. After this soldier shot this negro did he have anything to say immediately after the shot was fired?

Mr. Roger. No, I don't think he did. Mind you, I was busy running out and in and getting ready for what I was afraid was going to happen.

Mr. Cooper. Had your plant been afire before that?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Afterwards it got afire?

Mr. Roger. It was just a few minutes after that that it went afire.

Mr. Baker. Did this young lady stay around assisting during this time too?

Mr. Roger. She staid a good while, and then got---came out of the door to see what we were doing, and the door clammed on her and shot her out in the middle of the rioters.

Mr. Baker. What I mean, was she in and about and around, looking after the property and seeing that your lives were protected, if they could be, as well as the property?

Mr. Roger. Yes, although she was very much excited.

Mr. Johnson. When was it you appeared before this military investigation board?

Mr. Roger. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Johnson. Approximately how long ago?

Mr. Roger. Oh, quite a while ago.

Mr. Johnson. How long, weeks or months? How soon after the riot? Maybe you can fix it that way.

Mr. Roger. I should think maybe---I should say inside of a month after the riot.

Mr. Johnson. And when was it, as nearly as you can fix it, that you had this talk with Governor Lowden?

Mr. Roger. That was within either the day after or---within three days after the riot.

Mr. Johnson. The first time he came down here?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And from that time until this neither the

military authorities nor the Governor has undertaken to ascertain from you whether or not there was anybody else who might identify that soldier?

Mr. Roger. No, sir.

Mr. Foss. Where was this military inquiry held, here?

Mr. Roger. In the City Hall.

Mr. Foss. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Roger. In East St. Louis.

Mr. Foss. You are not able to fix the date, only you think it was within a month after the riot?

Mr. Roger. Yes, I can't fix the date. We have had enough troubles of our own.

Mr. Foss. Do you know who were here present at that time during this inquiry?

Mr. Roger. It was conducted by the officers of the militia, I understand. That is my impression.

Mr. Foss. Was it an inquiry or a court-martial.

Mr. Roger. I don't know.

Mr. Foss. Well, how many officers were there who were conducting this investigation?

Mr. Roger. Three or four.

Mr. Foss. You don't know the names of any of them?

Mr. Roger. No, I don't.

Mr. Cooper. Were you put under oath?

Mr. Roger. My impression is I was.

Mr. Cooper. Did the man who swore you, have on a uniform, or don't you remember?

Mr. Roger. I think he did.

Mr. Foss. Sitting beside him were other officers?

Mr. Roger. By the way, one of them was a lawyer in Chicago, I understand.

Mr. Foss. What was his name? Was he in uniform?

Mr. Roger. He was in uniform.

Mr. Foss. Was he asking the questions?

Mr. Roger. He asked some of them.

Mr. Foss. Did you hear him called the Judge Advocate?

Mr. Roger. Called Judge Advocate? I don't think so.

Mr. Foss. After this soldier shot that colored man, what did the soldier do? Or did you go away?

Mr. Roger. I don't know, sir. I may be left the thing and went into the factory, but whether or not I don't know.

Mr. Foss. You didn't wait to see anything more after that?

Mr. Roger. I didn't wait to see.

Mr. Johnson. Was this negro when he was shot doing or attempting to do violence to anybody?

Mr. Roger. No, no, no. Good Lord no. They were scared to death.

Mr. Cooper. That statement makes a deliberate murder of it. That is what it was, wasn't it?

Mr. Roger. There were a whole lot of deliberate murders there.

Mr. Cooper. But by a man in uniform?

Mr. Roger. If that man died it was murder if ever there was one.

Mr. Baker. Now just continuing right along where we talked a moment ago, it was perfectly broad day light; nothing to obstruct your view, and the sun was still up at that time of day?

Mr. Roger. I think it was somewhere around about 7 o'clock---between 6 and 7 o'clock. You know time moves pretty fast.

Mr. Baker. I was trying to get it for another purpose. I don't care for the exact status of the sun, but if you remember whether or not the sun was still shining? I am trying to get at the brightness.

Mr. Roger. My impression is it was getting a little bit dusk. The sun isn't bright today, and probably it was a little darker than it is now.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Roger, the testimony which you have just given will be printed and in its printed form will be laid before Congress. You have testified to a most revolting incident, and for that reason, in order that Congress may have the benefit of your judgment in the matter I believe it would be best, if you have no objections, to state your age. We would like to prove---

Mr. Roger (interposing). Why, sure. Gentlemen, understand if I can help you in any way, I want to do it.

Mr. Johnson. I am having in mind now that those who read this printed report ought to know something of the age of the witness.

Mr. Roger. Well, I am forty-nine years old.

Mr. Johnson. That carries with it judgment and that kind of thing; and I think it is best to have it in the record.

Mr. Baker. In addition to your age, how long have you been in business?

Mr. Roger. Well, I have been in this country twenty-five years.

Mr. Baker. You have been in business twenty-five years?

Mr. Johnson. Where were you born, Mr. Roger?

Mr. Roger. I was born in Scotland.

Mr. Johnson. Are you a man of family?

Mr. Roger. I have a wife; no children.

Mr. Johnson. Your permanent home is here in St. Louis?

Mr. Roger. East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. How long have you lived here?

Mr. Roger. I have lived here seven years.

Mr. Johnson. Now still dropping back to just prior to this shooting---I want to rivet your attention on that time---

you saw these negroes standing out, apparently cowed, or doing nothing---I possibly ought not to have used those words?

Mr. Roger. I can just explain that. The houses to the west of us were already afire.

Mr. Johnson. Negro houses?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir. The fire was started to the west of us, about 2 o'clock to the west of us, and these people were from a block to two blocks east of us. They were hanging around waiting to see what was going to happen to them.

Mr. Johnson. They were where they could see and know for themselves that other negro houses were being burned?

Mr. Roger. What was going on two or three blocks from them.

Mr. Foss. Well, you saw the men doing violence and firing these houses?

Mr. Roger. No, I don't---well, I saw them---you could see them run across the street and then see the houses go afire.

Mr. Foss. Were they white or colored?

Mr. Roger. From where I was you couldn't see. It was quite far away from us you know, and a little closer they were white. I didn't see any colored people down there at all.

Mr. Foss. No, but the colored people were not doing any of the violence?

Mr. Roger. No, the only thing that would look any way like violence was when a colored man came from the east and passed the corner of Sixth Street. He had a gun with him, a revolver, and was running westwardly to save himself, you know. It wouldn't be fair to say that he was going to attack these white fellows, but he did have a revolver in his hands.

Mr. Johnson. But he was running away from the attacking party?

Mr. Roger. Well, there were two attacking parties. There was a party to the east and another one towards the west, and he was in between them, and he was running towards the west with the revolver in his hand.

Mr. Johnson. He was not the negro that the soldier shot, however?

Mr. Roger. No, no.

Mr. Cooper. Was he anywhere near that negro?

Mr. Roger. No, not within half a block.

Mr. Baker. Now you have been fairly well acquainted with the men that are working around here. You have noticed them, the general appearance of the men working in the shops, have you, and these various businesses---white men?

Mr. Roger. You mean where?

Mr. Baker. Well, in the various occupations going on here; all these manufacturing institutions; all kinds of work---teaming work and others. You have generally observed them during the time you have been here?

Mr. Roger. I couldn't say I know very much about it, outside of our own business.

Mr. Baker. But you have a fairly good idea whether a man belongs in town or out, as a general thing? Or can't you tell?

Mr. Roger. You mean I have a wide acquaintance among people?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Roger. No, I don't think so. I have been too busy.

Mr. Johnson. Was this military investigation open to the public or behind closed doors, when you testified?

Mr. Roger. My recollection is it was behind closed doors, but I am not positive.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you could tell whether it was in an open room like this or not, where people came and went as they pleased.

Mr. Roger. I know they kept the witnesses in a closed room by ourselves, away from everybody.

Mr. Johnson. And then when you went into the room to testify, how many people were in there?

Mr. Roger. Oh, I should say four or five in the enclosure. Then whether there was a crowd in the back end or not I can't tell.

Mr. Johnson. Can't you search your memory a little bit and tell us whether there were other people in the room or not; and if so, approximately how many?

Mr. Roger . I don't think there was anybody else in the room, outside of the people in uniform.

Mr. Johnson. When upon reflection you are of the opinion that it was not a public hearing?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. I understood you to say that you were connected with some other business besides that of the transfer company.

Mr. Roger. Oh yes, the transfer company is a small part of it.

Mr. Foss. That is a small part of your business. You transfer by teams and motor trucks?

Mr. Roger. Both.

Mr. Foss. What is this other business?

Mr. Roger. The J. C. Grant Chemical Company.

Mr. Foss. Do they do a manufacturing business?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir; we manufacture principally baking powder.

Mr. Foss. Here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Roger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss.. Do you employ a number of men in that business?

Mr. Roger. Not so very many men; mostly girls.

Mr. Foss. Well, was your business interfered with on account of this strike?

Mr. Roger. Oh yes, we were without light and power. And then shipping was interfered with, and is today, as a continuance of the riot, directly interfered with. We have just an hour shorter day to ship in.

Mr. Foss. And you do business all over the country?

Mr. Roger. All over the United States, and a little foreign.

Mr. Baker. Have you any Government contracts?

Mr. Roger. Not at the present time?

Mr. Baker. Did you have?

Mr. Roger. Not at that time.

Mr. Baker. Do you employ colored girls as well as white?

Mr. Roger. No.

Mr. Baker. All white girls?

Mr. Roger. All white girls, yes.

Mr. Baker. And no colored men?

Mr. Roger. No colored men.

Mr. Baker. Except the chauffeur and the old pensioner?

Mr. Roger. Except the chauffeur; and once in a while we have a colored man, but at the time of the riot we had no colored men except this old pensioner and the chauffeur.

Mr. Foss. You say you were not able to deliver goods here in East St. Louis during those days? I want to inquire whether the handling of goods here was done by colored help or by white help?

Mr. Roger. By colored largely.

Mr. Foss. That's all.

Mr. Baker. You didn't answer my question a while ago, and it slipped to something else. These men doing rioting were not masked at all were they?

Mr. Roger. No, no.

Mr. Baker. They were in their every day clothes?

Mr. Roger. Yes. Some of them looked as if they had---one

fellow in particular looked as if he had either had his clothes freshly washed or was masquerading in overalls and so forth. They were a little too clean.

Mr. Foss. Is it your impression that they lived here in East St. Louis, or that they might have come from outside?

Mr. Roger. That I couldn't say, sir. That would simply be a guess. There was no one that I knew.

Mr. Baker. Now what caused this riot? What was the matter?

Mr. Roger. I guess every man in East St. Louis has a different opinion.

Mr. Baker. Well, give us your opinion, what you understand from it. Give us the best of your information of the basis, the foundation of it.

Mr. Roger. I would just as soon you wouldn't put it in the record.

Mr. Baker. Well, we want to know, and the people ought to know. You are a business man here---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). One moment, Mr. Chairman. This man is a business man here, and this isn't germane to the inquiry.

Mr. Roger. I don't think you ought to ask a man to injure himself.

Mr. Baker. No, I won't.

(Whereupon, at 4 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned until 10:30 a.m., Friday, October 19, 1917).

Friday, October 19, 1917.

The Committee met at 10:30 o'clock a.m., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will please come to order.

Yesterday when Mr. Coyle was on the witness stand, there was some information which the Committee wanted, and which he could not then give, but he has written a letter supplying it. He will just put the letter in the record.

(The paper appears in the testimony of Mr. Coyle).

STATEMENT OF ROBERT E. CONWAY.

OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Conway, please give to the stenographer your full name, the place of your residence, and your occupation.

Mr. Conway. Robert E. Conway: residence, St. Louis, Mo; General Manager, Armour and Co., National Stock Yards.

Mr. Johnson. The stock yards of which you are manager are over here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; in National City.

Mr. Johnson. National City is a suburb to East St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; adjoining.

Mr. Johnson. A separate municipal corporation?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You did not say you were President of the company?

Mr. Conway. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Conway, if the shipments of Armour and Co.---the interstate shipments of Armour and Co. were in any way interfered with during the year 1917,

please, in your own way, tell the committee about it.

Mr. Conway. Immediately after the riots of May the 28th, our shipments of products destined for other states were interfered with and delayed because of a shortage of labor, as a result of our negroes being scared away for a few days because of the rioting on that night. Immediately after the rioting of July 2nd, the shipments were delayed and impaired very much; in fact all departments were interfered with more or less, but the best case I can give you was in our fertilizer department, where we prepare large amounts of fertilizer for the southern states to grow their crops, and in which the work is done almost entirely by negroes---in fact, all the laboring work is done by negroes, and the officials are white men; and in that department, we had to shut down for ten days at a time when we were very busy getting the fertilizer ready for the southern states.

Mr. Johnson. Because of the lack of help?

Mr. Conway. Because of the lack of help, only.

Mr. Johnson. What brought about that lack of help?

Mr. Conway. The rioting frightened away so many of our colored men that we could not operate the department.

Mr. Johnson. What percent of your help is colored labor?

Mr. Conway. Around forty per cent.

Mr. Johnson. And how long has it been around forty per cent?

Mr. Conway. About two years. We aim to keep about that much---we do keep about that much because of the

character of our work. We hire laboring men in all departments, and in some departments we cannot get white men to work and must hire colored men.

Mr. Johnson. Is your packing establishment what is known as "open shop", or do you employ union labor strictly?

Mr. Conway. Open shop.

Mr. Johnson. Now, did that fact alone---or was it the additional fact that you employed negro labor---have anything whatever to do with the bringing about of the riots which reduced your laboring force?

Mr. Conway. I would just like to have you explain what fact you have reference to. You say, was that fact alone---do you mean the fact of the open shop?

Mr. Johnson. I mean the fact that it was an open shop.

Mr. Conway. No; I do not think that had anything to do with it directly.

Mr. Johnson. You do not think your having the open shop had any connection with the reduction of your labor?

Mr. Conway. No I do not think---well, that may have been an incident---no, I cannot say that it was, because every industry around here was affected whether they were open shops or union shops.

Mr. Johnson. Well, did the fact that a large per cent of your employes were negroes have anything to do with causing the riot, by which your number of employes was lessened?

Mr. Conway. I do not believe that was the direct cause, Mr. Johnson, at that time. There has been a great deal of talk about colored help in the packing houses prior to each of these riots.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know what the direct cause of it was?

Mr. Conway. Well, my belief is that the direct cause was the result of agitation on the part of the disturbing element among the Aluminum Ore Company's strikers. They had been on a strike for sometime. I think that was the direct cause of the rioting.

Mr. Johnson. In what way did it become the direct cause? How did it assert itself, rather?

Mr. Conway. I presume you are somewhat familiar with the history of it---the public history of the Aluminum Ore Company's strike?

Mr. Johnson. I am not familar with it, and if I were my questions for the purpose of this investigation would be just as if I knew nothing about it. because this report will be filed with Congress, and we wish it just as complete as if all information were gotten from this investigation, and as if none of it were gotten prior to that time.

Mr. Conway. I understand, Mr. Johnson; my reason for asking that was to save a lot of unnecessary time.

Mr. Johnson. Well, we feel that we have to unnecessarily consume some time here in order to get in the record what many of us have gathered from the newspapers heretofore.

Mr. Conway. The Aluminum Ore Company employes had

been on a strike for sometime. I do not know just how long, but I think it was from April on, and the Aluminum Ore Company obtained an injunction in the Federal Court against a number of the strikers, naming them all.

Mr. Johnson. Undertaking to enjoin them from what---doing what?

Mr. Conway. Undertaking to enjoin them from interfering with the operation of the Aluminum Ore Company's plant, and from interfering with their employes going backwards and forwards to work, and employes who had taken the place of those on strike. This injunction is directed along those lines. It had some other features that I just cannot recall, but that was the purpose of the injunction. After that injunction was put in effect, the leaders of the strikers indulged in lots of violations in the way of --- I say the leaders, but the strikers---of beating the men at night, and slugging the men at night, and there was common talk around town here that they were going to drive the niggers out, and nearly all of it emanated from those sources, and it became very general---the talk about driving the niggers out.

Mr. Johnson. Well, was that talk of driving the negroes out because they were negroes, or because they were strike-breakers, or both?

Mr. Conway. Well, I would say for both, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Prejudice against them because of their race?

Mr. Conway. Prejudice against them particularly because of their race.

Mr. Johnson. Then in addition to this, there was prejudice against them because they were strike-breakers?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Now, Mr. Conway, I would be glad to hear further from you in minute detail, in specific instances, giving specific instances as to how interstate commerce was interfered with.

Mr. Conway. Well, I have already told you of our fertilizer shipments being stopped---the manufacture of fertilizer and shipments of the product being stopped because we could get no labor.

Mr. Johnson. And you attribute that to failure to get labor directly to the strikers?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir. Our cattle-killing department, in which all the common labor, or most of the common labor, is done by colored men, was running ninety to one hundred cattle an hour just prior to these July 2nd riots---That means about a thousand cattle a day---and it was cut down on the 3rd and 5th of July, and from then on to fifty an hour---just half---because we could not get the common labor to do the work, and we had to lay off some of the skilled labor because the skilled labor could not work without common labor to help them. As a result of that, we had to send our shipments of beef to other cities---Armour and Company's other plants, which ordinarily belonged to East St. Louis.

Our hog-killing gang, which is about eighty per cent colored, ceased operations for at least one day, and ran about twenty-five per cent capacity for a week or more before we could build it up. As a result of that, the

products from the hog, which are shipped fresh---some of them---others put in cure to make bacon, hams and lard---the movement of them was impaired. Naturally, we could not load cars because we did not have the product.

Mr. Johnson. And the cars which you could not load, if loaded, would have gone in interstate commerce?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir. We supply nearly all the southern states with our products---largely the southern states.

Mr. Johnson. Is that transportation by rail or water, or both?

Mr. Conway. By rail.

Mr. Johnson. By rail entirely?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; very little by water---a few packages by water, but most of it---the big tonnage---is by rail. There are thousands of customers that we supply from East St. Louis, and many of them were without their goods.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Conway. You have indicated the class of men, or set of men, upon whom you lay the responsibility for the riot, and, in consequence, your lack of labor. Do you know of any individual who participated in bringing about the conditions which resulted in your loss of labor, and also resulted in the failure of your interstate commerce shipments?

Mr. Conway. I have no personal knowledge of them, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any hearsay information as to the names of any of them? This committee is authorized to receive hearsay testimony.

Mr. Conway. Well, yes; I have heard of some.

Mr. Johnson. Give us their names, please.

Mr. Conway. Well, I just can't name them all now, but they were the leaders of the Aluminum Ore strikers.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know any of their names? Do you know of their names, or have you heard of their names?

Mr. Conway. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Please state whether you can give names of your knowledge or of hearsay information?

Mr. Conway. Of hearsay information. There was one, Wolf.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know his first name?

Mr. Conway. I do not. Well, I just can't name them now, Mr. Johnson; it has not occurred to me to think of their names since the trouble, but I believe, if you will permit a suggestion, that you can get the names easily from the Aluminum Ore officials, and it is to their strikers that I refer to particularly. They know them better than I do.

Mr. Johnson. If any other names besides that of Mr. Wolf occur to you while this committee is here, will you furnish those names to the committee?

Mr. Conway. I will be very glad to look up some of our records that perhaps contain them and send them to you. I will be glad to do it.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Conway, did the Armour packing concern have any contracts with the United States to furnish provisions?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Were the fulfillments of those contracts by Armour and Co. interfered with by the condi-

tions of which you have just spoken?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; they were delayed.

Mr. Johnson. Please state to what extent, and if possible, by whom, naming the individuals if you can.

Mr. Conway. Well, I can give you the extent of it. We had a contract at that time for pork loins for the United States Navy.

Mr. Johnson. At what time? The time is important.

Mr. Conway. This was at the time of the July 2nd riots. And we also had a contract for the United States Army for bacon.

Mr. Johnson. And what were you to furnish the Navy?

Mr. Conway. Pork loins, frozen, according to the Navy specifications, which are standard. They are known all over.

Mr. Johnson. Did you furnish those supplies on time?

Mr. Conway. We did later on, yes, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. You furnished them within the time fixed by the contract?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You were delayed in an earlier delivery of them?

Mr. Conway. We were delayed in the manufacture of them, Mr. Johnson, but the delivery time was far enough away to permit us to catch up later on.

Mr. Johnson. But there was an interference with your business in filling Government contracts?

Mr. Conway Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And that interference you attribute to the same cause and to the same people that your interstate commerce shipments were attributed to?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Did I understand you to say, Mr. Conway, that the riots delayed the manufacture of these supplies to be delivered under the Government contracts--the contracts for the Government---but did not delay you in fulfilling the terms of the contract as far as delivery is concerned?

Mr. Conway. That is right.

Mr. Cooper. So that the Government of the United States, as the result of these riots that affected your business, did not suffer by non-delivery under the contract?

Mr. Conway. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Conway, I understood you a little while ago to say that you might be able to furnish the leaders of the strike at the aluminum works from some records you had in your office. What are they?

Mr. Conway. Well, they would be newspaper records.

Mr. Foster. Newspapers?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. You don't have any other records?

Mr. Conway. Some records; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Does each firm here supply the other firms with the names of the men who are strikers in the other concerns?

Mr. Conway. No.

Mr. Foster. They do not?

Mr. Conway. Do you mean the names of the men that strike, for instance, in the Aluminum Ore would be sent to Armour and Co?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Conway. No.

Mr. Foster. You don't have anything of that kind?

Mr. Conway. No.

Mr. Foster. You stated, I believe, that about forty per cent of your labor is composed of negroes?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir. That is, men and women, Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster. How long has that condition been?

Mr. Conway. About two or three years. We aim to keep it that way. It sometimes runs up and sometimes runs down.

Mr. Foster. Now you say you aim to keep it that way. What do you mean by that?

Mr. Conway. Well, perhaps I should not have just used that term, but the conditions up there of employment of labor keeps it that way itself, because there are certain jobs in certain departments that are always taken by colored people.

Mr. Foster. So you do not mean to say that it is for any particular reason more than the necessity of doing work?

Mr. Conway. Absolute necessity.

Mr. Foster. Of keeping about that number of negroes in your employ?

Mr. Conway. Just a necessity. It runs down sometimes to thirty per cent. For instance, when we lay off the fertilizer crowd after the season is over, like now,

for instance, our fertilizer business is over. All of our shipments are gone for the fall trade. The building is practically empty, and that lays off 100 to 125 colored men, and the percentage of colored men in the plant naturally runs down so then. It might be possible that we would lay off some in other departments which would reduce the percentage of colored men.

Mr. Foster. How do you employ---get your employes?

Mr. Conway. We have an employment bureau.

Mr. Foster. Of your own?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you secure them through the free employment bureaus?

Mr. Conway. Sometimes. I do not think we have for several years, but sometimes in the past when we were short of labor we would notify them down there that if any labor came around to send them out to the plant.

Mr. Foster. That is what I was going to ask you. Do they make it a business to send applicants to your plant for employment?

Mr. Conway. Very seldom do they send them volun - tarily to our plant.

Mr. Foster. Not without you request them?

Mr. Conway. I do not know of their ever sending them out there except in, maybe, a rare case, one man. They might call up and ask us to give a man a job, and we would tell them to send him out, but as a general practice, we do not call on the free employment agencies. At our gates every morning there is generally a large crowd of men looking for work.

Mr. Foster. And they are sent to your employment

bureau?

Mr. Conway. To the employment bureau; yes, sir. They come to our employment bureau, and our men in that bureau know most of the men and what jobs they can fill. They are packing-house workers, as a rule, and we hire them right there and put them on.

Mr. Foster. Well, do you know anything about the large influx of colored people to this city in the last twelve or fifteen months?

Mr. Conway. I know that there has been a large influx; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I mean up to and including the latter half of 1916.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; last fall and the late summer of last year.

Mr. Foster. You don't know how those men came to the city in such large numbers?

Mr. Conway. Well, I have an opinion in the matter. I have no direct knowledge.

Mr. Foster. Do you mind expressing your opinion?

Mr. Conway. I believe they were attracted north here by the high wages being paid in the northern cities, and from the information that I obtained at the hearing of the State Council of Defense from Mr. Cunningham, the passenger agent at the relay depot, I believe that the colored people that lived in East St. Louis were largely responsible for many of the southern negroes coming north; that they wrote down there and had their friends and relatives come on up north here; that high wages were being

paid.

Mr. Foster. Do you know whether there were trainloads of them came in here?

Mr. Conway. I think Mr. Cunningham testified to one trainload that came in to the relay station as a result of low fares advertised by a railroad, which railroad I do not remember now.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Cunningham---Who is he?

Mr. Conway. General Agent at the relay station in East St. Louis, the only relay station we have here.

Mr. Foster. Do you know this: Whether or not they issued to those colored people tickets at a cheap rate with a return coupon to them?

Mr. Conway. I cannot answer that, except my recollection is that on that one excursion they sold at a lower rate than ordinarily.

Mr. Foster. With a return coupon?

Mr. Conway. That I cannot answer.

Mr. Foster. You never heard whether they brought them here with probably a half or two-thirds rate, with a return coupon, so that if they did not get work or were not satisfied they might return?

Mr. Conway. No; I did not hear that.

Mr. Foster. You did not?

Mr. Conway. I did not, no, sir.

Mr. Foster. But Mr. Cunningham would probably know that, you think?

Mr. Conway. I think Mr. Cunningham would be a very good witness on that point, on the coming of colored labor

to East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. And you think this was all brought about by the colored people of East St. Louis writing to their friends in the South?

Mr. Conway. Largely.

Mr. Foster. To come here?

Mr. Conway. Mostly from that reason, but the other point I made that they were attracted by the high wages being paid in northern cities, and East St. Louis is very accessible to the South, as direct lines center right here---the L. and N.---that taps Kentucky and Tennessee; the M. and O.---that taps Mississippi; the Illinois Central---they all come from the districts that are populated by colored people.

Mr. Foster. These men who came up from the South---they didn't have any employment in sight?

Mr. Conway. I never heard of any. I do not know of any that did.

Mr. Foster. They came looking for work; is that it?

Mr. Conway. They came looking for work.

Mr. Foster. And you think it was all brought about by these colored people living here writing to their friends back in the states of the South?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. You have heard ~~it~~ estimated the number that have been brought in here in the last year and a half?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. What is that number?

Mr. Conway. Well, I heard Mr. Hunter yesterday say he thought four thousand, and I agreed with him that last

year there would be four to five thousand people who came here. You gentlemen said "heads of families" in interrogating him, and I think that would include everybody---the children and all---that came from the South. And in that "heads of families" where there were adults, I think that was wrong, because there were many single fellows who came here. In fact, most of the men that came here were single men.

Mr. Foster. Came without their families?

Mr. Conway. Had no families; just came themselves.

Mr. Foster. The report of the Grand Jury in this investigation of the riots has been made public, hasn't it? Hasn't there some report printed in the newspapers?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; I believe there was.

Mr. Foster. You saw that report?

Mr. Conway. I believe I did; yes, I read pretty nearly all of that.

Mr. Foster. Did you notice that that report said there were about 8,000?

Mr. Conway. I do not remember that. It might be 8,000. That is just my estimate---four to five thousand people.

Mr. Foster. Now, Mr. Conway, you are a pretty good business man, I take it, or you would not be superintendent of the Armour packing plant in East St. Louis. Is it your opinion that you get 8,000 people to come to East St. Louis by the colored people writing from here to their friends in the South?

Mr. Conway. That and with the high wages being paid in all northern cities, which was well known down there; it had been going on for a year; the newspapers carried the items all through the South of high wages.

Mr. Foster. And in connection with the fact that they ran a train of ten or twelve coaches loaded with colored people---do you think that was all brought about by correspondence from the East St. Louis negroes to the negroes in Mississippi and Alabama?

Mr. Conway. I think it was, and I base it on Mr. Cunningham's sworn statement that he sold numbers of tickets to colored people of East St. Louis to send to their friends, or took cash deposits---I do not know just what the system is---to send to their friends down south, and that day after day his relay station would be crowded with colored people of East St. Louis waiting for their friends to come up from down in the southern states.

Mr. Foster. But you, as a business man now, knowing men as you must know them, I take it, do you think that was all brought about by correspondence?

Mr. Conway. Well, I do, Mr. Foster. I have said I did---correspondence and the publicity given high wages being paid in the northern states. East St. Louis was no exception; the cities all through Ohio and Indiana---the City of Chicago has been blessed with the same influx.

Mr. Foster. You think there was no effort made?

Mr. Conway. There was not in this city. I do not believe there was any in this city, Mr. Foster. I understand that some eastern cities did have agents through the

South hiring men.

Mr. Foster. Do you think there were no agents in the South trying to get these men to come here?

Mr. Conway. If there was, I never heard of it from East St. Louis?

Mr. Foster. You would not say that they did not have?

Mr. Conway. No; I would not say that, but I never heard of any. I think I would know it if there was.

Mr. Foster. But you think this Mr. Cunningham would know all about it?

Mr. Conway. Mr. Cunningham would be a very good witness, Mr. Foster, on the coming up of colored men from the South.

Mr. Foster. There has been no effort to replace white day labor with colored labor?

Mr. Conway. No,; white labor was too scarce. We give the white men preference in hiring our men--always have---but it would be impossible to operate some of the plants here without colored labor. You could not get white men to work in our fertiliser plant.

Mr. Foster. Do you know whether many of these colored men returned to the South after this riot?

Mr. Conway. I think they did. We know lots of them who left said they were going South.

Mr. Foster. Do you know whether men who came up from the South induced these colored people to go back there, who formerly lived there?

Mr. Conway. I heard something about that, but have no definite knowledge. I did hear about it yesterday.

Mr. Foster. And you noticed statements in the daily papers that there was from Greenville, Miss., a committee which came here to induce the colored people that had gone from their section of the country here?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And I thought maybe you had seen something about that?

Mr. Conway. I did see something, but I don't remember just what it was. It was over in St. Louis, I think, where most of the colored people live now that formerly lived here, that such a movement was attempted, but I do not remember the details of it. I saw it in the news papers just passing the news.

Mr. Foster. Did you have to send a guard with the people who lived in St. Louis--of your employes?

Mr. Conway. A guard of our employes?

Mr. Foster. To meet them at the bridge and see that they arrived at your plant?

Mr. Conway. No; we did not; not our own employes---not our own guards.

Mr. Foster. How long have you been with Armour and Co?

Mr. Conway. Twenty-eight years.

Mr. Foster. You know something about the forming of the municipality of National City there?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Would you mind---you know something about its organization?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Would you mind telling us the particular reason why they established a municipality

out there?

Mr. Conway. Well, we had been in Stites township without any municipal organization prior to the organization of National City, and an effort was made by some real estate men and others in Lansdown, which is now a part of East St. Louis, and adjoining National City on the east, and at that time, which was in 1907 or 1908---it was not a part of East St. Louis---Lanndown was not---and the men in Lansdown made an effort to organize a village, taking in the packing houses and the stock yards. I believe the state law is that a village shall be not less than two miles of contiguous territory. I think that is the state law in Illinois. And these gentlemen, instead of starting in at a little settlement known as Lansdown, they started over at the Black Bridge, which is the western boundary of the stock-yards district, and measured off just two miles eastward, and at the end of that distance they were just inside the boundary of this village of Lansdown, but did not include it all. Their purpose was to get the stock yards in the village that they could control---handle themselves. So the stock-yards interests fought that election; the election was called, and we fought that election and beat them. Then the interests in the stock yards proceeded to form a municipality of its own---National City---which was done.

Mr. Foster. So that you join East St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. We are adjoining East St. Louis; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. You prefer to have a municipality of your own rather than be a part of East St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. Well, we did at that time because their motives were not ---the men that were organizing this city for our benefit---we figured that their motives were not of the very best. They did not intend to take us into East St. Louis. They were forming a village outside of East St. Louis, which couldn't be annexed to East St. Louis without a vote,--a majority of both that village and the East St. Louis population--- and if we were going to be ruled by them and handled by them, we wanted to have something to say about it ourselves, naturally. That was the early history of the formation of National City.

Mr. Foster. So that by your forming that corporation, you controlled your own plants out there?

Mr. Conway. We controlled our own plants and policed the district and looked after matters of health and other things that come under the jurisdiction of the municipality.

Mr. Foster. You have fire protection and all that?

Mr. Conway. We have our own fire departments in each plant. There is no fire department---city fire department---in National City. There is a police department.

Mr. Foster. I think that is all.

Mr. Foss. You employ a great deal of labor--- I don't know as you have told us how many employes you

have in connection with your plants.

Mr. Conway. About 2200.

Mr. Foss. And, as I understand it, forty per cent are colored?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. What is the percentage of skilled labor?

Mr. Conway. I cannot tell you off hand, Mr. Foss; we class everything as skilled labor that is above the common labor rate. The common labor rate is ~~between~~ twenty-seven and a half cents an hour, and we class everything above that as skilled labor. I can get you the figures, if you want them---just about what the percentage is.

Mr. Foss. Well, is any of the colored labor skilled labor?

Mr. Conway. Very few of them. There are some in the hog-killing gang,--butchers,--and in the cattle-killing gangs, but a very small per cent are skilled.

Mr. Foss. The unskilled labor, I take it, is almost exclusively colored?

Mr. Conway. I would say that it is about 85 ---80 to 85 percent colored---unskilled labor. Pardon me just a moment: I will just change that a little--- of the men?

Mr. Foss. Of the men. You employ women, do you?

Mr. Conway. White and colored women, and that is about fifty per cent of each now.

Mr. Foss. How many women do you employ?

Mr. Conway. Around four hundred---450.

Mr. Foss. That is, 400 out of the 2200 are women?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; I will say 400.

Mr. Foss. Are you employing more today than you did before the riots took place?

Mr. Conway. I think our count is about the same now. It runs about the same in the fall always.

Mr. Foss. You are back to normal condition are you at the present time?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; so far as numbers are concerned.

Mr. Foss. Is there any interference at the present time with your business in any way, shape or form?

Mr. Conway. In a minor form,; yes, sir. Many of our employes that formerly lived in East St. Louis now live in St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Foss. When did they move over there?

Mr. Conway. After the July 2nd riots.

Mr. Foss. And they have been living there ever since?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. Could you state approximately the number of your employes who have removed from East St. Louis to St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. Approximately from 200 to 250.

Mr. Foss. Have any of them come back?

Mr. Conway. I think a few. Some of them would come back, but there has been a great scarcity of houses here. More or less of their houses were burned---many of their houses were burned, and some will not come back. They are afraid to come.

Mr. Foss. They are still terrorized?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. During this period between the 28th, I think, of May, down to and including the riots, were you obliged to increase the guards at your plant?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. By how much? How many?

Mr. Conway. About 100 per cent.

Mr. Foss. About 100 per cent. Ordinarily how many guards do you have around there?

Mr. Conway. We have four day policemen, and I think eight night patrol men, with twelve or thirteen box pullers. They pull the automatic boxes in the Missouri District Telegraph System. They are just watchmen; they are not policemen; they are watchmen. Altogether we had about twelve or thirteen guards, which we increased up to about twenty-four or twenty-five.

Mr. Foss. Were any of the militia out there guarding your plant at the time of these riots?

Mr. Conway. Not directly our plant; they guarded the district stockyards and the plant district, but not right at our plant.

Mr. Foss. The stock-yard district composes your plant and Swifts'and Morris'?

Mr. Conway. And the Stock Yards Co., where the livestock pens are.

Mr. Foss. And that covers an area of about how many acres, or how many?

Mr. Conway. Well, I just could not give you the acreage of it, Mr. Foss.

Mr. Foss. Well, could you give the distance?

Mr. Conway. I would say it is about a mile square.

Mr. Foss. Has there been any change made in the hours of labor affecting your plant? Have you been obliged to make any change in the hours of labor? That is to say, do the men get off earlier in the daytime at your plant than they did heretofore---before these riots?

Mr. Conway. Nothing unusual. We do cut down our hours beginning in the fall on outside work, when it gets dark. We let those men go home at 4.30 instead of 5.30, but not because of the riots.

Mr. Foss. Not because of the riots?

Mr. Conway. No, sir.

Mr. Foss. I guess that is all.

Mr. Baker. I would just like to ask a few questions. Mr. Conway, what is the wage you pay these negro men and white men doing the same class of work---common labor?

Mr. Conway. The rates are all the same, sir---27½ cents starting with.

Mr. Baker. An hour?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. No distinction between a white man and a black man?

Mr. Conway. For the rate: no, sir. We do not pay more for one than the other.

Mr. Baker. I mean as to the same kind and class of labor.

Mr. Conway. No; there is no distinction.

Mr. Baker. Are there colored men working and white men working at the same class of labor, getting the same wages?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; in some places.

Mr. Baker. Now, as to the skilled labor where there are any of the negroes working, are they getting the same wage per hour as the white man?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Any distinction made as to the conditions surrounding the employ?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; there is a distinction made in the welfare work. Their dressing-rooms are separate, but in the actual work there is not.

Mr. Baker. They have separate dressing-rooms?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You make the same provision for one as you do for the other?

Mr. Conway. The same provision for one as the other. They are twin dressing-rooms

Mr. Baker. Does that run through your entire plant now---and confining my questions to your plant---both to men and women?

Mr. Conway. Men and women are divided---colored and white.

Mr. Baker. And no distinction made as to the provisions for one as different from the other?

Mr. Conway. No; not in the dressing-rooms. We do not let colored men work where white women are. And we have white women working by themselves and the colored women working by themselves. We do not mix the colored women with the white women, nor will we permit any colored men to work where white women are.

Mr. Baker. But you do have the colored man and the white man working in a good many of the places?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Side by side?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Receiving the same wage?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And no distinction as to treatment?

Mr. Conway. None, whatever.

Mr. Baker. Now, what number of colored men did you put on in 1917 that you did not have on in 1916?

Mr. Conway. I just could not answer that, Mr. Baker. I could not answer that. I do not know that we had--you said in 1917 that we didn't have in 1916?

Mr. Baker. Yes; I mean how many more men did you put on in 1917---colored men---than you had on in 1916? Just relatively.

Mr. Conway. I could not tell you. Our force increased in 1917 over 1916.

Mr. Baker. Well, if your force increased, did the percentage of colored?

Mr. Conway. No; the percentage about the same; the percentage would be the same. We would put on more colored men, but we would also put on more white men.

Mr. Baker. Well now, have any of these---your

White men left---had any of the men left in 1917, in January and February, and you employed negroes in their place?

Mr. Conway. Well, none---there was not any special ---there was nothing special that I know of at that time. There was no strikes or anything of that kind. There may have been some white men left and we employed negroes, or vice versa. I just do not know of anything special in January and February; in fact, any month in 1917.

Mr. Baker. Now did it occur in 1916---was there any special change as to the character of the men?

Mr. Conway. No; we had a small strike---all the packing houses did---in 1916---about two days' duration, in July, and we lost some white men---white laborers---and we hired colored men in their places. We just could not get the white.

Mr. Baker. Did you eventually supply the places with white men?

Mr. Conway. I cannot answer you on that, Mr. Baker; I do not know.

Mr. Baker. What has been your policy---what has been the policy of the company?

Mr. Conway. Our policy has been to employ white men when we can, and if we can't get white men, to employ colored men. Wherever we can get white men to work, we give them the preference over colored men at the gate. But there are some departments that white men won't go into, so we don't try to hire white men for those departments; we hire colored men.

Mr. Baker. Now let us first get back to the wage. What is the difference between the wage per hour this year,

1917, as compared with 1916?

Mr. Conway. In the early part of 1916, wages were 17½ cents an hour for common labor.

Mr. Baker. And you have raised it to 22 cents an hour?

Mr. Conway. Raised it to 27½, ten cents an hour advance in little over a year---about a year.

Mr. Baker. Now as to 1915, as compared to 1916?

Mr. Conway. The same rates; 17½ cents an hour has been for five or six years, I believe---four or five years.

Mr. Baker. And you say that fact has been quite generally exploited over all the country by the papers, as to the raise of ten cents an hour in your plant, as well as others?

Mr. Conway. Well, I never remember of our plant's being mentioned particularly.

Mr. Baker. Not yours, but has there been a general discussion in the papers?

Mr. Conway. Yes, there has been a general announcement in the newspapers every time they would give an advance; it would be in the newspapers in some form or other. I think there have been four raises in the year, two and a half cents an hour each time, making a total of ten cents. That applied to skilled as well as common labor.

Mr. Baker. Just to show whether it is hard or easy to get here, in addition to the railroad transportation--- it has been stated that there are many lines---have you any idea as to the fare, say, from Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee to East St. Louis? Is it a high fare or a low fare?

Mr. Conway. I think it is a low fare.

Mr. Baker. Just give us a little idea.

Mr. Conway. From here to Cairo, Ill, the fare is less than $3.00, and Kentucky is just across the river. It would be---they could come from---I think they could come from Jackson, Miss., up here for five or six dollars---maybe seven dollars at the outside.

Mr. Baker. Any boat transportation bringing men up?

Mr. Conway. Ny, yes; the boat rate is low from all river points, much lower than the passenger rate, but as to whether they come up on the boats or not I can't say.

Mr. Baker. I was just finding the rate.

Mr. Conway. The boat rates are lower.

Mr. Baker. Do you know whether or not the mere fact of coming here would be retarded any by virtue of the expense in travel?

Mr. Conway. No, I would not think so. I think that most of those fellows could get the price to come up here. Ten dollars would pay their expenses and food and railroad fare, and land them here in large numbers from Kentucky and Tennessee.

Mr. Baker. Well now, what has arisen to the statement that there has been a persistent effort on the part of the large concerns here to beat down the wages and prevent these white men from getting employment? Has there been anything of that kind?

Mr. Conway. Absolutely nothing of that kind. That is the talk that is promoted and published by some of these labor agitators, fellows that make their living by doing that kind of stuff. Our employes are well satisfied with their wages.

Mr. Baker. Well, now, in making that---I just have before me a document here that I will not use now, but will later---could you give the committee, if you have it with you,--which I do not suppose you have, but get it later---the names of these men you call labor agitators? Could you furnish the committee with their names and their residences?

Mr. Conway. I am sure I could give you the names of some who are generally known as labor agitators; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well, has there been any effort made, so far as you know, to create a feeling against the negro here, as a negro worker, from any source?

Mr. Conway. The source that I gave Mr. Johnson in his first questions to me. That was the Aluminum Ore strikers. They created a sentiment and manufactured a sentiment against negroes because they were negroes, and because they were taking the place of white men.

Mr. Baker. Now in your observation of the negroes that were here---I suppose you are somewhat familar with those that have lived here for a good many years---ten, fifteen, or twenty years?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; about fifteen years I have been here.

Mr. Baker. Now have you noticed any difference or distinction between those that worked for you, that came in within the last two years, or within the last year, as to those who had been living here?

Mr. Conway. The ones that came in in the last couple of years were not nearly as good or as steady workmen as the ones that lived here prior to that time.

Mr. Baker. Steady workmen---what do you mean by that?

Mr. Conway. I mean that they were what we call floaters. They would come in and stay a few days until they earned a dollar or two---whatever they could get---a few dollars---then they would drift away somewhere---migratory fellows that were on their way to some haven up north that they sought.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you find that condition existing at all with the white men that you have employed in the last year or last two years?

Mr. Conway. Very little.

Mr. Baker. He has been more of a steady character?

Mr. Conway. More steady; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Where were you on the 28th and 29th of May this last year?

Mr. Conway. I think I was at home that night. I know I was in town here.

Mr. Baker. You were in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Conway. I live in St. Louis, but I was here up until probably 5 o'clock in the evening. The rioting of the first night, the 28th of May, did not occur until about 10 o'clock at night. It was after that mass meeting over in the City Hall, where those speakers made their famous speeches, that the riots occurred.

Mr. Baker. There was nothing done before that speaking?

Mr. Conway. No; nothing at all; not much. The speakers at that meeting that night were rather forceful, and when the crowd left the hall they came down from the City Hall and started to beat up some negroes that they found on the street; then they burned the houses.

Mr. Johnson. Did they kill a negro that night?

Mr. Conway. I believe they did that night.

Mr. Raker. Well, I suppose the names of those can readily be ascertained who did this work---I mean the speaking and such like as that.

Mr. Conway. Oh, yes; the names were well-known, of the speakers.

Mr. Raker: So you do not---do you know who they are?

Mr. Conway. I know two of them.

Mr. Raker. Give their names.

Mr. Conway. Alexander Flannigan.

Mr. Raker. What is his business?

Mr. Conway. Lawyer.

Mr. Raker. Where does he live?

Mr. Conway. East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. About how old a man is he, do you know?

Mr. Conway. He is a man about 62.

Mr. Raker. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. Conway. Yes. I believe he is up in Bellville defending some of the rioters in this trial.

Mr. Raker. And who was the other one you know of, now.

Mr. Conway. Jerry Kane.

Mr. Raker. What is Mr. Kane's business?

Mr. Conway. He is an agent for a brewery.

Mr. Raker. You do not know---where is Mr. Kane now?

Mr. Conway. He lives in East St. Louis. He is well known here. You can find him very easily.

Mr. Raker. Are there any other men that you know of?

Mr. Conway. Those are the only two I know of that

spoke that night.

Mr. Raker. Have any of these men been indicted for incendiarism or otherwise that you know of?

Mr. Conway. I do not know that they have.

Mr. Raker. Personally though, you were not here to see what was done or know anything about it on the 28th or 29th?

Mr. Conway. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. You came back on the morning of the 29th, did you?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Were the conditions then sort of tense the next day?

Mr. Conway Very tense, indeed; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. We lost a lot of our employes the next day. We just had to pay them off and let them go.

Mr. Raker. Why did you loose them?

Mr. Conway. They were afraid to stay here---The colored men were afraid to stay here,-and started for St. Louis as fast as they could go. Those, though, that lived in East St. Louis proper
Our plants are north of here.

Mr. Raker. National City, as you call it.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir. Beyond that is a village called Brookland; it is 99 per cent colored, and the colored people that lived in Brookland---they were not afraid, because they didn't go through the city of East St. Louis on their way home, but those that lived in St. Louis, that had to travel on the street cars backwards and forwards to work---they are the ones that we lost.

evening.

Mr. Conway. I stayed until about 4.30 at the plant. Things were getting pretty bad---had been bad all day. We had several advices from Major Moelmann and his office that things were pretty bad along about 1 o'clock; and were not getting any support from the police; the militia were just getting in and had not done much, and things were getting worse and worse. And he told me that he did not know what the outcome would be, but it looked like it was going to be very bad. So we took measures to protect ourselves out at the plant. I called up Major Cavanaugh. He was not there; there was some other officer in charge, and about 1.30 they sent a company of soldiers out to the stock yards district---at the black bridge and the entrance to the yards. I think it was about 2 o'clock that afternoon when they came. They stayed there for several days, when they were replaced by state militia.

Mr. Baker. Now these were regulars that were there?

Mr. Conway. Federalized militia.

Mr. Baker. Federalized militia were there on the 2nd, 3d, and 4th?

Mr. Conway. On the afternoon of the 2nd and for a few days after; I don't remember just how many days.

Mr. Baker. Then the state militia followed?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well---

(interposing)

Mr. Conway. The federalized militia went back to their camp at 19th St., and they were relieved by state militia.

Mr. Baker. Now, were they any state militia here on the 2nd, too?

Mr. Conway. They came in about---they started to come in about 8 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Baker. Of the 2nd?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir. You know the policemen were killed on the night of the 1st. That was the beginning of the trouble, and the city authorities asked for the militia during the night of the 1st, and the first consignment of them came here about 9 o'clock, I think, on the morning of the 2nd---9 or 10 o'clock in the morning. Then more came about 11 o'clock, and still more in the afternoon about 1 or 2 o'clock. Those from a distance got here last.

Mr. Baker. Did you have any talk that day except over the 'phone with the Mayor?

Mr. Conway. No; I didn't see him that day; I talked with him over the 'phone several times.

Mr. Baker. Was there any particular rioting out at your plant?

Mr. Conway. Yes; there was quite a little of it at the black bridge, which is just near Swifts' plant.--Swifts' plant is adjoining ours; it is about two blocks from our office building. And at noon there was a negro killed there and thrown into the creek, and a number of them were manhandled and beaten all along "Whisky Shoot"---that is St. Clair Avenue out there---from one end to the other, and the crowds began to form there. It was then that I asked Major Cavanaugh to send his troops out, as things were getting so bad, and the rumors and reports we heard from down town were to the effect that the mobs were coming out to the packing houses.

Mr. Raker. Where were the police during this time,--keeping out at the stockyards, now?

Mr. Conway. Our policemen were in our own plant. We never sent them out at all. The National City police, which consisted of six men, were scattered around the district, but they were not a drop in the bucket in taking care of the crowds. And there is a peculiar condition out there: St. Clair Avenue, which runs, we will say, north and south,--a little indirect, but north and south; on the east side of it is National City and on the west side of it is East St. Louis. The west side of it is lined with saloons, known as "Whisky Shoot", and the police officials of National City have no right to cross the center of the street, and the police officials of East St. Louis were gone that day. The police force was disorganized and they had no police officials there. There were no police officials down there.

Mr. Raker. None around there at all?

Mr. Conway. No; that was the day after the police officers were killed. That day was the day after, and the police force was disorganized. I understood there were only fifteen policemen that reported for work on the morning of July 2nd out of a force of forty odd, and those that reported for work---

Mr. Raker (interposing). What did the Mayor tell you over the 'phone about his policemen coming out there?

Mr. Conway. He told me he could not send any policemen out there to protect us.

Mr. Raker. Even along "Whisky Shoot"?

Mr. Conway. No; he could not do it. He did not have the policemen. Conditions were so bad down town that they needed every man they had right there. He said we had better protect ourselves.

Mr. Baker. Did this---were these saloons closed at this time, or open?

Mr. Conway. They were closed about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. So far as I know, they were closed then.

Mr. Baker. Where were these men that owned the saloons---the hunt business men---were they up and down the streets? I just wondered whether the entire population left out there.

Mr. Conway. I guess the saloon keepers were there and some of the hangers-on. White fellows were around the place, but there was very few of the better class of business men out that way---most all saloons and places of that kind. It isn't a residential district at all.

Mr. Baker. Some business houses?

Mr. Conway. Very few---just the saloons and boarding houses for laborers---laborers' boarding houses---and in back---way back of it---there were some negroes that lived in shanties.

Mr. Baker. Have you any suggestion to give to the committee as to how such conditions could be prevented in the future, taking the whole situation now as you see it? If you have, I wish you would give it to the committee.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; I have got some very strong views on that thing.

Mr. Baker. Taking the negro, the white, labor conditions between white and black---in fact the whole situation---and I know the committee would be pleased to have

you outline the whole situation as you understand it.

Mr. Conway. Well, I believe---and I think I have made a study of it about as closely as any company here--- I believe the solution of the problem is in segregation--- reasonable segregation. I am speaking of East St. Louis. The geographical conditions are such here that ~~the~~ it necessitated travel of colored men on the street cars--- colored men and women on the street cars---from the south end of town to the north end of town to the packing houses every morning, and back again at night, for a large per cent of those that worked in these stock yards. And, as every white man knows, that is offensive, to have to get in a street car with colored men and colored women, and be crowded on the platforms. And, as a result, there arose a very strong sentiment against the colored people in the city here, and the influx of so many last year and the year before added to the flames---made conditions worse---and I contend that we can solve the problem by having a negro settlement at the north end of town and one at the south end of town, where they all live among themselves, instead of doing their business up and down the main streets here; that they will have their own amusements in their own districts: and let the industries at the south end of town draw their supply of labor from that colored district, and let the industries at the north end of town draw theirs from the settlement at the north. In that way you will minimize the offensiveness of the colored man to a white man,--placing himself on the same plane in public places and elsewhere.

Mr. Baker. How do you believe, Mr. Conway, that that feeling is latent in East St. Louis---that if the conditions continue in moving back and forth from the place of residence to work, that it is liable to bring about most any time a reoccurrence of some violence between the colored and the white?

Mr. Conway. I believe it is liable to bring it about at some future time. I don't think it would right now; within the next short period of, say, a year, I don't think it would occur, because the authorities have handled this matter pretty well now, and they have begun to respect the law more, but I think it will eventually come back again--probably never as bad as we had on July 2nd.

Mr. Baker. Let me ask you this question: Do you attribute any of this lawlessness to the fact of the wonderful number of saloons and the hangers-on about these places? In other words, doesn't that---does it or does it not in your mind, add to the inflaming of this feeling as well?

Mr. Conway. Yes; I think it does add to the flames.--The number of hangers-on around many of the saloons here; the fact that they are harbors for fellows who are willing to violate the law at a time of that kind--yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. All existing together has caused this trouble is your belief?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; I think many of the saloons---more or less of them, in fact---are respectable and decent saloons, but there are a number here that are not, and they harbor and make a headquarters for the class of

fellows who would be glad to get into a riot.

Mr. Foss. Do you know how many saloons there are here in the city?

Mr. Conway. I think there is just now 240 or 250. The Mayor is here. He says that is right.

Mr. Foss. Are there a less number now than there were before the riots?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; there is a less number than before the riot.

Mr. Foss. How many were there then, do you know?

Mr. Conway. I believe they have lost 35 or 40 saloons in East St. Louis since the riot. They closed up for various reasons. The Mayor last January cut off some fifty or sixty, also---refused to give them a license. We had over 300---340 or 350 saloons last January.

Mr. Cooper. For how many people?

Mr. Conway. Well, the census population of this city was 58.000 in 1910. I believe the population is 75 000 now, or it was before the riot.

Mr. Cooper. At one time 500 saloons to 75,000 people?

Mr. Conway. I think that is about the figure, isn't it, Mr. Hoffman?

Mr. Molman. 376.

Mr. Conway. 376 saloons for a population of 75,000.

Mr. Raker. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a question, and I want the committee to feel at perfect liberty, if they think it is improper, to say so, and I won't persist in it. I just want to ask the one general question, and we can tell what it will amount to. I want to ask you if there has been any feeling that has added to the

flame of this indignation between the whites and the blacks here by virtue of the negroes being used by men seeking office, as well as by the saloons.

Mr. Conway. I do not believe that that feature of it had anything to do with either of the riots---the 28th of May or July 2nd---the political aspect of it--- the use of the colored men in politics in any way. It had nothing to do with those riots.

Mr. Raker. Has he been used in any way here?

Mr. Conway. Well, they have sought his votes from all points of the compass here on various occasions.

Mr. Raker. I mean locally.

Mr. Conway. I am speaking about it locally.

Mr. Raker. Speaking locally to this town.

Mr. Conway. Oh, yes; the colored vote was sought here in nearly every election. In fact, it was considered the balance of power in East St. Louis in elections--- the colored vote.

Mr. Raker. One side would use them to get in; then the other side---not talking politically?

Mr. Conway. No, no; one side and then another side.

Mr. Raker. Anybody that could get them---is that the idea?

Mr. Conway. Anybody that could convince them that they should vote a certain way would get them to vote, but they were practically the balance of power in many elections here---the colored vote.

Mr. Raker. Now what does it take, if anything--- just an ordinary argument to bring about this vote?

Mr. Conway. Well, mostly. When I ran for office there was not many of them voted for me, I don't think. The colored vote has always been a factor here for partie of all kinds, and in our city elections, which are non-partizan as far as party is concerned, the colored vote felt at liberty to vote for either side, but nationally they are known as Republicans, of course, but our city elections are not either Republican or Democrat, because the Citizens Party or some other party has no party lines drawn---national party lines are not drawn in the city elections---so both sides went after all the colored votes they could get, and in recent years here the colored women voted in some elections in Illinois. But I don't believe---I never heard that point discussed---that they were in any way---the political feature of it ---in any way responsible for the riots.

Mr. Johnson. Did the white women vote?

Mr. Conway. The white women; yes, sir; they vote in this state on some things.

Mr. Johnson. But did they exercise the privilege?

Mr. Conway. Oh, yes; they voted for the Mayor last time---both colored and white. I believe it was the first time for mayor in this state. The law has just been passed here a few years ago.

Mr. Johnson. In either of these riots were any of your employes killed or wounded?

Mr. Conway. Some of them were hurt. I don't know of any that were killed. Some might have been killed that would not be reported to us.

Mr. Johnson. But some of your employeswere injured ?

Mr. Conway. Were hurt; yes, sir we had several in St Mary's Hospital.

Mr Johnson. White or black?

Mr. Conway. Black.

Mr Johnson. You had no white injured?

Mr. Conway None that I know of. There were several of them in St Mary's Hospital, as I say, that your welfare department looked after.

Mr. Johnson. And in spite of the interference of which you have spoken, you have succeeded in filling your Government contracts?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. I would like to ask a question or two.

You have just been speaking, Mr. Conway, of the colored vote here as being open to arguments of a certain kind. Were there any white voters that would listen to the same kind of arguments in this town?

Mr. Conway. Well, I would say yes, that there are.

Mr. Cooper. Then the colored people, so far as that sort of thing is concerned, are a good deal like a good many white people?

Mr. Conway. Exactly, except they are classified as colored men and they are all colored, and the other white men are not included in that same category.

Mr. Cooper. When the men come to sell their votes, they are both of the same complexion.

Mr. Conway. Well, I didn't know that they sold their votes.

Mr. Cooper. Well, but you intimated that they were open to the same kind of arguments. What do you mean by the colored vote ---were they improperly influenced?

Mr. Conway. Not that I know of.

Mr. Cooper. Well, then, there was not anything of importance in the suggestion that the colored vote here was sought after by both sides ---that is, you don't pretend that it was improperly sought after?

Mr. Conway. No; I didn't intend my remarks that way, and I don't think the question was intended that way. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. So then, the colored voters of this city, so far as you know, were as free from corrupt influences as the white voters?

Mr. Conway. Yes, yes; there was not any difference along that line.

Mr. Cooper. I misinterpreted your suggestion.

Mr. Conway. No; I didn't refer to that.

Mr. Cooper. Now, about skilled labor. What was your boundary for skilled labor---27-1/2 cents an hour?

Mr. Conway. We call everything above 27-1/2 cents an hour skilled labor.

Mr. Cooper. How long have you been paying 27-1/2 cents an hour?

Mr. Conway. About six weeks now. I think it was the 1st of September that we raised it to 27-1/2 cents from 25.

Mr. Cooper. I understood you to say that up to about a year ago you had been paying at the rate of 17-1/2 cents and you have made four increases in a year, each of 2-1/2

cents an hour.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Or an aggregate of ten cents an hour.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How many of your employes receive 27-1/2 cents an hour?

Mr. Conway. That was a question I could not answer awhile ago. I just can't say off hand.

Mr. Cooper. What proportion of your employes are unskilled?

Mr. Conway. Well, that would be the same question. I would be willing to get those figures for you.

Mr. Cooper. You said that there were certain things, or duties, pertaining to your fertilizer department which you could not get white people to undertake.

Mr . Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper, Well, what is the reason?

Mr. Conway. Well, the reason is because of the character of the manufacturing operations and the ingredients--- the handling of the ingredients that are in the fertilizer. For instance, we use tobacco dust. It is refuse from tobacco plants, and we use rock phosphate, which is very dusty in its dry form; we use ground bone, which is very dusty in its dry form, and the men wear a cloth mask over their nose and mouth when they go in there, and over their eyes, and it is very---it is work that white men won't take. It is very hard to get any white men. We can't get them to go in and do that class of work. These colored men are used

to it; they have done some of it in the South, there being a number of fertilizer factories in the South, and they have done it down there, and they are familiar with it.

Mr. Cooper. Well, no man white or black would want to do that if he could get anyt ing else to do , would he?

Mr. Conway. Well, the black men seem to have no objections to doing it, but the white men object to it up here, because they can generally get work of some other character -- cleaner character than that.

Mr. Cooper. Had no strike this year?

Mr. Conway. No.

Mr. Cooper. The strike was at the Aluminum plant?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You said that the hostility---the hostile feeling and the outbreak of violence were attributable to two facts: that the men who took the jobs were negroes and that they were strikebreakers. Now then, if the men who took the places of the strikers at the Aluminum plant had been white, the feeling would have been just as hostile wouldn't it?

Mr. Conway. I don't think it would have been just as hostile; no, sir. I think their natural feeling is against colored men; a much more bitter feeling against a man who is a colored strikebreaker than there would be against a man who is a white strike breaker.

Mr. Cooper. Haven't there been outbreaks of violence in cities where hired white strike breakers were brought from New York City and put to work in the place of men who struck for better wages and better living conditions, and haven't

there been as the result killings, and destruction of property year in and year out for many years?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. So the feeling will break out where a white man is working for wages that he thinks--- possibly---I am putting a supposititious case---for wages which in these times of high prices will not suffice to afford him and his family a decent living, and he is working amidst surroundings---perhaps not as bad as you have described in which these black men work in your plant, but surroundings in mines and elsewhere that they think are unfit for a white man to work in--and when they strike to get better wages and better living conditions, if strike breakers are brought from New York and other cities, as they have been, to take their places, the white men whose jobs have been taken in that way become violent, don't they?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Whether white or black?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. So then, it comes right down to this proposition: laboring men say that they can't work for certain wages and live as men ought to live; they can't live and work in the surroundings in which they are compelled to work, they stop working; other men might out of a job take their place, and are willing to work in those surroundings and receive those wages. Now the question is right there:- What shall be done to settle that difficulty? Shall it be by arbitration, or shall one side to the controversy have

the absolute dictatorial power to say, "You take these wages and work in these surroundings, or get out and we'll hire people who will take them"? Now, isn't that exactly what it comes to, Mr. Conway?

Mr. Conway. Well, yes, that is the result as a rule. That is the result.

Mr. Cooper. That is the labor problem of today now before the American people, isn't it?

Mr. Conway. That is the labor problem ; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And whether it is white or black, the problem is the same in essence?

Mr. Conway. Well; I can't agree with you on that.

Mr. Cooper. Well, I suppose there is some race antipathy?

Mr. Conway. Natural antipathy against colored men makes a balance against colored men in that proposition as you submitted it.

Mr. Cooper. But in fact, so far as the actual hardship, is concerned---if there be any hardship---to the man who has lost his job,-and it means supporting himself and wife and children---it is immaterial who* man takes his place, whether he is white or black---his job is gone.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. It is a fact, Mr. Conway, isn't it, that a plantation man coming up would be willing to work for less wages than a white man?

Mr. Conway. I would think so, I think he would be willing.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, your suggestion just made was that there be a district at the north end of this city in which the black people might be segregated, and that at the other end of the municipality there should be another district in which the black men should be segregated, and that the men in the north district---colored---should work in the factories up there, and the men at the other end, in the South district should work in the factories up there.

Now if the factories can get the colored labor cheaper than they can get the white, the factories are going to locate in these two districts, and where is the white man going to get any work?

Mr. Conway. Well, that is a state of affairs that I don't think would result from this. Assuming that there is in normal times a certain amount of colored people that live here and have lived here, and always had employment here, and that there is a certain amount of white people that occupy---that fill the better positions---I don't see how there could be anything of advantage to the colored man there. The colored man does not work in these foundries in the skilled jobs; they don't work in the packing house in the skilled jobs. They are the common labor that serves the skilled labor. I am speaking now of normal times. I don't mean these other times when colored fellows have been coming up here because of high wages. I can't see how it would make any difference.

Mr. Cooper. I am not an expert in the matters of labor ---expertness or inexpertness---but I have been told that

there are some very expert negro mechanics---I don't know that the term is strictly appropriate, but expert laborers.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; there are.

Mr. Cooper. Bright, industrious, honest hardworking men, and who learn to run the machines in industries which make a standardized product, with just as much skill as the white man exactly.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, to all intents and purposes, to me in these days of modern industrial development, the black man becomes an expert at that machine and just as expert as a white man, and he can take his place, and if he works for less wages he will get it.

Mr. Conway. Well, I don't have any such cases as that. I don't believe there are any industries around here that are so situated. That might apply in other parts of the country.

Mr. Cooper. The Aluminum Ore company here, as I understand it, perfects the ore.

Mr. Conway. Yes, refines the ore.

Mr. Cooper. Yes, refines the ore and then sends it on to Niagara Falls and Pittsburgh?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir; to be finished.

Mr. Cooper. This ore is what sort of a clay?

Mr. Conway. Bauxite. It is a clay ore that comes from down in Arkansas.

Mr. Cooper. When it gets here, what color is it?

Mr. Conway. Yellow.

Mr. Cooper. And they make it into sort of a white?

Mr. Conway. I think they do bleach it pretty near white before it goes away.

Mr. Cooper. And they make no utensils or implements here?

Mr. Conway. They have a utensil department here, but I don't think they manufacture them. They just handle them here, they don't make the finished product here.

Mr. Cooper. Your suggestion of the compulsory segregation in the residential districts of black laborers is most striking.

Mr. Conway. Not compulsory, I beg your pardon.

Mr. Cooper. I thought you meant that.

Mr. Conway. Not compulsory; no, sir---oh, no.

Mr. Cooper. Then how would the segregation be accomlished?

Mr. Conway. By building houses---cheap houses---which the owners would rent to negroes.

Mr. Cooper. And only to negroes?

Mr. Conway. To whites also if they wanted them, but there would be no white applicants for the houses when the negroes were living in that district.

Mr. Cooper. That is equivalent to a statute of compulsory segregation. There would be social ostracism of the white man who would go there and he would not go there.

Mr. Conway. But there would be no rule against a negro living anywhere else in East St. Louis, if he could find it. He could live anywhere he wanted, but I said---

my point was to establish a community in the north end and a community in the south end of town in which the negroes could live in peace---that is, I mean that there would be no objection from the owners of the houses, and just let them live among themselves; have their own picture shows and their own entertainments and amusement, and there is no restriction on them going in the others if they wanted to, but instead of scattering them all over the city and having them daily march from one end of town to the other on the street cars, that would be eliminated and thereby reduce the offensiveness to the average white person that prevailed before. It was not compulsory segregation that I meant, Judge.

Mr. Cooper. But even while not perhaps legally so, it in effect would amount to compulsory segregation--- that is, the custom would become so strong and the feeling so strong, knowing that those houses were built for the express purpose of renting to colored men, that it would amount to compulsory segregation.

Mr. Conway. Yes; that is true. And you will find it in the city of St. Louis over here, that where there is no legal segregation, there is segregation over there. They have districts that the colored men live in, and they accept the conditions just the same as the white people in regard to it. They go there and live there.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; but they have no factory districts?

Mr. Conway. Oh, yes; they have big factory districts in the south end.

Mr. Cooper. Well confined to the negro portion of the town---the city?

Mr. Conway. Oh, yes. You see the railroad freight houses are all along the river front here, and nearly all of the terminals---freight terminals---are in East St. Louis. There are none but one over in St. louis, Mo. All freight, you know, is transferred by team from here over to St. Louis, and the unloading and loading of cars is done by colored men---or most of it---down at these freight depots, and they formerly lived right near them in the south end of town. That is the district that was burned during the recent riots. And then the American Steel, Aluminum Ore, the Missouri Malleable Iron, and a number of other industries are in the south end of town.

In the other end of town are the packing houses and the cotton-seed oil mills. So there are just two grand divisions of factories---one in the north and one in the south end of town.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly, and your suggestion was that there be a negro settlement at the north end---or segregation---and a negro segregation at the south end,-factory district already located there, and if the negroes work more cheaply than the white men, I was wondering how white men would get employment in the factories.

Mr. Conway. Negoes could not supplant white men in any plant. They could not in our plant and could not in the Aluminum Ore.

Mr. Cooper. What do the skilled laborers do in your

plant?

Mr. Conway. Cattle butchers; knife men; splitters, backers.

Mr. Cooper. What do the knife men do?

Mr. Conway. Knife man?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Conway. Well, the knife man is the man that takes the hide off.

Mr. Cooper. Couldn't a strong colored men do it?

Mr. Conway. We have some that do it ---mechanics, for instance. Our mechanical department is a very large part of our work.--All white except the laborers that do the common work.

Mr. Cooper. How many head of men have you there?

Mr. Conway. We have probably three or four hundred.

Mr. Cooper. Out of how many?

Mr. Conway. 2200.

Mr. Cooper. There are 1900, then, that are not in that division?

Mr. Conway. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. What other so-called expert employes have you, or men who are skilled labor?

Mr. Conway. Well, the oleo oil department.

Mr. Cooper. What do they do?

Mr. Conway. They handle the butter fats from the cattle, manufactured into oleo oil.

Mr. Cooper. Is there anything about that that a colored man of good health and physique and average intelligence

could not perform?

Mr. Conway. Well; I have never tried colored men there. I don't suppose there is, but we always give white men preference and they like that kind of work, and they have always been white men in that department, so we have kept it that way.

Mr. Cooper. Are there any other employes that do what you call skilled work? What do they do?

Mr. Conway. Well, the beef boners are all white men. Many cattle are---the lean meat is taken away from the bones ---they are separated. That is where we get our meat for the cans, and to make sausage, grinding it up for various purposes. In fact, all of the cattle that are not sold as carcass for beef for butcher-shop trade are boned up and ~~trimmed~~ it requires skilled men to do that work. They are all white---no colored men in that department. In the ~~trimming~~ curing department, in the freezers, they are nearly all white. The curing department, where the meats are cured, they are nearly all white. I say "nearly". There may be a few colored men, but the percentage would be 95 white and five colored. In the dry salt meat department they are nearly all white. In the sausage department I think they are all white. In the killing gangs, especially the hog-killing gangs---cutting gangs---they are mostly all colored.. The fertilizer department is colored. The mechanical department is all white. The power house, millwrights department, steam fitters, plumbers---all white.

And it has always been that way. It has always been practically that way. Where the colored man is used,-colored labor is used---is generally and principally in common labor---heavy, common labor.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Baker. I want to go a little farther on the same line I was working on.

Did you understand, Mr. Conway, that say along July 1st or 2nd of this year, that the civil administration of this city had practically broken down?

Mr. Conway. Well, I understood that the police department was in a bad shape, because---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Well now, was there--- did you understand there was a sort of breaking between the police department and the Mayor?

Mr. Conway. No; I can't say that I understood that, but the police department was being depleted of its men right along. Our understanding of it was that there was not money to pay them in the treasury.

Mr. Baker. Well, was that the main condition, or had there grown up a feeling of resentment on the police commission---if that is what you ~~would~~ call it---and the police department ~~with~~ the Mayor?

Mr. Conway. No.

Mr. Baker. Of course, if you don't know---

Mr. Conway.(interposing). I don't know about that; I hadn't heard of that.

Mr. Raker.. I was trying to develop whether or not there had grown up with the Mayor's administration--- not preceded it---a feeling that could not be attributed to the strikers.

Mr. Conway. Well; I couldn't help you out on that, sir. I don't know.

Mr. Raker. You hadn't heard anything about that at all?

Mr. Conway. No; I don't recall hearing anything about that. My recollection is that the Mayor, so far as I know, and the city police department and police commission are as they had always been since he was inaugurated. The only thing is in connection with the lack of money to pay the policemen.

Mr. Raker. I will put this question directly; we might as well be frank as otherwise: I want to see whether or not there was another cause than that that you stated you thought the strike breakers---no, the strikers---were participants and agitators in this movement that caused this trouble---if there had not been some sort of a feeling between the Mayor and the colored people that drove the police from his support.

Mr. Conway. None that I know of.

Mr. Raker. And that a race feeling may have grown up out of that.

Mr. Conway. I never heard of that theory before; I never heard of that suggestion before. There is none that I know of.

Mr. Raker. Had you heard that after the Mayor was elected,--- something that never had occurred before,--- that he gave a large banquet to the negro population and was in attendance---he and his officials---and that that created a feeling among the other white people of the district.that sort of drove his support from him and sort of broke up the administration?

Mr. Conway. No; I knew that there was a barbeque given the colored men by the victors in the election, but I never knew that it created any feeling afterwards that led to the riots.

Mr. Raker. Now don't you know from your experience, which has been very extensive,with men, that that would engender a feeling among the white men that were defeated against the negroes?

Mr. Conway. Well; I would think it might; yes.

Mr. Raker. I was trying to get from you---of course, if you don't know---

Mr. Conway (interposing) I don't know, but I think it would.

Mr. Raker. To see whether or not that didn't contribute towards this bad feeling that evidently must have existed among the people of East St. Louis against the colored population.

Mr. Conway. Well, I don't---I never heard of it, and I think if there was any feeling, it was very small and was lost sight of after this barbeque occurred, because that

was early in the spring, and the real trouble---the only trouble we had against the colored men---began on the 28th of May. That was the first, and the next trouble---the big trouble---was on July 2nd, and I have never heard the barbeque mentioned in connection with it until you mentioned it now. I never heard of it before being raised as a cause. The barbeque, as I understand it, was given in a hall out here in the south end some place. How I happened to know of it was that they bought the meat from us.---from our wholesale market out there---that they used to cook. Otherwise, I don't know as I would ever have heard of the barbeque.

Mr. Baker. Now, what I am trying to elicit, if such a condition didn't incite the---I'll . use the white population---to the extent that the negroes were getting dominant and practically controlled the town, and that, therefore, In addition to the other troubles suggested, they would have to do something to prevent this thing from continuing. I am asking you that from what you know.

Mr. Conway. I don't believe that there was any sentiment created of that kind as a result of that barbeque. I do not believe there was any. If it was, it was very small and local.

Mr. Baker. Hadn't there been several local elections that engendered quite a little feeling with the saloon men and their constituents, closely allied, who remained at their places of business quite frequently ---and the colored people

had been used together to beat what was considered the real strong men and women who were running for school trustees, for instance, and other official places in your city here, that needed a change, and you found the saloon men and the negro combined to defeat the better element of the community?

Mr. Conway. Yes; there was such an election as that at one time.

Mr. Baker. Well now, let me ask you---not so that those laboring men may not get all the blame ---didn't these things contribute to a cause of the feeling, that may have been in existence with those people?

Mr. Conway. Yes; I suppose that would contribute to it in a measure, the same as other things do. The natural antipathy against colored men, and that feature you raised would be another factor in contributing towards antipathy against colored men.

Mr. Baker. What I am trying to get at is if that contingent,-not because the negroes are here, or because it is East St. Louis,-but if those things continue it starts a class of younger men, who may be feeling that things haven't gone right, to do a good deal of talking and eventually throw all the blame and the trouble and the consequences on the negro.

Mr. Conway. Yes; that would be the natural result.

Mr. Baker. Which culminates in just what you had here.

Mr. Conway. Yes.

Mr. Baker. So if that contributes to it, then you have not got the negro nor the laboring man---either one of them---to blame, but you have got your own local government, because you permit the saloons to domineer or assist in dom-

ineering your town.

Mr. Conway. Well, I would not say that, Mr. Baker.

Mr. Baker. Well, if they assist---

Mr. Conway. Well, saloons ---bad saloons---they contribute to the result the same as these disturbers in the labor element.

Mr. Baker. Let us leave the labor fellows out a moment.

Mr. Conway. Well; if you want to confine me---if you want me to be confined to you or no---

Mr. Baker. No; I wouldn't do that, because you have had lots of experience and I like to see a man on the stand give his view because that is what we want.

Mr. Conway. The bad saloons, as we call them in town here, are the contributing factor to everything that is bad. The good ones, there is no objection to them in my mind, and I don't think that the saloon, as a whole, was an important factor in these riots.

Mr. Baker. Well, I didn't want to use the saloon as a term to do the work, but the fellows that sort of get out of employment, depend on the saloon for a drink, that are hangers-on---call them men that don't care much for what is going on---there is quite a percentage of them where there are so many saloons in a town of this size, where you have got 250 saloons, averaging five or six to a saloon, and add that to a population of ~~the~~ colored people, that you would say you are going to better their conditions and going to do this for them and all the good things, so as to get their votes---get the two together---it might after it was done and the man was elected---the good people might begin to lay it all to the negroes, wouldn't they?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And that is sure to bring on trouble, isn't it?

Mr. Conway. It would probably bring on trouble; yes, sir. It would leave conditions such that the trouble would be likely to result almost any time. I suppose you know this city was dependent on saloons for its support mainly?

Mr. Baker. No, I didn't.

Mr. Conway. In the way of license money.

Mr. Baker. Do you think that is the trouble?

Mr. Conway. It is absolutely true.

Mr. Baker. I have heard that before, and then I have seen saloons all shut up, and you would get more revenue after the saloons were shut up than it did before.

Mr. Conway. Never did in this city, because they were never shut up. But their police force is depleted because they have no money.

Mr. Baker. Of course, I am just trying to ask the question for the purpose of finding out what you had originally told us, that the men who were on strike---this feeling was quite intense, and they may have contributed to this unfortunate condition---but if there were not another cause,--and I do not care who it affects or what the criticism may be--I believe it is my duty, and I know you are willing to give all your information upon that subject.

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir, glad to.

Mr. Foster. Are you a member of the Committee of One Hundred, Mr. Conway?

Mr. Conway. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you have any saloons in your municipality out there?

Mr. Conway. No, sir. There is one in the hotel, I believe, right on the corner. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. Just one question more: You have indicated clearly and emphatically that there is considerable race prejudice existing here against negroes. I don't misunderstand you in that, do I?

Mr. Conway. No; I don't think you misunderstand me, Mr. Johnson. I believe there is the same natural antipathy against colored men in East St. Louis as there is anywhere south of the northern cities. You will find---

Mr. Johnson (interposing) Does it extend elsewhere in the state of Illinois?

Mr. Conway. Yes, sir, I think all south of here you will find a feeling against the negroes on the part of the white.

Mr. Johnson. Has the Armour Packing concern---the Armour Packing concern has its business also at Chicago, hasn't it?

Mr. Conway. Yes; that is its headquarters.

Mr. Johnson. Are you advised as to whether or not that same prejudice against the negro exists there?

Mr. Conway. Well, I am advised that it does. There has been a large influx of colored people to the City of Chicago in the last two years, and conditions up there have become rather strained now so far as the colored man is concerned. I think the whites are objecting to him more than they ever

did before, because of the great numbers of them.

Mr Johnson. Then they don't have them, they don't object to them, but when they do, they object?

Mr. Conway. They generally object; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You have said something about the efficiency of the local police. Do you know what their salaries are?

Mr. Conway. I---

Mr. Johnson (interposing) Or were during this trouble?

Mr. Conway. I don't exactly. I think it is $60 a month or $65 a month---a thousand a year, I believe, was the salary of the police officers prior to this trouble. Since then they have been raised ten dollars a month.

Mr. Johnson. What could those men have gotten if they had had employment in the industries here?

Mr. Conway. Well, that depends, of course, on their ability. Some of them are only common laborers, they could make the common labor rate. It would depend entirely on the man.

Mr. Johnson. What does the common laborer average for the month?

Mr. Conway. Well, $2.75 a day; that is $16.50 a week for six days---$16.50 a week for common labor. But it wouldn't average that much, of course, because every one of them do not work full time.

Mr. Johnson. Does every policeman work full time?

Mr. Conway. Every policeman does. He is paid for full time.

Mr. Johnson. Whether he is there or not?

Mr. Conway. Well, I guess if he is away for sickness,

they investigate it---the Board of Commissioners---and they are lenient with him and pay him for his time, if he is sick. Of course, if he is away on any personal business, they don't pay him.

Mr. Johnson Well then, if these policemen had been skilled laborers, what would they have averaged per month each?

Mr. Conway. Well, that depends on what their skill was.

Mr. Johnson. That I want to get now is the general average of the men employed.

Mr. Conway. I can't tell you what that is; it is $16.50 a week for common labor, and from that on up. We have men in our plant that earn $75.00 a week.

Mr. Johnson. Well, would the average be thirty or forty dollars a week?

Mr. Conway. No, sir; you take the women that work there---

Mr. Johnson.(interposing). I am talking about the men now. You don't have any police women here, do you?

Mr. Conway. Well, I see your point now. No, it would not average thirty or forty dollars a week. I do not know just what it would average. I can let you know.

Mr. Johnson. What I am undertaking to get at is, have any of these policemen been working for less than they could have made in some other calling or vocation?

Mr. Conway. Well, I think the, were underpaid. I believe they were underpaid at the wages they were getting.

Mr. Johnson. You think they were underpaid for the

services they rendered on July 2nd?

Mr. Conway. No; I do not. I think they were underpaid for the services that they should render as police officers.

Mr. Johnson. But that isn't the question Still.

Mr. Conway. Well, they didn't render any services, Mr. Johnson, on July 2nd. They were just demoralized and disorganized.

Mr. Johnson. Still, that is not what I am after. I am wondering whether or not an inferior set of men have been employed as policemen;-men who didn't care really to go to work, or men who would not go to work, have been given these places?

Mr. Conway. Well, I rather think there were some of that kind on the police force, and some very good men. But I think there were a number of the kind you refer to on the police force that just didn't want to go to work.

Mr. Johnson. Are you about the business portion of the city of East St. Louis often during business hours?

Mr. Conway. Well, I come down for lunch every day down town.

Mr. Johnson. Do you notice whether the police hang around the saloons or not?

Mr. Conway. I don't think they do now.

Mr. Johnson. Did they prior to this riot?

Mr. Conway. I have seen police officers prior to the rioting in the saloons, but I believe there has been a change.

Mr. Johnson. Did the regulations forbid them going into

saloons before the riot?

Mr. Conway. I think they did.

Mr. Johnson. But they went in nevertheless?

Mr. Conway. Some of them went in there, and oftentimes were punished for it.

Mr. Johnson. The suggestion has been made that the negro laborer from the southern plantation was willing to come here and work for less than the wage he was receiving on the plantation. Isn't it a fact that when he does get here you do ask him to accept less than your standard wage?

Mr. Conway. No; we don't ask any to accept less than the standard wage. We make a rate for common labor starting at a rate of 27-1/2 cents an hour, and any man that goes to work gets that, unless it is some job like a door tender.--We give a job of that kind to an old man or a cripple. In that case the rate is not as high, but for any working man the lowest rate we pay is 27-1/2 cents an hour.

Mr. Johnson. You don't ask anybody to take any less than that?

Mr. Conway. No; that is the standard rate all over the United States for packing-house labor.

Mr. Johnson. That is all. Thank you, sir.

The committee will now take a recess until 2 o'clock, and at 2 o'clock we would be glad to have Mr. Cunningham appear. Is he present? He was in the room I was advised a few moments ago.

Mr. Mollman. I don't think he has been in the room.

Whereupon at 12.50 o'clock, P.M., the Committee recessed until 2 o'clock P.M.

AFTER RECESS.

THE Committee reassembled at 2 o'clock P.M. pursuant to recess.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will please come to order.

STATEMENT OF MR. FRANK V. HAMMAR, REPRESENTING THE HAMMAR WHITE LEAD CO., EAST ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hammar, will you take the stand?

The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Please give the stenographer your full name, your place of residence and also your occupation, or the business in which you are engaged.

Mr. Hammar. Frank V. Hammar; 7 Hortense Place, St. Louis; manufacturer of white lead---Hammar Brothers White Lead Co.

Mr. Foster. You say you live in St. Louis?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir; 7 Hortense Place, St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hammar, if you have any knowledge or information bearing upon an alleged interference with the interstate commerce between the states of Illinois and Missouri, during the year 1917, please relate it just in your own way.

Mr. Hammar. I have no other information other than that connected with our own business.

Mr. Johnson. That is sufficient, if you have some knowledge of that.

Mr. Hammar. Our business was rather good at that time.

We were proceeding along our usual lines until this riot came in July and shut the plant down for a week. Shortly after, in the next two or three weeks, we ran about half full, and at the present time we are running to our general average production.

Mr. Johnson. In what way did the riot shut your plant down?

Mr. Hammar. It shut the plant down by practically taking all the negroes out of the plant. They got very much frightened after that Monday in July, and they all left--- every one of them.

Mr. Johnson. How many were there?

Mr. Hammar. I should say between sixty and sixty-five.

Mr. Johnson. Did you have any trouble in making shipments or in receiving shipments?

Mr. Hammar. Well, we ship as we make, and if we didn't make anything we couldn't ship it.

Mr. Johnson. And your shipments were interfered with only because you weren't able to produce?

Mr. Hammar. So far as I know that is correct. Our shipments are all in car lots, and the railroads took what we could give them.

Mr. Johnson. They did take all you could give them?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, in car lots.

Mr. Johnson. Were any of your employes molested in any way by unlawful, forceful bodies of men?

Mr. Hammar. I understood that one man was shot through the arm.

Mr. Hohnson. One of your employes?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. A black man?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And that alarmed the others so that they abandoned their work?

Mr. Hammar. It was not that so much as the conditions existing on St. Clair Avenue. Our factory is in the north, and about 2 o'clock on Monday the crowd---

Mr. Johnson (interposing) That was July 1st?

Mr. Hammar. July 2nd. The mob took a couple of colored men off the street car in front of the plant and maltreated them---I don't know that they killed them---and the negroes of course got wind of that immediately and they knew of the trouble that had occured before, and they just simply quit work. Some of them stayed all night in our welfare house. Most of them went away. I was in St. Louis at that time; I spend most of my time there in Red Cross work.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see any violence done to anybody?

Mr. Hammar. I did not; no, sir.

Mr. Foster. How many employes do you have, Mr. Hammar?

Mr. Hammar. About 100.

Mr. Foster. And out of this 100, 75 of them are colored people?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Where is your plant located?

Mr. Hammar. It is on St. Clair Avenue between the Vandalia and Baltimore and Ohio tracks.

Mr. Foster. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Within the city limits?

Mr. Hammar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. This welfare house---what is that?

Mr. Hammar. That welfare house has a bath, shower baths, and our soup kitchen where we provide our men with more or less food all the time; they have the opportunity to bathe; keep their clothes; wash their working clothes, and things of that description. We have done that for a number of years.

Mr. Foster. You are a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Hammar. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. You may be excused.

STATEMENT OF FRANK G. CUNNINGHAM, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. Johnson. Please give to the stenographer your full name, the place of your residence, and your business.

Mr. Cunningham. Frank G. Cunningham, residence 4175 Henderson Avenue, St. Louis. I have charge of the Relay Depot Passenger Association station on this side, which is the passenger depot for all the railroads operating in and out of East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Cunningham, have you any knowledge or information affecting an alleged interference with interstate commerce, particularly between the states of Missouri and Illinois, at any time during the year 1917?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir, I have no direct knowledge.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I said either knowledge or informa-

tion. Now, if you have any hearsay information, even.

Mr. Cunningham. Now, the only hearsay information I have is that I knew the freight depots were crippled because of lack of labor, caused, I presume, by the negroes who had been employed there going to other cities to live. Now that was in indirect, of course. That was not in my line of business.

Mr. Johnson. What is your particular line of business?

Mr. Cunningham. I have charge of the passenger depot. We don't meddle freight at all.

Mr. Johnson. Well, do you know anything about the large number of negroes coming to East St. Louis from other states during the years 1916 and 1917?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; there was considerable in the fall of 1916---late in the fall of 1916.

Mr. Johnson. How late?

Mr. Cunningham. It might be the winter of 1916, along about November and December of last year, and the first four or five months of this year, from January up until you might say March and April of this year, 1917.

Mr. Johnson. Did their coming stop about that time, or did it decrease ---lessen.

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir, to the best of my recollection it decreased about the time of---just shortly after what might be referred to as the May trouble. There was some little trouble here in May.

Mr. Johnson. The riot of May 28th?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir, just after that riot had ceased. Now if you will pardon me, the reason I noticed this heavy---you might say importation, that is, the heavy

inbound travel---it was not so much on account of the number of negroes who came up from the South. You would not ordinarly notice it in the amount of trains we have and heavy travel, but we noticed it in this way,- that there was constartly, particularly on Sundays, the depot was jammed and crowded with the residents of this city down there to meet them. It seemed as near as I could get at it, whenever a negro came from the South he would write to his friends up here that he was coming--and negroes are rather sociable in that respect---for every one of their kind that came from the South, ten or twelve would come down to the station to meet them, and that is how we noticed it in particular. The depot about 6 o'clock in the evening would just be crowded with colored people, and it began to be a problem, particularly when the weather grew cold. During warm weather, of course, they could circle late around the yards and not bother us so much, but when the weather got a little cold they simply crowded the depot to meet their friends from the South.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know what and who brought them here?

Cunningham.
Mr./No, sir. I have given that some study, because ordinarly there have been times---I have been in charge of the depot going on the seventh year now---there have been times when firms here in years gone by---say as long as three years ago---I do not think it has happened in the last three years---they have deposited money with us to bring laborers---colored labors---from the South.

Mr. Johnson. The employers of labor have done that?

Mr. Cunningham. Some of the firms here; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Name some of those that have done that.

Mr. Cunningham. Now that was three years back, you understand.

Mr. Johnson. What firms were they?

Mr. Cunningham. To the best of my recollection, one of the firms was the East St. Louis Cotton Oil Co.

Mr. Johnson. Name another.

Mr. Cunningham. That is the only one that I remember off hand.

Mr. Johnson. Have they adopted some other method than that during the last three years to get them here?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I don't know. I only know---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Have you seen anything to indicate it?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir. Now I was going to say that during all this trouble, and this heavy importation of labor, there was not a single deposit made with us by any of the local firms to bring negroes in here---negroes or any other class of labor. It was all done, as near as I could figure it, either they came up here from the South and made pretty good wages and they sent the money back of their own volition, or they may have put up the funds in the way of a telegraph order or something of that kind, but we didn't handle it as a railroad proposition. There was no money deposited with us at all, that is, for the importation of labor, during or within a year prior to this trouble.

Mr. Johnson. Well, tell us more fully, please, what you do, know about the interference of interstate commerce.

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, so far as the passenger service is concerned, it didn't bother us at all, with the exception of some little local excitement around the station. One afternoon down there about this time---4 o'clock---there were two negroes killed.

Mr. Johnson. Then was that, May or July?

Mr. Cunningham. That was in July. The trouble in May didn't bother us at all, but---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Were they employed or unemployed negroes?

Mr. Cunningham. I really couldn't say. I know they were not employed by the railroads or the Depot Company in any way at all. As near as I could figure out---or what I was told later---they simply sort of took a short cut through the railroad yards in order to reach their homes.

Mr. Johnson. And going through they were killed?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you learned from your fellow railroad associates as to whether or not freight traffic was interfered with?

Mr. Cunningham. I heard that they were having considerable trouble handling traffic at the freight offices, because the negro help had gone to other places.

Mr. Johnson. It was not because the freight traffic had suddenly grown?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, of course---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). They were not unable to handle it because it had suddenly grown, but they were unable to handle it because of the falling off of labor.

Mr. Cunningham. Particularly the latter, although of course all during the year freight was getting heavier and heavier each day.

Mr. Johnson. Now to which of these causes do you attribute the inability of the railroads to handle it?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, so far as I have been told, it was the inability to get labor.

Mr. Johnson. Was it the inability to get labor or the inability to keep that which they already had?

Mr. Cunningham. To keep that which they already had. They would get additional labor---I may go from my own experience, that if they had more business than they could handle, they would naturally get more men to handle it if they could possibly do so.

Mr. Johnson. And you say that the negro handlers of freight quit work?

Mr. Cunningham. Now that is what I am told.

Mr. Johnson. Well the Committee is authorized to receive hearsay testimony.

Mr. Cunningham. That I mean by that is, I have no jurisdiction, understand, over the freight departments.

Mr. Johnson. I know, but I thought that possibly in your capacity as passenger agent you would have heard the traffic people discuss the subject.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I didn't exactly hear them discuss it---I just heard sort of rumors that you will pick up that the freight houses were pretty badly crowded because it was difficult to keep their labor---the colored labor.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see these two negroes when they were killed?

Mr. Cunningham. I saw them,-yes, sir, just as the ambulance was picking them up---yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Were they shot to death?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, one was; yes, sir, and I heard later---of course everything was wild excitement---I heard later on that the other fellow was not dead.

Mr. Johnson. Had he been shot?

Mr. Cunningham. Shot or hit over the head---I don't know which. It was possibly two blocks from the depot.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't see the shooting done?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir, I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear the shots?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't. I heard that the other fellow was a pretty wise fellow and he played like he was dead and they hauled him away out of danger. That is neither here nor there---that is what I was told.

Mr. Baker. Is it your business to superintend the relay station there, Mr. Cunningham?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir, the sale of railroad tickets and the handling of baggage---matters of that kind.

Mr. Baker. Well, do you keep in touch with where the passengers come from and where they are going?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, in a general way, yes.

Mr. Baker. Do you keep in touch with the literature that is being published by the railroad companies for passenger traffic?

Mr. Cunning. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was there any literature sent out by these companies showing the easy travel on these various roads,

and the small amount of expense and the good work that could be had and high wages here at St. Louis?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't see any of them; no, sir.

Mr. Raker. Was there any?

Mr. Cunningham. Not to my knowledge; no, sir---not so far as I know. I never saw anything of that kind.

Mr. Raker. Doesn't your company, or don't these companies provide such literature for their patrons?

Mr. Cunningham. Why, I have seen circulars---not in connection with this, understand---in a general way, I have seen circulars advertising the advantages of the city and being a nice place to live in, and being an industrial community, but they are general in character and published by the local road, but I never saw anything at all in regard to this particular event.

Mr. Raker. No--I meant in regard to bringing them to East St. Louis to work?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Such as "wages good and men scarce"?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't see anything of that kind.

Mr. Raker. Nothing of that kind went through your hands?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well, how many of these roads center in this station did you say?

Mr. Cunningham. We have fourteen.---All the roads in town doing a passenger business.

Mr. Raker. Practically all the passenger business

comes to this station?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Just where is that?

Mr. Cunningham. Right down at the foot of this street ---Missouri Avenue that this building is on, right about four blocks west.

Mr. Raker. On Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The negroes gather there then, quite plentifully at all times as trains come and go?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, not so much of late.

Mr. Raker. Since the July troubles they have been very ginger about it?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; but along in the spring of the year they were there, especially on Sunday evening. It seems as though Sunday was a special day for their relatives or friends to come to town, and they gathered there just by hundreds.

Mr. Raker. What was their conduct and demeanor while around there?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, just sort of a good fellowship niggers. We never had much trouble with any drunken niggers. They were simply sort of jovial and good-humored and loved to talk, and then when a nigger would come from the South they would just swarm around him and embrace him like a long lost brother, and, as I say, for every nigger that came to town, about twelve or fifteen would be down there to receive him apparently.

Mr. Baker. Kind of got so many that they sort of crowded out the whites to some extent?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, of course we endeavored to avoid that as far as possible, but for a couple of hours there---until about 6 o'clock on Sunday evening---it was a case of first come first served. When the niggers got inthe station and filled it up, why then it wasn't as convenient for the white people as it would be ordinarly.

Mr. Baker. Well, were they crowded out to some extent?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I wouldn't say "crowded out", but a little inconvenienced; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was any complaint made?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't receive any special complaint. Everybody that came down there---the white passengers---patrons---sort of looked on it as a sort of an amusing incident, and were sort of interested in what was going on.

Mr. Baker. Was there any discussion about it in the city?

Mr. Cunningham. No formal discussion that I heard; no sir.

Mr. Baker. Any informal discussion?

Mr. Cunningham. Why, informally one or two people asked me what was the occasion of so many negro people being at the station on these occasions, and I told them, as I have told you gentlemen, that it seemed for every nigger that came from the South, ten or twelve would come from the City to meet them. In other words, the bulk of our crowd was ten percent, you might say, passengers, and ninety per cent

were reception committee.

Mr. Baker. Was there more or less discussion about the negroes being here and coming here along the 28th and 29th of May this year and days before that?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, there was---I didn't hear any special discussion. No, sir, I didn't hear of anything---I didn't hear anything of that except this,-that when a nigger has money he will spend it; he will spend it either for clothes or for railroad fare. If he has money he will buy clothes or he will travel on the railroad, and they either had money or their friends up here had pretty good jobs and sent them money. And that seems to be the general tenure of the discussion.

Mr. Baker. Was there any discussion about the colored people coming up here and getting the jobs of the white people?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't hear that; no, sir. I didn't know anything of that phase of it at all until the trouble broke out here.

Mr. Baker. Well, that broke out, now, the 28th of May.

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now, between that time and the first of July, did you hear it discussed any?

Mr. Cunningham. No; to the best of my recollection during that time, I think there was a state hearing on the matter,--I am pretty sure there was---and about the only discussion of the matter I heard was in connection with the state inquiry. I testified before that state body, and about the only discussion I heard of it was that.

Mr. Baker. What was the character of your testimony before the state inquiry?

Mr. Cunningham. Practically the same as I am giving to you gentlemen. I was asked if any firm or any party or individual had put up money with myself as agent of the railroads to bring colored people up here, and if I knew anything of the nature of the trouble.

Mr. Baker. Well, where were you on the 1st and 2nd of July this year?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I believe the 1st was on Sunday. To the best of my recollection, I think the 1st was on Sunday. I think that was the night that the police officers were killed, and I was at the station, to the best of my recollection, until about---well, I was there about 7 o'clock in the evening. I think I went to the baseball game Sunday afternoon and came back about 7 o'clock. Then I went home and knew nothing of the trouble until I picked up the paper at breakfast Monday morning.

Mr. Baker. You didn't hear any discussion about it Sunday at all?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Monday, where were you?

Mr. Cunningham. Monday I was at the station all day. Monday was a rather strenuous day, because I was at the station all day, ~~[illegible]~~ with the exception of two trips up town.

Mr. Baker. What made it strenuous at the station?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, we had such---the negroes were coming out in droves.

Mr. Baker. Did you ascertain why they were leaving so fast and in such numbers?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I ascertained, and then it was sort of a self-evident, because the mob seemed to have control here. Now, I went to the bank about---- with the Company funds, I think about 2 o'clock in the afternoon--- and just as I was going into the bank here at Collinsville and Broadway, I saw a street car stop: a negro got off of it. I didn't know the negro or didn't know any of the crowd. I didn't know any of the crowd, but I saw him run and he was trying to dodge, and there seemed to be 300 people, both men and women, just simply slugging him. I didn't see any shots fired & didn't hear any shots fired, but whenever they could get a wallop at him they gave it to him. So that frightened the negroes, and when I got back to the station, about half past two, along Missouri Avenue I could see the negroes wending their way to the depot with valises---in fact, with household goods---mirrors, and, in fact, some of them carried brooms and coal buckets ----anything they could lay their hands on. For I learned afterwards---

Mr. Baker. (interposing). They weren't carrying those ---were they carrying those as defensive weapons?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; just leaving with anything they could pick up.

Mr. Baker. That is kind of natural when people get hysterical and get to going out hurriedly, isn't it?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; I presume so. They just grabbed up whatever they could: they took whatever they

could get. They brought articles down there that are not checkable as baggage, you understand, and I just prepared a little data just to show you. We sell what we call bridge tickets to St. Louis for 25 cents. The fare on the street car is 10 cents, and I was surprised that they came down and paid us a quarter, whereas they could have gone over for ten cents or walked over the free bridge free, but I learned later in the day that a number of them had been taken off the street cars; while they were riding to and fro on the street cars they had been forcibly taken off the cars.

Mr. Baker. Street cars going between Illinois and Missouri?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir: I have been told that, and they felt when they once got on a railroad train they were amply protected.

Now in July, 1916, we sold 400 whole and 12 half-fare tickets between East St. Louis and St. Louis. In the month of July 1917, we sold 1150 whole and 30 half-fare tickets.

Mr. Cooper. How many of those wholes and halves in July, 1917, along the 2nd, 3rd and 4th?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I really didn't look it up that closely.

Mr. Cooper. Most of them?

Mr. Cunningham. Well; yes, sir; I would say that was the heaviest sale. It continued all that week, but the first few days of it was very heavy.

Mr. Congressman Baker. Well, while you were there at the

bank---that is what bank?

Mr.Cunningham.Southern Illinois.

Mr.Baker. That is on what?

Mr. Cunningham. Collinsville and Broadway.

Mr. Baker. That is the next street down?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; the bank right there on the north west corner.

Mr. Baker. Well, how long were you in and about that bank?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I presume I wasn't there longer than fifteen or twenty minutes.

Mr. Baker. Did this occurrence of the negro getting off , or being taken off, of the street car attract your attention particularly?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, it did for this reason,-that I saw the crowd. I saw the immense crowd, and just about fifty feet from the door of the bank, and I thought to myself, "Well, that is an unusual occurrence for the principal business corner of the City", and just at that time this car came west---the street car.

Mr. Baker. From what street?

Mr. Cunningham. It came right up Broadway; it was either a Broadway car or was called/Alta Sita car. They on
both use the same tracks along Broadway. And I sort of stopped in the door of the bank before I went in, and just sort of took in the situation a few minutes. And the car ---that is, the terminus of the car---it comes up at far; then swings on to a single track; then reverses and goes back west again---so when the car stopped, I saw this

negro got off the front end, and he sort of dodged around the front end of the car, and this mob, to the best of my recollection---most of the men in that mob---all had on blue shirts. I just took in the thing hurriedly. And they just started to pelt him---he was dodging and they were pelting him.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was that? About what time?

Mr. Cunningham. I go to the bank twice. I go in the morning after change, and I go in the afternoon with the deposits, and I am pretty sure that was in the afternoon about---between two and three o'clock.

Mr. Baker. Were these gathering there both men and women?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What kind of women---that is, were they white women?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes; I didn't see any colored women in evidence at all.

Mr. Baker. Were they middle-aged?

Mr. Cunningham. They were all ages.

Mr. Baker. Were they particularly dressed in any way?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; they were not. They were just dressed in sort of an ordinary manner; not fashionably dressed at all. They were dressed just like a woman that had sort of come out of the house. I took in the whole thing there in such a short space of time.

Mr. Baker. Well, you are pretty well acquainted here in East St. Louis, aren't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. It just looked like the ordinary audience of East St. Louis people, did it?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, you might say it looked like the rough element of the East St. Louis people.

Mr. Raker. Well now, I don't know anything about that. Just what do you mean by that?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, it looked like people without any---you may say---any culture; simply sort of an uncultured, thoughtless, careless class of people. I don't know how I could describe it better.

Mr. Raker. Well, you are a pretty keen observer?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I try to be, but you know that whole thing all occurred in about five minutes there. There were four or five hundred people around this street car.

Mr. Johnson. Was this negro assaulted over there killed?

Mr. Cunningham. I could not say. After I saw them slugging at him and trying to catch him, I had about a thousand or twelve hundred dollars in my suit-case I was taking to the bank, and I just thought, "Well, the best thing for me to do is to go about my business", which I did. I walked right into the bank then and put the money in the bank, and I don't know what became of him.

Mr. Raker. Was there any discussion when you got into the bank about this?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, none in particular; it was evident to everybody in the bank that there was a commotion outside.

Mr. Raker. I know, but was there any discussion about

the disturbances that were going on?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, to the best of my recollection, simply that things looked pretty serious, or something ought to be done to stop it, or something of that character---just discussion I had with the bank tellers.

Mr. Baker. You had that discussion with the bank tellers?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I simply made that remark, and I think they coincided with me.

Mr. Baker. Right from the bank window, you could stand right in the bank and look right out and see this whole performance, couldn't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir. The windows are high, though. I have never had an occasion to size it up, but I think you could look out of the bank window and see what was going on.

Mr. Baker. Was there any nervousness evident on the part of the people in the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; they had---I think they had one of their clerks there at the door, sort of watching to see who was coming in.

Mr. Baker. Didn't that sort of [redacted] evidence a little nervousness on the part of the bank people?

Mr. Cunningham. I would presume so. They wanted to be cautious, yes, sir, because there was a general mob of excitement outside there.

Mr. Baker. Well, did this whole mob now just all seem to press on to this---toward this negro, and every one that got a chance at him let him have it?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Irrespective of men or women?

Mr. Cunningham. No negro women got off the car.

Mr. Baker. I mean, irrespective of the men and women who were participating in the riot.

Mr. Cunningham. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. What did they have in their hands?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't see any weapons.

Mr. Baker. Just striking with their fists?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; so far as I saw, it was all persons. I didn't see any weapons at all.

Mr. Baker. Did it appear to be unanimous sentiment with all those there to get this negro?

Mr. Cunningham. To get any nigger. I think there were niggers got off the car, and they just seemed to be determined to walop this nigger.

Mr. Baker. Was there anyone restraining them, or attempting to restrain them?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I saw nothing of that.

Mr. Baker. Were there any police there?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't see any police or any soldiers.

Mr. Baker. Ordinarly do the police sort of habitate around that business corner?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, more or less; yes, sir, because it is a very prominent business corner, and I have seen policemen there a number of times.

Mr. Baker. Did you see any soldiers there that day?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't see any soldiers; no, sir.

Mr. Baker. What did they say? They must have made some expressions.

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir: if they did, I wasn't close enough to them to hear it. That car came up there;

I remember this fello--to the best of my recollection this colored man had a black mustache, and I think a straw hat; and I just saw that fellow get off the front of the car; and I could---he just ran one way, and one fellow slugged him and darted back, and then another fellow slugged him. Of course, there were so many white men there he was so badly outclassed that I felt there was nothing to it all but that he would get pretty badly beat up. But there was no outcry that I recall, and no shots fired.

Mr. Baker. Well, of course you could notice among the crowd there a number of people you had seen before?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I didn't --I was not able to recognize a single one. In fact, I didn't pay much attention to that phase of it. I just saw that things were pretty bad, and after I saw---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Well, what I mean is it looked like a crowd that would gather on a crowded street like that, didn't it---ordinarily---local people?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; so far as I could judge, they were local people.

Mr. Baker. Well now, you had to come out of that bank?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And come back to the street again?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was the crowd still there after you came out?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; the crowd was still there.

Mr. Baker. What became of the negro?

Mr. Cunningham. I really don't know.

Mr. Baker. Did they get another one while you were there?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; they didn't. It looked like they are waiting for the cars, because those cars come in from sort of a negro section.

Mr. Baker. Then how did you get back to your place of business?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I walked around on what is called 4th Street, back to the depot, back on Missouri Avenue. I didn't come around on Broadway at all.

Mr. Baker. You took a back way to get there?

Mr. Cunningham. Not exactly: no, sir. I simply passed by the City Hall and police station on my way back to the depot.

Mr. Baker. Did you see any police around the station when you passed it?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; I did; not many--no more than ordinary.

Mr. Baker. You told them that they were having trouble up there rioting and had better go up?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir: I didn't say a word. I felt they knew everything that was happening.

Mr. Baker. I know, but then that doesn't seem quite natural, now. You are a pretty good citizen, and you saw a man get off--in your town---off the street car, and a crowd of not only men, but women, attacked him. Then you directly passed the police station. Did you do anything at all to urge the police on to maintain order in your city?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. Baker. Why didn't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, for that reason---that I felt they knew what was going on, and I felt that I had my hands

full at the station, and it was my business to get back there and look after the station.

Mr. Baker. What did you feel they knew what was going on?

Mr. Cunningham. It was self-evident. Everybody---not only myself---but everybody passing that corner was a witness of it.

Mr. Baker. Well, that might have just been a temporary diversion there. That might not have extended beyond that one corner.

Mr. Cunningham. Well,---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Why did you feel that everybody knew it?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, it was so self-evident, and people passing on the street cars could see that -- ther line of cars passing there, and from the activity that was going on, I didn't see any unusual number of policemen at the station. In fact, I didn't recall seeing anyone on the outside of the station, but there were men running in and back and forth there, and I recall, from what I could observe, that they were conscious of what was going on.

Mr. Baker. I know, but I can't get your point---have you got, Mr. Cunningham, having seen no more than you have told us now, and heard no more than you have told us, being a man in favor of law and order, that after you saw that occurrence and got rid of your money, to then take a sort of---not a back way---but you took a road that was not so thoroughly occupied, past the police station and didn't indicated, call to the police officers to maintain order.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I would have to if I do not believe in my heart that that fellow is going on and is doing the best that he can. In the meantime, two---wait a minute---in the meantime, too, I had heard, as I came to think of that piece of it, that the civil authorities had exhausted the efforts of the local police, and they had asked the Governor for militia.

Mr.Baker. Well, did you know of that fact before you came up to the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. Now I don't know whether I knew it before, or whether I heard it on my way up town, but I knew that was the situation, because later in the day---about four o'clock that afternoon---I came on back to the Mayor's office and asked him to station some of the militia down at the depot. He said he would do that just as soon as a sufficient number of militia arrived.

Mr. Baker. Well had the militia arrived, any of them, at that time?

Mr. Cunningham. They started to come in that evening.

Mr. Baker. By four o'clock?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir: I don't believe they got in before six or seven o'clock.

Mr. Baker. Did you discuss it with the Mayor personally---this trouble you had seen?

Mr. Cunningham. Now I don't know whether I referred to this trouble or not with the Mayor?

Mr. Baker. Well, I won't put put that you were wanting the militia to come in for --- what you expected. What were you looking for?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I just saw there was trouble

brewing, and it was going to take extra help to maintain law and order.

Mr. Baker. You saw trouble brewing on that one corner; not a policeman present, and forty or fifty police on in the town. If you had centered all of your policemen---fifty of the them---on that corner, you could have stopped it in ten minutes. Did you think about that?

Mr. Cunningham. That didn't occur to me.

Mr. Baker. Why not?

Mr. Cunningham. Because I just felt they knew what was going on and it was not my place to tell them that they should do.

Mr. Baker. But you said---there must be something back in your mind to lead you to say that, and I wish you would tell the Committee what you mean by that.

Mr. Cunningham. I want to tell you everything I know. Now the situation---

Mr. Baker. Was there a general feeling that mob law---or that the mob had started to sweep the town and was going to do it, and did you feel that way?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't. I felt from that I could see that the mob was determined to do a great deal of damage.

Mr. Cooper. I would like to ask him a question right there: A moment ago, in regard to your reply to the question of Mr. Baker, you agreed with this suggestion that all the police force of this town, forty or fifty men, possibly could be put on this corner and suppress that riot in ten minutes. Now know, as a matter of fact, now, that they were

killing negroes in various parts of the town, and it would not be possible to protect other places and put all the police force down here with this one mob.

Mr. Cunningham. That they were killing negroes in other parts of the town? I didn't know it.

Mr. Cooper. But you understand it now. The policemen were needed else here. They couldn't all be down here.

Mr. Cunningham. I only knew what I saw there at that particular time, and the occurrence at the depot occurred later in the afternoon---about four o'clock. But I realized that things were in an awful bad shape. I was dumfounded when I saw that mob there, but I just sort of figured that the local authorities were also cognizant of it, and that it didn't devolve on me to come in and make any special report.

Mr. Baker. Having seen that, did it bring to your mind that you had heard talk that such a thing was bound to culminate in that way, by virtue of the conditions---labor conditions---in St. Louis that would bring about such conditions?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I never heard that.
Mr. Baker. East St. Louis, I mean.
Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I never heard anything of that.

Mr. Baker. That is the first you had heard---the first you had seen---just as you observed it on the corner when you went into the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. Of the July trouble; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You are talking of July now?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You didn't know that they were doing it for?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, of course the police officers had been killed the night previous, understand---this was

Monday afternoon---two policemen had been killed the night before.

Mr. Baker. But did you know in your mind, or did you suspicion what they were taking these negroes that got off the street car and maltreating them for?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, so far as my mind went, it was sight they wanted to get every nigger because some nigger had killed the policemen. That seemed to be the idea---to drive the nigger out of town or kill him, or avenge the murder of those policemen.

Mr. Johnson. In view of that statement, I desire to ask you how many men you saw down here in front of the bank between two and three o'clock with blue shirts on?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, bear with me please, sir---let me explain. These men were not exactly in front of the bank.

Mr. Johnson. Well, they were near the bank.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, that street was just crowded with men and women.

Mr. Johnson. Did most of the men there have on blue shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well, did those blue shirts signify anything to you---that there was a pre-arrangement that a certain class of men were to be dressed in blue shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir: I think it was simply incidental.

Mr. Johnson. Was it an everyday occurrence here of men up and down the street with that style of blue shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. To the number you say on that occasion?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, of course they all seemed to be bunched there at that particular time.

Mr. Johnson. Well, what kind of blue shirts were they ---working shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I guess you could call them that. Yes, sir; they are not fancy shirts.

Mr. Johnson. Well, of the kind that people in these various industries use when they go to work, or were they dress shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, they were working shirts, or shirts of cheaper material, you understand.

Mr. Johnson. Well, that was the time of day when the workmen were all at their work, wasn't it?

Mr. Cunningham. The time they should be: yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, then if these were men--- if these men who had on these working shirts were men who worked in these industries, why were they not at work at that time of day?

Mr. Cunningham. I could not tell you, and I could not tell you whether they were working men.

Mr. Johnson. Is it possible or even reasonable that they were men who had been at work theretofore at these various industries,--or some one of them or more of them---and had ceased to be laborers there?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I couldn't tell you as to that. I just took in everything that I could as quickly as possible, and I saw such a number of men with blue shirts on.

Mr. Johnson. Did the idea suggest itself to you that they were all in that way for the purpose of being able to

identify each other?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did it occur to you that they were probably strikers who had had those shirts when they were at work, and now that they were out of work, continued to wear them?

Mr. Cunningham. No; that never occurred to me at all. The only thing in connection with it that left an impression on me was the fact that so many of them wore blue shirts. So far as being in uniform---

Mr. Johnson(Interposing). Well, does any class of your citizenship here wear that shirt except those who work in these industries?

Mr. Cunningham. I couldn't tell you. I don't think so.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you feel pretty sure of that, don't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Reasonably so; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. It is a laborer's shirt?

Mr. Cunningham. It is a shirt worn by a man in humbler walks of life, you might say; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know the kind of material from which those blue shirts were made?

Mr. Cunningham. No, I do not.

Mr. Johnson. It was a cheap shirt, though, you say?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did it have a color to it?

Mr. Cunningham. I don't recall.

Mr. Johnson. Did they have ties?

Mr. Cunningham. In fact, I didn't have the chance to size up that feature of it. I didn't go into it that deeply,

you understand.

Mr. Raker. Well now, ordinarily coming up the street to make your deposits, on an ordinary day, you recognize people along the street that you know, don't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Now coming up the street this day, on the 2nd of July, did you meet anybody you recognized?

Mr. Cunningham. I did not; no sir. In fact I think I came up in my machine. I have a machine.

Mr. Raker. Well now, which way did you come up? Did you come up in your machine?

Mr. Cunningham. I am pretty sure I did. I cameup Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Raker. Through the crowd?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't see the crowd until I got to the bank. I came up Missouri avenue, and this street here ~~xxxxxx~~ opposite the City Hall is 4th St. I came east on Missouri Avenue, and I turned south on 4th Street right around in front of the bank.

Mr. Raker. You left your machine in front of the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I think I left it parallel with the drugstore there on 4th and Missouri.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you leave the bank in your machine?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; when I left the bank.

Mr. Raker. Were you alone?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. How did you get through the crowd?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, the crowd was all up on the other side of here this Alta Site car stops. You see (indicating) there is Collinsville Avenue, for instance; here is Broadway; and here is the bank right here. The street car stops there.

And here is where the mob was. I was standing here watching them. I came up Fourth street to the bank; left the machine here, and went to the bank. The crowd was all over here, and I just gazed at them from the steps of the bank. When I came back I came back the same way.

Mr. Foss. How far away was that from the crowd?.

Mr. Cunningham. I guess 100 feet.

Mr. Raker. And looking into the crowd and seeing what was being done, you couldn't recognize a single human being, coming up that day from the station to the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Or going back either?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Raker. Could you recognize the men in the bank that day?

Mr. Cunningham. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. You had seen them before?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir;-that is, the men who waited on me.

Mr. Raker. Just tell us who waited on you in the bank.

Mr. Cunningham. Now I don't remember whether it was Mr. Burns or Mr. Shea. They are both receiving tellers there, and I don't know whether I gave my deposit to one or the other. Sometimes I give it to one and sometimes to the other.

Mr. Raker. Now, while you were in your machine, why didn't you go to the police department and stir them up, and go to the Mayor's office and stir him up, and stop this riot?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I felt that they were cognizant of what was going on.

Mr. Raker. What led you to believe that?

Mr. Cunningham. Because it was so self-evident, and then the policemen had been murdered the night before, and the whole police department---

Mr. Baker.(interposing). Well, did you feel that because the police had been murdered the night before that the police department would not stop a riot where they were after the negroes?

Mr. Cunningham. Oh no, sir; I felt that they were straining every nerve to restore law and order.

Mr. Baker. Well, was there anything going wrong any other place except on this particular corner, to your knowledge?

Mr. Cunningham. Not at that time.

Mr. Baker. To your knowledge?

Mr. Cunningham. Not to my knowledge; no, sir. We had trouble down at the depot, but that was in the afternoon.

Mr. Baker. Had you come to the conclusion that the police couldn't cope with the situation at all?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I didn't have any reason for arriving at that conclusion. I really didn't know, but I did know then that the militia had been called for. I don't know whether my operators told me that there was a special train coming in, or whether I read it in the paper, or where I heard it, but I know I had information that the militia was coming in that night from various parts of the state.

Mr. Baker. Have you talked with anyone since this trouble about it?

Mr. Cunningham. I have talked with---in fact, I have attended a few of the meetings---I believe they called it a committee of one hundred. After this second outbreak

the best element of the citizens here organized a sort of committee of one hundred.

Mr. Baker. Are you one of that one hundred?

Mr. Cunningham. I don't really believe I am, but I have attended their meetings. I live over the river, understand---I live in St. Louis, Mo. I have attended their meetings, and heard reports of various committees,-what they are trying to do to restore law and order---and I knew they did force---or rather request, or have a change made in the Board of Police Commissioners, and a new police chief appointed. The discussion I had was all informal.

Mr. Cooper. Mr.Cunningham, how far is it from here to Jackson, Miss?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I would say, offhand, in the neighborhood of five or six hundred miles.

Mr. Cooper. Five or six hundred?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What would be the car fare from Jackson up here, or here down to Jackson?

Mr. Cunningham. I can find that out for you in half a minute, but approximately $12.00.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Conway this morning testified he thought about five or six dollars. He was mistaken, then?

Mr. Cunningham. Now I am speaking of the regular fare. I believe that there were special excusions from that territory down there.

Mr. Cooper. Did these negroes come up on special excursion trains?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I wouldn't say special excursion trains, but they took advantage of these excursion

fares, with the result that there was such heavy travel that extra equipment was necessary. Now that is my opinion of it.

Mr. Cooper. Did those negroes come up on separate trains?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; they came up on the regular trains with a few exceptions. There may have been some specials---I don't think, though, that any specials operated in here this spring. But I know there were times when the colored travel was so heavy from the South that there was extra equipment on some of the roads.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Cunningham. That was along I would say around March or April of this year, 1917, and it may have been also in the fall of last year.

Mr. Cooper. What was the name of the firm which you said three years ago deposited with your company money to bring up laborers?

Mr. Cunningham. The East St. Louis Cotton Oil Co.

Mr. Johnson. Did they have a strike?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; no, they simply had difficulty in getting help.

Mr. Johnson. When was it they imported these laborers?

Mr. Cunningham. It was either two or three years ago, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. Cooper. Was there some talk around the city about that importation of labor---the fare being paid by a local firm here?

Mr. Cunningham. I never heard anything of that at all. In fact, this transaction was over and done with--- that is, this transaction I refer to now---it was passed and gone and nothing said of it. So far as I could learn--- so far as my judgment goes; so far as I could fathom--- of course that naturally occurred to me when this trouble started--- I asked my bookkeeper,-I said "Have any of these firms here put up deposits for bringing laborers from the South in any volume?" and we looked through the books purposely, and that was the testimony I gave to the State Board also, and we could find nothing of it at all. There had been individual deposits, but they were all by individuals.

Mr. Cooper. Was this crowd of five hundred, or approximately five hundred---you said about 500 people---gathered in front of the bank or near the bank as that car came up, and did it stop the car?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I believe I could explain that. This is Collinsville Avenue, for instance (illustrating), and here is the bank on this corner. Here is Collinsville and Broadway. This is Broadway here; and the street car came from the negro district in this direction---west. Now I came up this street, the main street from the depot, and I stopped my machine right here at the drugstore, and I walked into the bank. This street car comes in from this direction and it is not exactly a turn-table, but it switches over from one track to the other and stops, and then goes back. And the crowd was all over here. I stood on the bank steps, and the crowd was watching that car; spotted it just as soon as it stopped to make a reverse stop

and go back.

Mr. Cooper. The crowd then was waiting for the car to come up?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And the negro had to come out of the car?

Mr. Cunningham. Or stay on it; yes, sir. Yes, sir; that was as far as the car went.

Mr. Cooper. You saw only one come out?

Mr. Cunningham. Now I don't know whether it was one or two colored men on that car, but if there were two, I lost track of the other fellow. I just saw this fellow dodge one way; some fellow hit him; then dodge another and some other fellow hit him, and I just figured,"He is done for" and I walked into the bank.

Mr. Cooper. By "done for", do you mean "killed"?

Mr. Cunningham. Either killed or pretty badly battered up,; yes sir.

Mr. Cooper. And you saw no militiamen there that you recollect?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And no policemen?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; not at that time. In fact, I don't know whether the militia had arrived---possibly a few of the militia did come in that Monday morning, but if they did, they had such a territory to cover that there were none of them there.

Mr. Foster. You say that in this crowd you didn't recognize anybody at all?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I didn't. In fact, at the distance I was, it would be pretty hard to recognize them.

Mr. Foster. How long have you lived here?

Mr. Cunningham. I don't live here; I live over the river, but have been in charge of the station here going on seven years.

Mr. Foster. How does it come you happened to notice and remember distinctly that these men were all wearing blue shirts, and observed women in calico dresses?

Mr. Cunningham. If I said that---what I mean is, the majority of the men who had their coats off wore blue shirts.

Mr. Foster. You happen to remember that?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir. They were sort of in the majority.

Mr. Johnson. And they were the ones who were assaulting the negroes?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I couldn't say that positvely. It just seemed that when the nigger appeared the whole crowd made a rush for him.

Mr. Johnson. Including those who had on blue shirts?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; and the fellow closest to him gave him a lick.

Mr. Foster. You say that on Monday---that was the day of the riot?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. That large numbers of these negroes went out of the city?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Across the river to St. Louis?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Are you a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I don't believe I am, except in spirit.

Mr. Foster. "In spirit"---what do you mean by that?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I have never joined it; have never paid them any dues to it, and only attended a very few of the meetings.

Mr. Foster. You are not a Spiritualist, are you?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I mean I am with them in spirit in the endeavor to restore law and order here. That is the idea.

Mr. Foster. But you didn't try to restore law and order when you saw this mob at the corner of the bank?

Mr. Cunningham. No; I went straight about my business.

Mr. Foster. Now you say that in November and December, of 1916, when the large number of these people came to East St. Louis---those colored people---

Mr. Cunningham (interposing). To the best of my recollection, and in the winter months of 1917.

Mr. Foster. Did you observe that there were trainloads of them came in to your depot?

Mr. Cunningham. I wouldn't say "trainloads".

Mr. Foster. Well, any trainload---carloads?

Mr. Cunningham. Carloads; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. What is your idea about how they got together to come in carloads?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I think they simply bought so many tickets that it was necessary to put on extra equipment

for them.

Mr. Foster. Where?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I couldn't say where.

Mr. Foster. You never heard that there was any concerted effort to get them to come in large numbers?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. And they just got together down there in such numbers that the railroads had to put on extra cars and probably extra trains to pull them up to East St. Louis?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. How do you think that was brought about? Was it just spontaneous?

Mr. Cunningham. Just spontaneous.

Mr. Foster. They just sort of got the spirit of coming to East St. Louis, did they?

Mr. Cunningham. As I said a little earlier in my testimony, it has been my observation that if a nigger has money he will spend it for clothes or railroad fare.

Mr. Foster. What, in your judgment, is the reason so many of them came to East St. Louis about that time?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, the folks who came here from the South wrote back and told them of the good times here.

Mr. Foster. Do you know whether the post office receipts increased very much during that time?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; I could not say as to that.

Mr. Foster. Do you think that some five to eight thousand were induced to come here by their friends writing back to them?

Mr. Cunningham. I wouldn't say that number; no, sir.

I would say---well, I really don't think it is that heavy.

Mr. Foster. The Grand Jury reported about 8,000 had been brought here, or had come here during that time.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, that is a surprise to me. I wouldn't figure that heavy. Of course, as I explained, there was such an amalgamation of them down there---there were so many hundreds that came down to receive them when they would come, and there was such a dense mass there, that it looked like a big number, but I think that, as I said before, the percentage was about nine men, or nine negroes would come down to receive one coming from the South.

Mr. Johnson. Were those who came in men or women?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I would say principally men; some of them brought their families.

Mr. Foster. Were any trains run through East St. Louis about July 2nd, on the Illinois Central Railroad, that didn't stop here to let off passengers?

Mr. Cunningham. That didn't stop here?

Mr. Foster. Yes.

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; every train that came through here stopped.

Mr. Foster. You are sure about that?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir. Now I know this.

Mr. Foster. Well, would you be surprised if anybody would testify that he wanted to get on at East St. Louis and you wouldn't let him?

Mr. Cunningham. If they passed through our station, they stopped. If they went around some other way, I wouldn't have knowledge of that.

Mr. Foster. Think about that, because you may have forgotten.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I know this,- that after the trouble started after things were so acute, I think orders were given to take all colored passengers on to St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. Well, white passengers too?

Mr. Cunningham. Well sir, if that was done, of course they would have no reason of advising me. I just take care of them after they get here.

Mr. Foster. Do you know of any rock being thrown through the vestibule of a passenger train going through East St. Louis on the evening of July 2nd?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; never heard of that.

Mr. Foster. Never heard of it?

Mr. Cunningham. No. sir.

Mr. Foster. Never heard that the train ran through here in which they refused to permit anybody to get off?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. White or black.

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; the only thing I know was that an effort was made to take all colored passengers direct through to St. Louis, or have them entrained somewhere else, or detrained, rather.

Mr. Foster. When did you get that order?

Mr. Cunningham. I didn't get that. I just heard that. That is out of my jurisdiction, understand. I haven't a thing to do with the transportation end of it. I just heard indirectly or in sort of a hearsay manner that it had been deemed wise, in view of the excitement.

Mr. Foster. Did you know when you went to the bank on Monday afternoon to deposit the money, and when you saw that crowd in which they attacked the negro getting off the street car---did you know that that was just an incident or that there was any particular trouble going on in the city?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I knew the trouble was brewing, but that was the only incident that I saw with my own eyes up to that time.

Mr. Foster. What made you think the trouble was brewing?

Mr. Cunningham. In view of the fact that the police officers had been murdered the night before.

Mr. Foster. Why did that make you think that there was a riot pending, or trouble coming?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I felt that an effort would be made to avenge the killing.

Mr. Foster. What made you think so?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, it was my own deduction.

Mr. Foster. You hadn't heard it talked about?

Mr. Cunningham. Not---except all that morning---all that forenoon, before I went to the bank, there were rumors coming down to the depot that there was lots of excitement up town, but I was astonished when I got to the bank that it had assumed the proportions that were then in evidence.

Mr. Foster. And you didn't know anything about it before?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; except hearsay.

Mr. Foster. You didn't know anything about these large numbers of colored people coming from the South in carloads---trainloads?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. They just seemed to come up here and their friends would go down there to get them and they had a good time.

Mr. Cunningham. I think some of them came here to work, also; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Isn't there usually a good many colored people about the depot, especially on Sunday Evening?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; we have a good number of patrons there, but nothing in proportion to what was in evidence at those times. They were just there in droves--- just a solid mass.

Mr. Foster. You think that there were no inducements outside of the friends of the negroes who tried to get them to come to East St. Louis?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; no other inducements that I know of. I have no knowledge of them, whatever.

Mr. Foster. You never heard of them?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; the only case I have, I gave you.

Mr. Foster. But you do remember that about three years ago---two or three years ago---there were efforts on the part of certain employers of labor in St. Louis to induce negroes to come to St. Louis to work?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Was that because of a scarcity of labor?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; I think it was.

Mr. Foster. They couldn't get men?

Mr. Cunningham. They couldn't get local labor. Of course, I didn't inquire into that. They just simply put up the money and told us to notify somebody down---I think it was somewhere in the South---to furnish a certain number of tickets.

Mr. Foster. If an employer of labor should testify that up to the year 1916 they had no difficulty, and more than they could use---an abundance of labor---what would you think of that? Would you think he was correct?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I don't know;it may be that for his particular industry he had. I don't know as to that. All I know is that this particular firm did order some labor up here, either two or three years ago. For a year prior to this trouble, I am sure---it may be two years prior to the trouble.

Mr. Foster. And you think it was [illegible] on account of the scarcity of labor at that time?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And that this man who would testify that he had an abundance of labor previous,-up to 1916,-that you would think he was wrong?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I don't know anything about his business.

Mr. Foster. You mean there wasn't such labor as he thought there was?

Mr. Cunningham. I don't know anything about his particular business, you understand.

Mr. Foster. Well, that is unskilled labor, now.

Mr. Cunningham. I really do not know.

Mr. Foster. Would you think these men would refuse to go to one place to get employment?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I know that the labor proposition here has been a serious one. I know I have had ---they are so absolutely independent that you can't tell what they will do. I have had occasion to hire men down there to unload coal to heat the station, and I would offer them a certain amount to work.

Mr. Foster. How much would you offer them?

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, I don't remember just exactly what it was. I think it was something like twenty cents an hour.

Mr. Foster. How many hours a day?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, they could work as they wanted to.

Mr. Foster. How many is that?

Mr. ~~Foster~~ Cunningham. Well, say ten hours. But what I am getting at, they will agree to work for you---"Yes, all right, boss"; go down stairs, get shovels, climb up on that car, shovel possibly fifteen minutes, and you go out and they would all be gone. I am just mentioning that to show you how difficult it is to get satisfactory work out of them.

Mr. Foster. That would be ten hours---$2.00 a day, if he worked ten hours. If they worked eight hours, it would be $1.60 day.

Mr. Cunningham. Well, that was an estimate. I may have

paid them 25 cents. I really don't recall. I know we have paid as high as that. But I mention that just to show that you think they will want to work and they say they want to work, and then a whim will come over them and they will walk off.

Mr. Foster. Colored or white people?

Mr. Cunningham. On /that particular occasion that was colored men.

Mr. Foster. When was that?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I think that was just about a year ago. I think it was just about the approach of cold weather, when I was getting a car of coal.

Mr. Foster. After these negroes commenced to come in to East St. Louis, then?

Mr. Cunningham. Just about that time; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. When so many of them came?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, just about the time they started to coming; yes, sir. But I have had men---of course that is a sort of rarety with me. I would only have one day's work for them---that is, just unload a car of coal, and maybe not have occasion to use them until two or three months later.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Cunningham, you say that you hired these people to shovel coal, and the cold weather was coming on --- just about a year ago now?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, do you think that a lot of colored people started up North just as the winter was coming on, without any certainty of getting employment, any more

than is indicated by your statement? They would have been going the other way, wouldn't they, unless promised employment?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, these men that I hired I couldn't say that they were from the South. I don't mean to give you that impression. They were just simply colored people looking for work. The reason I mentioned it was---

Mr. Cooper.(interposing). But you said,in reply to Dr. Foster's question, that this was about the time that they began to come up here?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. About a year ago now. Well, it is just about the time cool weather begins to set in; the winter is near; they like hot weather; they prosper better in the hot climate. Do you think that thousands of negroes started north as cold weather was approaching, with no certainty of employment when they got here, or no promise of employment?

Mr. Cunningham. I wouldn't be at all surprised, from my own observation of them; yes, sir. They have money ---if they have money,-I have seen it,-they will spend it. They will buy railroad tickets.

Mr. Foster. But you think there is nothing unusual about them spending their money to come to East St. Louis about that time?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, of course it might be explained this way. They had heard that negroes here were getting pretty good wages, and they didn't stop to inquire whether

they could get a house when they came here, or whether the climate would be suitable for them. They simply had the money and they managed to get on that train and they came.

Mr. Foster. Cotton picking was over down in Mississippi, and they just started out to East St. Louis, where they believed that work was plentiful and wages were high---getting two dollars a day for shoveling coal would be a great place to go.

Mr. Cunningham. Well now, of course that two dollars a day shoveling coal---I just mentioned that incidentially. I am pretty sure they got word that there was something better than that.

Mr. Foster. Have many of these men gone back to the South, do you know?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I really couldn't tell you. During that trouble we sold a few tickets to the South, to Cairo, because at that time we had a two-cent rate in effect in this state, and Cairo was about the state line. If they went beyond that, they would have to pay interstate fare, which was a little higher, and however they went beyond that I don't know. But the majority of them that had any money at all went to Cairo. But the vast majority had very little funds, and it was cheaper to go to St. Louis---25 cents ---and that is where we sold the bulk of these tickets.

Mr. Foster. Were the tickets given by the railroad company a roundtrip ticket to East St. Louis?

Mr. Cunningham. Did I see any?

Mr. Foster. Did you see that these men ever had any roundtrip tickets?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; they did not. They may have had them, but I didn't see them. I know that the Red Cross bought tickets back to points in the South for some of them that were in a pretty bad shape, but I never saw any return portion of round trip tickets.

Mr. Foster. Never saw any of them?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. The Red Cross came here to take care of them after they got into this trouble?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Sent them back into the South?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; and they paid for some of the tickets; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I believe that is all.

Mr. Foss. Are they going back now in any numbers?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir; things seem to be normal at present. So far as I can see, things seem to be normal.

Mr. Foss. Taking it over the seven years that you have been here in charge of this station down here, have you noticed an increased number of negroes coming into the city each year?

Mr. Cunningham. It never occurred to me. I have never had occasion to observe it, except as you might say in this crisis. It started last July, and along the first four months of this year, from about November. You might say November, 1916, to May, 1917, inclusive.

Mr. Foss. You didn't notice it prior to that time?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir.

Mr. Foss. How many men do you employ?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, altogether---porters, baggage handlers, telegraph operators, ticket clerks---somewhere in the neighborhood of 18 or 19 men. I had two colored porters at that time, and I had difficulty in keeping the station clean, because they got away, too.

Mr. Raker. You say that depot is down here on Broadway?

Mr. Cunningham. No, sir. Is that a map of East St. Louis (indicating)?

Mr. Raker. Yes. Here is Missouri Street right here (indicating).

Mr. Cunningham. Here is the Eads Bridge. They come right over the bridge. Here is Broadway and this is south, and the depot is right in here.

Mr. Raker. It is between Collinsville and First Street, isn't it?

Mr. Cunningham. Here is the depot right here. You come right off the bridge and here is the depot right here.

Mr. Raker. Now I wanted to go just a little farther on that. I don't want to be persistent, but I can't quite see your views of that day you were coming up to the bank. You say there were two men in the bank, and two only?

Mr. Cunningham. Two men in the bank?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Cunningham. Oh, no, sir; I think there was a large number of men in the bank, but there were two men there who took my deposit. Now which of the two took it I don't know.

Mr. Raker. What are their names?

Mr. Cunningham. Mr. Shea and Mr. Burns.

Mr. Raker. What is their first name?

Mr. Cunningham. I think Mr. Burn's name is Mike and

Mr. Shea's name is Tom.

Mr. Baker. Tom Shea and Mike Burns?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now, do you know which one really took your deposit?

Mr. Cunningham. No; I don't. Some days if one teller's cage is crowded, I go to the other, and vice versa.

Mr. Baker. And you are still willing to leave your testimony stand that you didn't recognize a single man or woman from the time you left the depot till you came up, and don't know which one of these two men you gave your money to, and then went back to the depot, and you don't remember of meeting a single man or woman that you recognized that day?

Mr. Cunningham. Not to my recollection; no, sir. Of course, being in the machine I wouldn't have much chance.

Mr. Baker. But you expected trouble?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Serious trouble?

Mr. Cunningham. Yes, sir; trouble was fomenting.

Mr. Baker. And as a matter of fact, you had heard that---and expected there would be sort of a general rioting coming on Monday, didn't you?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, that was Monday; yes, sir. The mob spirit was just in the air, and you couldn't figure out what would happen unless the authorities managed to get control of the situation.

Mr. Baker. Well, you didn't expect the authorities to take any action, did you?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, I thought they were planning to take action. From what I could see, they were planning to take action.

Mr. Baker. How could they when you didn't see a policeman, and you didn't even stop at the police station? Now, how can you expect authorities to take any action if you didn't find anybody?

Mr. Cunningham. Well, as far as I could judge, they were in consultation as to what best could be done.

Mr. Baker. You think that instead of being actually on the ground and stopping it, they ~~mixtures~~ were in consultation?

Mr. Cunningham. That is my opinion, and they were wiring for militia.

Mr. Baker. Well, I can't go any further with that. That is all. Thank you.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. Chas. ROGGER.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Rodger, you desire to make a further statement, do you?

Mr. Rodger. You wish to know the name of the presiding officer at that military inquiry?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Rodger. I understand it was Major Tollman, of Chicago.

Mr. Cooper. You mean who conducted this inquiry?

Mr. Rodger. Yes, sir; and I would like to make a correction. Yesterday I stated that a wagon and contents was destroyed by fire, but it was not an interstate shipment. It was. I got confused over the fact that it wasn't

on the way from a depot on this side going to the east, when, as a matter of fact, it had come from St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. You have no further statement to make?

Mr. Roager. No; that is all.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee is in recess until 10.30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:15 o'clock P.M., the Committee adjourned until 10:30 A.M., Saturday, October 20.)