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Exhibit

Resolution of Committee of One Hundred

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Saturday, November 3, 1917.

The Committee met at 10 o'clock A.M., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

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

STATEMENT OF MR. CLARENCE EUGENE POPE,
OF EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Please give to the stenographer your full name.

Mr. Pope. Clarence Eugene Pope.

Mr. Johnson. Your place of address.

Mr. Pope. East St. Louis, Ill.; practicing law.

Mr. Johnson. And if you hold any civic position, please give that.

Mr. Pope. No; I don't believe that I do.

Mr. Johnson. Any place in the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Pope. I am not a member of the Chamber of Commerce. I was chairman of the Committee of One Hundred, a local organization that was formed here.

Mr. Cooper.^{Do} You live in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Pope, the Committee would be glad to have you state whatever you may know or may have heard that is material to either the May riot here, or the July riot. You may just take up the subject in your own way and tell the Committee what knowledge or information you may have concerning it.

Mr. Pope. What I know of either of those riots is largely ---almost wholly---what I have learned from other people.

Mr. Johnson. As you proceed and you are relating that as information gained from other people, we would be glad to have

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you give the names of those people from whom you got this information, as you go along.

Mr. Pope. I don't recall any one in particular who talked to me about the May riot. I can't recall anyone. I simply know that there was a meeting of people in the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes; in East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. When?

Mr. Pope. That was in May, I believe, on the evening of the 28th. That meeting, as I understood, was composed of employees or ex-employees of the Aluminum Ore Co.; that there were speeches made at that meeting by Jerry Kane, Alexander Flannigan, and I think attorney C. P. Thomas; and that after the meeting adjourned, the trouble took place shortly thereafter. That was on May the 28th.

Then I learned that from time to time negroes in the south end of town were attacked; that there was a crowd of people--- not a large crowd, but some eight or ten---who would attack negroes coming off of the Free Bridge. They would pick crowds with them, and a number were beaten.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Pope, you are speaking now of hearsay?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Not of your own knowledge?

Mr. Pope. Yes. I stated at the outset that I had no personal information, or personal ~~in~~ knowledge, of these affairs. All that I can give is just what I have heard in a general way.

Mr. Foster. You were talking about negroes on the Free Bridge?

Mr. Pope. Yes. Well that, as I understood, kept up ~~by~~

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after that and up to the July riot, and that caused the negroes to become more or less dissatisfied and worried for their physical safety.

Then I heard that there were automobiles which went through the negro section just before the July riot; shot into the houses; and then I learned of the

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Did you use the singular or plural of "automobile"?

Mr. Pope. Two, I understood---two or more.

Mr. Johnson. How did you get that information?

Mr. Pope. My washerwoman, an old colored woman, is one party that told me about the automobiles going through the district, and I heard that from a number of other people. Reverend Allison told me about that. I heard him relate it on more than one occasion, but I don't think he had personal knowledge of it.

Mr. Johnson. What street did they tell you that these automobiles went through?

Mr. Pope. Well, they didn't tell me what street, but necessarily---almost necessarily---the street they would go down is Bond Avenue and then branch out from there. Bond Avenue is the paved street running from 10th St., heading eastwardly, to Denverside . It leads into the negro section in the south part of the city.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Pope, you said go down Bond Avenue almost necessarily, and then branch out. What do you mean by branch out? Does it radiate down there?

Mr. Pope. Well, after you get to about 14th Street or 16th Street on Bond Avenue, the white people reside there.

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Then south of Bond Avenue is what is known as Denverside and there is where the colored people live.

As I say, I learned of the colored people arming themselves, and of the two police officers being shot. That was on--- well, the night before July the 1st. Then I of course knew of the riot on the 2nd.

Mr. Foster. You said the night before July 1st. ^{Do} You mean the night before or the night of July 1st?

Mr. Pope. The night of July 1st. I meant the night before July the 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any information concerning any incendiary speeches made on the night of the 28th of May?

Mr. Pope. Well, I heard that the speeches made were of incendiary character.

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear who made them and where?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I heard that they were made at the meeting in the City Hall by the parties who spoke there. I also heard that Mr. Flannigan was not an invited guest; that they hadn't arranged for him to be there.

Mr. Johnson. You haven't said that Flannigan was there?

Mr. Pope. I thought I stated that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I missed that.

Mr. Pope. Mr. Flannigan, Mr. Kane, and Mr. Thomas were the parties I heard who made speeches there. Mr. Flannigan, I understood, made an incendiary speech.

Mr. Johnson. How did you hear that Mr. Flannigan was not invited to be there?

Mr. Pope. One of the parties who attended, and who is an officer of one of the labor organizations, told me that he

hadn't been invited there.

Mr. Johnson. Who told you that?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Johns, the gentleman sitting back there (indicating), told me Mr. Flannigan hadn't been invited to attend the meeting, but that he was there and made the speech.

Mr. Johnson. An inflammatory speech?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. Mr. Johns, I think, stated at the time that he didn't approve of the character of the speech that he made.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any information as to what Mr. Flannigan said that was of an incendiary character, or of an inflammatory nature?

Mr. Pope. Yes, it was related to me, in substance, that he stated that it ^{was} wrong to engage in riots and kill people, and that they ought not to do it, but that he had never heard of anyone being convicted for so doing---along those lines---the insinuation being that they could engage in a riot with immunity; not be punished.

Mr. Johnson. That while according to the law it was wrong, yet ~~that~~ he was offering it as a suggestion that if they did wrong, punishment would not follow?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And they knew him to be a lawyer? It is reasonably certain that the crowd there knew that he was a lawyer?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; he is a man that is very well known among the laboring people of East St. Louis; he has been here many years and is of a character that is rather widely known.

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Mr. Johnson. He hasn't been indicted, I understand?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't think he has.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any information as to why he hasn't been indicted?

Mr. Pope. No; I haven't.

Mr. Johnson. Well, just go ahead and tell us any knowledge of information that you have connected with or concerning either of these riots, so that if you have information that is not knowledge, it may enable us to go further into it and get the direct testimony.

Mr. Pope. Frankly, I'll state that I don't think I could give you any information that would be of much value along those lines. I think that you have already received from other people much ~~more~~ more information concerning the riot than I could give you. I was at my office all day during the riot, and I heard some shots, and saw the crowds---a small part of them---and saw one squad of soldiers march by my office with two or three negroes with them. They were protecting them and the crowd was walking along on the sidewalk. These soldiers were in the street, and the negroes were in between them, and a crowd ^{that} was following them was on the sidewalk.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was that?

Mr. Pope. That was on the day of the riot, July 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. I know, but that doesn't answer the question. I asked what time of day ~~was~~ it was.

Mr. Pope. I should think that was about between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, July 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. You have stated, I believe, that you were chairman of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Please give us the history of what occurred leading up to the appointment of the Committee of One Hundred, and also tell us what that Committee of One Hundred was expected to do, or endeavored to do.

Mr. Pope. The trouble of July the 2nd is what caused this committee to be appointed. Things were in a very chaotic condition. The Mayor had no control---or at least no cooperation---of the police force.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, which do you desire to state--- that the Mayor had no control over them, or that there was no cooperation between them? There is quite a difference.

Mr. Pope. I put it that way, because on one occasion the Mayor stated that he had no control of the police force; on another occasion, he modified that by saying he didn't have the cooperation of the police force.

Mr. Johnson. It wasn't that he didn't cooperate with the police force, but that the police force didn't cooperate with him?

Mr. Pope. That is what he ~~am~~ said.

Mr. Johnson. And what was your understanding, the Mayor was endeavoring ~~to~~ to preserve order and didn't have the cooperation of the police, or were the police endeavoring to preserve order and didn't have the cooperation of the Mayor?

Mr. Pope. My opinion is that the police didn't try to preserve order and that the Mayor couldn't get them, too.

Mr. Johnson. The lack of cooperation was upon the part of the police?

Mr. Pope. I think so. I think that the Mayor did all he could after the riot had taken place, or while the riot was

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going on he probably did what he could, but he couldn't do anything for the reason that he didn't have a proper police organization.

Mr. Johnson. I would infer, then, from what you say, whatever blame there ~~was~~ was would attach to the police rather than to the Mayor?

Mr. Pope. No; I wouldn't put it that way.

Mr. Johnson. Well, then, how do you put it?

Mr. Pope. I think they were both to blame.

Mr. Johnson. In the same degree or different degrees, and if so to what extent?

Mr. Pope. Well, on the part of the Mayor I would think it was inefficiency in not having a police force. The police force he had amounted to nothing.

Mr. Johnson. And his inefficiency grew out of the fact that he hadn't theretofore appointed the right kind of men to the police force?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he have the appointment entirely within his own power?

Mr. Pope. ~~Yes~~ Not entirely, no, sir, except in this way

Mr. Johnson. That responsibility was divided between him and who else?

Mr. Pope. Well, he had the general authority. He had the appointment of the fire and police commissions, and if those commissioners didn't produce proper results, it was within his power to remove them and appoint other men.

Mr. Johnson. He could remove those officers at will?

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. You have police and fire commissioners here?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they have three men which compose the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners.

Mr. Foster. Are those three commissioners---they hold meetings, and ~~handling~~ applications for the appointment of policemen and firemen go to them?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And then they look into the qualifications of these applicants? Is that it?

Mr. Pope. Well, they are supposed to do that.

Mr. Foster. And to see that they are physically right?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they have rules, I think, requiring certain specifications as to height, weight, age, etc.

Mr. Foster. And they recommend to the Mayor the appointment of policemen or firemen as vacancies occur?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they don't make recommendations to the Mayor; they make the appointments.

Mr. Foster. They make the appointments themselves?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So that whatever the Mayor had to do ~~do~~ with this appointment of firemen and policemen, especially policemen, now, was through the commissioners whom he appointed?

Mr. Pope. It would only be by suggestion through the commissioners.

Mr. Foster. And he had no power to appoint a policeman?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. But does he have the power to discharge, or is that done through the commission?

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Mr. Pope. Under the present system, he would have no power to discharge a police officer.

Mr. Foster. It was done through the commission?

Mr. Pope. Through the commission. Theoretically, under the law, the commissioners have full charge of both firemen and police departments.

Mr. Raker. I might ask a question there. I would like to ask the attorney if there is a record of the city officials, together with the general rules and regulations of the City of East St. Louis, published at any time?

Mr. Pope. If there is what?

Mr. Raker. If there is a document published, a list of the officials, their functions, duties---

Mr. Pope. (interposing). No, other than the city ordinances. The city ordinances provide for all of these officers and their duties.

Mr. Foster. And the state law covers that?

Mr. Pope. The state law covers the police and fire commissioners.

Mr. Foster. (addressing Mr. Raker). Do you want the names of the officials?

Mr. Raker. I was trying to get a list of the names of the officials if there is one published.

Mr. Pope. Of the city officials?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Pope. I could give you most of them, except the aldermen.

Mr. Raker. I don't care to interrupt now. I was just

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trying to get them so as to use them later.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Pope, you and the Committee of One Hundred, and perhaps also the membership of the Chamber of Commerce, reached the opinion that the cause of the riot of July 2nd, that the Mayor was inefficient because he failed to have such policemen as would cooperate with him on that day in the preservation of order?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. When did your organization form---the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. From the day after the riot---two or three days thereafter---the members of the Chamber of Commerce were withholding meetings. I was invited shortly after the riot--- I think possibly the second day after the riot---to meet with them and make suggestions, which I did, and then possibly the next day---^{the}third or possibly the fourth day after the riot--- I wouldn't be positive---it was decided to hold a mass meeting in the City Hall. Notices of more or less general nature were given of that meeting, and several hundred people assembled in the court room of the City Hall. Resolutions were prepared and presented at the meeting deploring the trouble that existed, suggesting that steps be taken immediately to prevent a repetition of it, and I am not certain but what at that meeting a motion was carried to appoint this Committee of One Hundred. I believe it was done there. At any event, right after that meeting adjourned the members, or a portion of them, was selected.

Mr. Foster. Who selected them?

Mr. Pope. I don't know who did that. It may have been

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that the chairman was authorized to select them.

Mr. Foster. Who was that?

Mr. Pope. I believe it was Mr. Reeb. He had been chairman of it.

Mr. Johnson. Before the July riot, the attention of the Chamber of Commerce--- or, rather, the Chamber of Commerce or its membership---had not seen fit to appoint the Committee which afterwards became the committee known as the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Oh, no; that committee originated at the mass meeting, and it was intended to make it a committee composed of members taking in the different classes of people, and was, in fact, made to include all classes of people, rather than just a class drawn from the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Johnson. Prior to the July riot, there was no charge of incompetency upon the part of the Mayor?

Mr. Pope. Oh well, I think individuals made the charge, of course, but then that is always---a charge of that kind can be heard against most any one.

Mr. Johnson. In other words, he shared the usual fate of all public men that his conduct was not approved by everybody?

Mr. Pope. Yes; and possibly a little more than that. I don't think the people of this town approved of the way the police department was conducted. I don't think that they regarded the old chief of police as a competent man, or the night chief of police as a man that ought to be in that position. I think he was criticized more or less for those things. I think some of the criticism was well founded, and possibly some of the criticism had no foundation.

Mr. Johnson. ^{As} You are the only witness and the only source from which the Committee has had the suggestion that more than one automobile was shooting up the negro quarters on the night of July 1st, I would be glad if you would go more into the details concerning your information upon that subject, so that---

Mr. Pope (interposing). I recall---well, the colored woman, Mrs. Wilson, who owns her own property down in the southernly part of the city, told me that automobiles---she put it in the plural---went up and down the streets there shooting into the houses.

Mr. Johnson. You mean by "up and down" that they went in one direction and then returned in the opposite direction continuing to shoot?

Mr. Pope. I wouldn't say that I meant that, but that is what she said to me, that they went up and down the streets. I don't know that she really meant that they went up and down the same street. She might have meant they went down one street and turned and went up another. And Mr. Allison remarked to me---or stated in my presence---that an automobile that was pretty well shot up had been---well, either one or two ---I am not certain which---was found over early in the morning by the Western Hotel, I believe. It is on 3rd St., at the corner of 3rd and Missouri Avenue. That automobile was seen there and it afterwards was taken away so as not to attract attention to the place.

Mr. Johnson. And is there any well founded rumor as to whose automobile that was?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I have never heard it intimated as to who owned that automobile.

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Mr. Johnson. There has been some testimony here to the effect that the automobile in which the officers were shot and killed was removed comparatively early in the morning of July the 2nd to some other place--that other place I don't recall now--and that the bullet holes in the automobile were packed with putty and some paint put over them so that it couldn't be used as an object to inflame the passions of the white people. Is it possible that this is the same car?

Mr. Pope. I don't think it was. I remember that Allison was quite positive in his statement at the time that it was a different car from that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, if it was a different car and was pretty badly shot up, which would you say had shot it all up, the whites or the blacks?

Mr. Pope. Well, the natural inference would be that it was shot by the blacks.

Mr. Johnson. That the car was occupied by whites who were out doing some promiscuous shooting, and that the blacks had shot into that car?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And where do you say this car was seen?

Mr. Pope. At 3rd and Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. Out on the street?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. In front of some place of business or residence?

Mr. Pope. A place of business---a saloon and boarding house.

Mr. Johnson. A saloon and boarding house run by whom?

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Mr. Pope. I don't know who runs it. I think it is called the Western Hotel.

Mr. Johnson. And at what time of morning was it seen there?

Mr. Pope. I can't give you the time.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know how late it remained there?

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

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not it had a license number on it?

Mr. Pope. Oh, no; I didn't see the machine at all.

Mr. Johnson. I thought perhaps you inquired.

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I didn't. I was pretty busy at the time, and from the talk that went on about those things I naturally supposed that they would be looked into and inquired about by other people.

Mr. Johnson. It seems to me that it would have been quite important to have gotten the number of that car---the license and registered number.

Mr. Pope. It would have been, no doubt, but then of course the car was not there at the time I heard about it.

Mr. Johnson. When did you hear about it?

Mr. Pope. Oh, that was during the committee meetings after the riot took place.

Mr. Johnson. Several days after the riot?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What were your endeavors as chairman of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Our endeavors were to restore order in the town and take all steps possible to prevent a repetition of the

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rioting.

Mr. Johnson. Did you regard a detection of those who had engaged in the riot, ^{and} their arrest and prosecution as an effective means to prevent further rioting?

Mr. Pope. I thought that was one of the most effective ways of preventing further rioting, one of the most important things that could be done.

Mr. Johnson. Tell the Committee what you did and what success you had in detecting the rioters, in ascertaining their names, and their offenses.

Mr. Pope. Well, I presume you mean the committee when you refer to me?

Mr. Johnson. Well, I mean the committee as a whole, and you individually, because if I had another member of the Committee of One Hundred here, I would ask him as to his individual efforts, and I ask you particularly, as chairman of that organization.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; ~~I think~~ I can tell you pretty well, I think.

Mr. Johnson. I take it for granted that you directed its efforts.

Mr. Pope. The Attorney General of this state had become somewhat active in the prosecution, or in an effort to have the law in St. Clair County enforced, particularly in regard to illegal saloons and gambling.

Mr. Johnson. And that effort was before the riot?

Mr. Pope. That was before the riot.

Mr. Johnson. And when was that effort fully demonstrated?

Mr. Pope. That was being demonstrated right at that time;

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it had been previously.

Mr. Johnson. How long before the July riot?

Mr. Pope. I should think at least two months before.

Mr. Johnson. Very well; now go ahead.

Mr. Pope. And he had succeeded in having a number of saloons closed. There were saloons operating that couldn't procure a license. For instance, where they would be within two miles of a city limit, then there is no way for them to procure a license. If they were out in the country and more than two miles from the city limits, they could procure a county license to operate. Well, a number of those saloons were closed. He was investigating ~~another~~ matters---moral conditions, bawdy houses and such as that---and making an effort to correct them. He investigated the gambling conditions up at Brooklyn and possibly in some other places+chicken fighting--that had been moved from Madison County down into St. Clair County. That was being looked after.

Mr. Johnson. Was there a cock pit in operation here?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson. Where was it?

Mr. Pope. Well, not in East St. Louis; it was out on the Bluffs somewhere, as I recall.

Mr. Johnson. In this county?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; in this county.

Mr. Foster. Locate that again, will you, please?

Mr. Pope. Out on the Bluffs some place.

Mr. Foster. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. No; outside the corporate limits of East St. Louis, but in St. Clair County.

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Mr. Foster. So the Mayor wouldn't control that?

Mr. Pope. No: The Attorney General, I say, was operating down here.

Mr. Johnson. Conditions adjacent to the city I think should be ascertained too.

Mr. Pope. Well, that was one of the conditions he was endeavoring to correct.

Mr. Johnson. Did you have either knowledge or information as to who was conducting that cock pit?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I didn't. No, the reports had it.

Mr. Johnson. How long was that cock pit supposed to be in operation?

Mr. Pope. I don't think it had been operating a great while after Struber had been elected state's attorney of Madison County. Then cock fighting and some of the gambling stopped up in Madison County.

Mr. Johnson. Is there any place for dog fights around here that you have heard of?

Mr. Pope. No, I don't know of any place for dog fights.

Mr. Johnson. Did they have any dog fights at the cock pit that you have heard of?

Mr. Pope. Not that I have heard of; no, sir.

Well, then, after that election in Madison County---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Did you say whether Struber was state's attorney or sheriff of Madison County.

Mr. Pope. He was elected state's attorney at the last election.

Mr. Johnson. Before we get too far away from it, going back to the alleged incendiary speeches of May 28, have you even remote information, or have you heard any sort of rumor,

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that the Committee might undertake to trace up, as to why the makers of those inflammatory speeches were not indicted?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think that information could be obtained very readily from the people here who have charge of the prosecutions. I think Mr. Middlekauff ---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). I was guessing that that might be done, but I was asking you if you had any sort of information, or rumor, apparently well founded, that you could give to the Committee, which would enable the Committee to ^{go and} trace it. If there is any sort of influence---

Mr. Pope. (interposing). As to what they said?

Mr. Johnson. No; I didn't say anything about what they said; as to why they hadn't been indicted. If any influences have been employed to save anybody from indictment, the Committee would like to know about it.

Mr. Pope. I don't think any influence could be employed that would deter the people, who are now prosecuting these people, from doing their duty. Now that condition did exist heretofore, but it ^{does not} exist today. I don't think ^{are} there influences in existence that would deter the Attorney General and ^{the} people he has working for him from doing their full duty.

Mr. Johnson. Is it your opinion, from your general knowledge of the situation, that the Grand Jury investigation into these matters will continue, and that it is probable or possible that others may yet be indicted who had ^a part in either of these riots?

Mr. Pope. Well, I can only give you the facts as I understand them. The force of detectives who have been procuring evidence have been discharged and are no longer working.

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Mr. Johnson. But you don't know whether or not they have made such reports as will warrant the Grand Jury again taking up these matters and returning additional indictments?

Mr. Pope. I don't know that, but I think possibly that other indictments will follow. But I don't know positively,

Mr. Johnson. Very well, sir; pick up your statement where you left off before I made that interruption.

Mr. Pope. Well, I believe it was in regard to the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Johnson. Yes; we particularly want to know about the activities of the Committee of One Hundred and what the results of those activities were.

Mr. Pope. Well, I think Mr. Reeb, who is chairman---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). What is his business?

Mr. Pope. President of the Southern Illinois National Bank, and President of the Chamber of Commerce. He consulted with several people about the men that should be selected.

Mr. Johnson. With whom did he consult?

Mr. Pope. Well, he consulted with me; consulted with Dan **Glynn**; he consulted with Maurice Joyce, and he consulted with others.

Mr. Johnson. Do you recall the names of any ~~others~~ others?

Mr. Pope. I can't recall the names of any others. A list was prepared, a notice was given to those to meet, and other people who exhibited an interest in the affairs as they would come to the meeting were added to the Committee. We didn't consider that we should have just 100 people, but we welcomed anyone who had the interests and best wishes of the city at heart.

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Mr. Johnson. Did the number of the committee commonly called the Committee of One Hundred at any time exceed 100?

Mr. Pope. I doubt if it did.

Mr. Johnson. Did the number of men appointed on the Committee of One Hundred every reach the maximum of 100?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think it did. Yes; I think so.

Matters were discussed in a general way at the meeting---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). By the way, before we get too far along, have you got a list of that Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Mat C. McLane, the secretary, has a list--- or at least did have---and I think that he has it yet. That could be procured very easily.

Mr. Johnson. If you would make a telephone request for him to send it over here, would he do so?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Before you conclude your testimony, will you do that?

Mr. Pope. I will be very glad to. (Addressing Mr. Johns): Mr. Johns, will you telephone Mr. McLean to send that over?

Mr. Johns. I will go over there. (Mr. Johns left the room).

Mr. Pope. In order to do the work effectively and expeditiously, we appointed an executive committee.

Mr. Johnson. Of how many members?

Mr. Pope. Five members and the chairman.

Mr. Johnson. And who made the selection of those five members---the chairman?

Mr. Pope. I think I made that myself.

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Mr. Johnson. In your capacity ~~and~~ as chairman ?

Mr. Pope. Yes; as chairman. I think that was the notion.

Mr. Johnson. And who were the five members?

Mr. Pope. I think ^{they were} Maurice V. Joyce, Dan McGlynn, Edward Gatey; Robert Johns, and ^{Mr.} Allison.

Mr. Foster. That is Reverend Allison?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. How many of the six of this executive committee were white people?

Mr. Pope. They were all white people.

Mr. Baker. Before you leave there, is Dan McGlynn the attorney who is defending the alleged rioters?

Mr. Pope. He is employed--he is an attorney here in East St. Louis, and I understand is employed to defend two or three policemen who are indicted for rioting.

Mr. Johnson. You say he was appointed by the court or employed by the defendants?

Mr. Pope. No; employed by the defendants.

Mr. Johnson. I understood you to use the expression that he was appointed.

Mr. Pope. Well, I shouldn't have used that expression. He was employed.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead now as to the activities of the Committee, either as a whole, or through its executive committee.

Mr. Pope. Well, I realized that the important thing to do at that time was to get a police department. We felt that they had no police department; that many of the men on there

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weren't men that should be on there, and that they were not being efficiently handled. In order to reorganize the department, I felt that it was necessary to start in at the head--- would like to have started with the Mayor, but that was impossible---and I then suggested and kept insisting at that time that ^{the} three members of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners should be removed. It was a hard fight to procure the removal of those men. The ~~members~~ members of the old board were Nelson Schein, Wallace Watkins, and---

(interposing)
Mr. Foster. State the business of each one.

Mr. Pope. Nelson Schein is in the real estate business here in East St. Louis; Wallace Watkins is an employe of Swift and Company---I think he was employed at one of the branch houses in St. Louis; he is also President of the School Board in East St. Louis---and a party by the name of Schmidt---William Schmidt. Schmidt is a painter in the employ of Heim Brewery Company. Those were the members of the old board. The men who were selected in their places were Dr. J. F. Reed. He is in the horse business at the National Stock Yards, Ill., and is probably---his firm---is the largest dealers of horses in the world. They probably handle more horses---

Mr. Foster (interposing). Buyer and seller of horses--- a commission man, is he?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. That firm probably handles more horses than any other firm in the world.

Mr. Foster. Has he been buying for the Government or for foreign countries?

Mr. Pope. He has had many contracts for foreign countries; not so many for the United States, because they have only bought comparatively few. He has handled probably a quarter

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million horses since the war started.

The next man is Mr. E. J. Coffey. He is agent of the Southern Railway Company here in East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. Is that passenger or general agent?

Mr. Pope. He is freight agent; he is their general freight agent here in East St. Louis. He has charge of the freight depot here.

The third member is Mr. Giesing---Fred Giesing. He is in the hardware business, and a director in the Southern Illinois National Bank. That is all of the commissioners.

Mr. Baker. Let the record show what became of the old clerk and what you did for a new clerk, if anything.

Mr. Pope. The clerk remained the same. The old clerk was Maurice Ahearn, and he was clerk of the new board until he was indicted. Then they removed him.

Mr. Johnson. With what offense does the indictment charge him? # Mr. Pope. I think the charge in that indictment is a general one, but I have made inquiries---not direct---but it seems to me that he was indicted for destroying some cameras, and preventing people from taking pictures.

Mr. Johnson. Well, he must have been indicted for some specific act?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think the indictment charges rioting.

Mr. Johnson. That is what you meant by "general"?

Mr. Pope. Yes; and the specific act I understood that brought about the indictment was the---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Use of violence in destroying cameras or some pictures?

Mr. Pope. No; not the use of violence, but in the destruction of the cameras and preventing photographs, moving

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pictures, being taken, on the theory that valuable evidence was being destroyed. But I understood that at the time he destroyed the cameras and prevented pictures being taken was after the riot took place, and not during the riot, though I might be mistaken as to that. My impression ---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). Then did he resign or was he removed after the indictment was returned?

Mr. Pope. Well, rather strong pressure was brought--- there was influence brought to bear to keep him in his position, but the Board was ~~firm~~ firm in their stand and said they must be consistent, that they had suspended police officers who had been indicted on account of their activities in the riot, and that they would have to take the same course with Mr. Ahearn, and he finally resigned, or asked for leave of absence---something of that kind.

Mr. Johnson. Who undertook to use influence or pressure of which you have spoken to have him retained in his position?

Mr. Pope. Well, very likely a number of people, but---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Name some of them.

Mr. Pope. But one man in particular that I know of was Robert Conway.

Mr. Johnson. And who is he?

Mr. Pope. He is manager of Armour and Co.

Mr. Johnson. He wanted him retained?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. I don't know whether it was through his personal friendship for Ahearn or through the Mayor. He has been very friendly, personally, with the Mayor.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Conway has ~~been~~?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. But the Board was firm about that

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while and/they didn't want to do anything to injure Mr. Ahearn, they just told him that he couldn't remain secretary, and I think he exercised his option of resigning rather than to be suspended.

Mr. Baker. Now, who is the new clerk?

Mr. Pope. I don't know. I don't know who took his place.

Mr. Cooper. Was Ahearn told he must resign, or did he resign?

Mr. Pope. Oh, he was told that he couldn't remain as clerk.

Mr. Cooper. The Board told him so?

Mr. Pope. Yes; they told him that. ~~What was~~ Those instructions were positive.

Mr. ~~Sumner~~ Foster. Does the Board select the clerk?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. He doesn't act by reason of his being a city clerk?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. They can select whoever they desire?

Mr. Pope. Ahearn, of course, was not a city clerk. He was the Mayor's secretary, and he had been the clerk of the old Board, and then just continued on with the new Board until the indictment was returned. Before this new Board---before Dr. ~~Reed~~ Reed would agree to act on this new Board, it took considerable persuasion to get the doctor to consent to act, because he is a man that hadn't been particularly active in politics and didn't court work of that kind, and he was the only man that the Committee of One Hundred suggested that the

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Mayor would appoint. We had an agreement with the Mayor that he would remove the old members and appoint new ones, and when we would suggest them, he would not keep his agreement. We suggested a number of people that we thought would be good, and among them was Dr. Reed, but he finally appointed the three men that we said would be agreeable.

Mr. Johnson. In other words, he appointed the three men who were recommended by you?

Mr. Pope. No; he didn't. He wouldn't do that. He wouldn't appoint the men recommended by our executive committee.

Mr. Johnson. What were the names of the men you did recommend?

Mr. Pope. Dr. Reed was one of them.

Mr. Johnson. Who were the other two?

Mr. Pope. Nat McLean was one.

Mr. Johnson. Who was the third?

Mr. Pope. W. C. Thrasher, Nat S. McLean, Maurice Joyce, Theodore Sollinger---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Whom are you naming now?

Mr. Pope. Men that we recommended to the Mayor be appointed on the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners.

Mr. Johnson. How many members of the Board did it---of how many members did the Board consist?

Mr. Pope. Three.

Mr. Johnson. You made out a list of more than three.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Oh, yes; go ahead.

Mr. Baker. Which the Mayor wouldn't appoint?

(Question not answered).

Mr. Johnson. You made out a list of how many men and submitted it to the Mayor?

Mr. Pope. At least six.

Mr. Johnson. And you have given the names of how many of them now?

Mr. Cooper. McLane, Sollinger and Joyce I have---who else?

Mr. Pope. W. C. Thrasher, and Dr. J. E. Reed, Reverend Allison, and Fred J. Craft.

Mr. Johnson. You at first submitted six names?

Mr. Pope. No, I wouldn't say that. We submitted names from time to time and he would not accept them. He had promised that he would do that, and then he wouldn't do it.

Mr. Johnson. And you submitted how many names to him before he accepted any of them?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would say at least six---possibly more.

Mr. Johnson. And then when he did accept---when he did make an appointment, whom did he appoint?

Mr. Pope. He appointed Dr. Reed, one man that had been suggested. Then he appointed Coffey and Fred Ciesling.

Mr. Johnson. Did he get their names from your Committee?

Mr. Pope. No; he didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Were those names entirely acceptable to the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Not entirely.

Mr. Johnson. You made no objection to them?

Mr. Pope. I don't if we did. We looked upon them as

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fairly good men, but not as good as some that we had called.

Mr. Johnson. Did the Mayor in declining the names which you had suggested give his reasons for each name presented by you?

Mr. Pope. No; he wouldn't do that. He would consult with what he called his friends and then report that he would not make the appoints from the list.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know with whom he consulted?

Mr. Pope. I have no means of knowing personally, but I know that the people that he did consult were chiefly along those lines with Mr. Thos. J. Canavan and L. G. Tarlton. And I am reasonably certain that if any suggestion didn't meet with their approval, he wouldn't adopt them.

Mr. Johnson. We know about one of these gentlemen. Who is Mr. Tarlton?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Tarlton is in the real estate business, real state and insurance business, partner of Canavan, and also President of the East Side Levee and Sanitary District, which includes a district in Madison and St. Clair Counties, the drainage district and levee district.

After the committee was appointed---or after the Mayor said he would appoint this new committee---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). The new Board?

Mr. Pope. Yes, the new Board---the police Board---many people---a number of people---went to Dr. Reed and explained that they thought it was his duty, under the present circumstances and conditions existing here, to accept the position and do what he could to better conditions, and prevent a re-occurrence of the rioting.

Mr. Johnson. Was the name of any other man suggested

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by your committee to the Mayor for appointment upon this Police Board?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

The doctor said he would look into the matter, and finally said that unless there was money raised to pay salaries ~~of~~ to the fire^{men} and policemen, so that the men could be employed and would work, he would not accept the position. We found out that it would require about \$105,000 to do the work that he contemplated doing. The city had no funds, and none that they could at that time legally borrow. And the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, with possibly the assistance of some of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, who were not members of this Committee, decided that they would raise that amount and put it at the disposal of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners.

Mr. Johnson. For what purpose was this money to be used?

Mr. Pope. For the purpose of paying the salaries of the firemen and the policemen. That money was subscribed---

Mr. Johnson. ^(interposing) Paying their salaries or supplementing their salaries?

Mr. Pope. Paying their salaries. The city had no money with which to pay them, and, as I stated, it couldn't legally borrow any, because they had borrowed more than they had a right to borrow at that time.

This money was raised by subscriptions from the various corporate industries in and about East St. Louis and deposited in the Southern Illinois National Bank, where it was available for the City Treasurer to draw warrants against it.

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Mr. Foss. Were the subscriptions made public?

Mr. Pope. I don't believe they were.

Mr. Foss. You say they were made by the large interests here?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir, large and small interests. Some of the merchants---there was no effort to keep the matter secret, but I don't think---I am quite sure that the amount subscribed by each one was not published in the press. It was sometime after the work was started before they knew the exact amount that each one would give, but the various groups of people ---we classed the manufacturers as best we could hurriedly, and suggested what would be a proper amount for them to pay, and they responded very cheerfully and readily in the great majority of instances.

Mr. Foss. Did the Aluminum Company subscribe?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they were one of the heaviest contributors.

Mr. Foss. They stated on the stand they subscribed \$10,000.

Mr. Pope. Well, it was practically \$10,000. I think between nine and ten thousand dollars was the proportion that they paid, and I think that is more than any other one corporation paid, except, possibly, the Higgins Ferry Company and the Terminal Railroad Association. I think that interest possibly paid as much or more than the Aluminum Company.

Mr. Foss. Did the packing interests out at the National City subscribe?

Mr. Pope. They and the packing house in East St. Louis ---that is, the East Side Packing Company---the Cotton Oil

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Company, located partly in Madison County and partly in St. Clair County, and I think just north of National City, the Empire Carbon Works, and possibly one other small concern in there, together subscribed \$25,000. The railroads subscribed \$25,000. A group of manufacturers of five of the largest, including the Aluminum Ore Co., subscribed \$25,000, and they apportioned the amount among themselves---those five---and the Aluminum Company's proportion, I think, was between nine and ten thousand dollars. That division included the Aluminum Ore Company; the Missouri Malleable Iron Works; the American Steel Foundries; the chemical works down in the south end of town, and the Cranby Mining and Smelting Company. Those five were to pay \$25,000, but I don't believe they paid the full amount.

Mr. Foss. Then I suppose the street railway companies---

Mr. Pope. (interposing). The public utilities paid a part. They were grouped together and they paid a part.

Mr. Foss. And then the banks and the merchants?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; the banks would not subscribe to the fund. They didn't subscribe to it. They thought that---well, they said they had some reasons that they couldn't make donations easily, and had lost otherwise.

Mr. Foss. I suppose the balance was made up ^{by} merchants and individual citizens around town?

Mr. Pope. The amount subscribed by merchants was very small---possibly a thousand dollars---maybe \$1200 would cover all that they subscribed---and the balance was made up by other corporations. The individual subscriptions were practically nothing. They were taken in on something else.

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Well, that money was subscribed and the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners started on their work of reorganizing the Police Department. The first thing they were to do was to get a chief of police, a night chief and a chief of detectives. They asked, I know, various people for suggestions as to who would make a good Chief of police, and they appointed Mr. Frank Keating as chief of police. He is an ex-City Treasurer of East St. Louis. His business has been the construction of granitoid work---sidewalks and floors and such as that. Then they appointed a night chief.

Mr. Johnson. By whom was this man Keating employed in concrete work?

Mr. Pope. He was employed by the public in general.

Mr. Johnson. Can you name somebody for whom he had a contract of some consequence?

Mr. Pope. He did work for the Relay Depot down here; he did work for the stock yards; he had put in lots of street walk---

Mr. Johnson. Had he been at work for any of the packing houses?

Mr. Pope. I don't think so. I don't think he did work for the packing houses.

Mr. Johnson. For the Alumina Ore Company?

Mr. Pope. That I couldn't say. He had been selected as a member of the arbitrating committee between the street-car men and the street-car company. He was the third man and the deciding man. He was the man that was agreed upon; the man that both sides agreed upon as the third arbitrator.

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Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by both sides?

Mr. Pope. I mean ^{the} employees and ^{the} employer. They had some trouble over wages and decided to arbitrate the matter.

Each side---that is, the employer selected one man; the employees selected one man; and then after considerable delay both sides agreed upon Mr. Leating as the third man.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know which side proposed him?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't. I don't know who proposed him, but I do know that he was agreed upon.

Then, the night chief was Fred Jerner, I think, who was an ex-deputy sheriff. I think he had tended the bar for a while, and what other business he has done I don't know. He was deputy sheriff under one of the sheriffs for, I believe, about four years, under the sheriff who preceded the present sheriff.

And the chief of detectives resigned. I don't know who they have appointed in his place, if the appointment has been made.

Mr. Raker. What was his name?

Mr. Pope. I say I don't know his name.

Mr. Raker. The one that resigned.

Mr. Pope. Tony Stecker---Anthony Stecker.

One of the next things that I interested myself in was the apprehending and prosecution of those who participated in the riot, and it was suggested that we might be able to get the Attorney General to assist in this work. A conference with him was arranged. Several citizens of East St. Louis met him over in St. Louis; the matter was gone over, and after the conference he decided that he would be willing to

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take charge of the matter of the prosecution of the rioters.

Mr. Johnson. Were you of the opinion in seeking his taking charge of the prosecution that the local authorities were not equal to the occasion, either from the standpoint of incompetency or unwillingness?

Mr. Pope. Both; we thought they were incompetent for both reasons, and for the ~~fixe~~ further fact---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). That they were not equal to the task?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You state they weren't equal to the task, is I understand you correctly, both from the point of incompetency and unwillingness?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. Well, that would include the sheriff's office. I don't think that without assistance, that the participants in the riot would have been apprehended and prosecuted or convicted. That was the reason that we wished to enlist the services of the Attorney General. The Attorney General ~~again~~ stated that there were no funds appropriated for an expense of this kind, and asked those with whom he was in conference to arrange for a fund, because the expenses would be about \$25,000.

At his suggestion a detective agency was employed---a detective agency from Chicago. They came down at once and immediately went to work, and I think there were other detectives, some from St. Louis, working at the same time, getting information as to who participated in the riot and what they did, and that information gathered has resulted in the indictment of a number of people who did participate in the riot.

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After those two matters were accomplished, I didn't consider that there was a great deal of work for the Committee of One Hundred to do. There were from time to time other issues brought up before the meeting, but, as chairman, I thought that they weren't of vital consequence, and I tried to keep other matters out of the meeting. As an illustration, they thought that the form of government in East St. Louis should be changed, and it was suggested that the Committee of One Hundred inaugurate the movement for a ~~change~~ change to the commission form of government, and in conferring with the members of the executive committee we thought it would be well to keep those things in the background until the main object for which the committee was formed was accomplished. And on that, the Committee of One Hundred did nothing more than to endorse the movement.

There were other movements that the people wanted us to take hold of and accomplish, but we didn't do it. Meetings were held by the Committee of One Hundred daily for awhile.

Mr. Johnson. How long?

Mr. Pope. I should think ~~from~~ four or five days. Then once a week, and after the work---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). For how many weeks were these weekly meetings?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would think in the neighborhood of eight weeks. The records, of course, would show that exactly. Mr. McLean would have them. We held meetings at Deady's Hall at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Then the meeting adjourned subject to the call of the chair or any five members. No further meetings have been held.

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Mr. Raker. What about the date of the last meeting?

Mr. Pope. I couldn't tell you ~~the~~ with any degree of accuracy.

Mr. Raker. Sometime in September, wasn't it?

Mr. Pope. Possibly, sometime in September.

Mr. Foss. How was this Committee of One Hundred selected?

Mr. Pope. I related that possibly while you weren't here, Congressman.

Mr. Foss. That is all right then, so long as it is in the record. Did the Chamber of Commerce do it with you, and other organizations of the City?

Mr. Pope. No, not ~~the Chamber of Commerce~~ as a body. Possibly members of the organization were active in the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Foss. Are you a member of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I'm not.

Mr. Johnson. I would like for you to give the occupation of each man who was proposed by your committee for police commissioner.

Mr. Pope. Then I want to give the occupation of the men who were on the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, too. Pat McLane is in the real estate and insurance business, and has been in such business here for many years. These are the men suggested for police commissioners.

Mr. Johnson. Where does he live?

Mr. Pope. He lives on Pennsylvania Avenue - 1015 Pennsylvania Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.; a young man born and raised in St. Louis.

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Mr. Johnson. Any other calling or avocation besides the one you have stated?

Mr. Pope. No sir; he has no other business.

W. C. Thrasher was the head of the **AU** Roofing Manufacturing Company in East St. Louis. When he first started in business, he was manager of the Bell Telephone Company here at this place, but it has been many ~~an~~ years since he was connected with that.

Mr. Johnson. Has he any other business besides the one you have stated?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Where is his place of residence?

Mr. Pope. He resided near Summit Avenue, on about 11th Street, but he is now deceased. He has died since his name was suggested.

M. V. Joyce is a large property holder in East St. Louis, and was formerly city attorney for several terms, and his profession is that of a lawyer. His residence is at 10th and Pennsylvania Avenue, East St. Louis.

Theodore Sellinger is a baker. He owns and operates a bakery here in East St. Louis; formerly an alderman of the city. He lives ^{at} about 17th and Lynch Avenue, East St. Louis. That is in the northerly portion of the city.

Dr. J. P. Reed is in the horse business at the National Stock Yards; he resides near Mr. McLane---about the next block on Pennsylvania Avenue, the 1100-block on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. His business is not in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; it is in National City.

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Reverend Allison is a minister of the gospel.

Mr. Johnson. Any other calling?

Mr. Pope. No, sir, he is an ex-switchman; he used to switch on the railroad, but is not engaged in any other business with the possible exception of lecturing at chautauqua courses in the summer time.

Mr. Johnson. Where does he reside?

Mr. Pope. I don't know his address, except that he lives in East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. And how long has he lived here?

Mr. Pope. Not very long; possibly two years.

Mr. Johnson. The reason why I am asking that is that the ministers of some churches are changed quite frequently and they don't have a permanent residence or a voting residence in the places to which they are frequently assigned.

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know whether he belongs to the Baptist or Methodist church---the Baptist church, I think.

Mr. Johnson. I believe the Baptists are permitted to remain longer than the Methodists are.

Mr. Pope. He had been active in work here in East St. Louis with the old Board. He had tried to accomplish things here, but had been unable to get very far.

Fred J. Craft is a real estate and insurance man; formerly president of the school board; he has no other business.

Mr. Johnson. Where does he reside?

Mr. Pope. I don't know; his city address ^{is} East St. Louis, Illinois.

Mr. Boss. That is all of them that were given? How you wanted to name the occupations of the members of that

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committee?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think that should be in there.

Mr. Foss. H. V. Joyce you have already given?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he is a lawyer and property owner.

Dan McGlynn is an attorney at law.

Edward Gatey is in the lumber business---retail lumber.

Robert Johns was formerly a carpenter, but I think he is now the man who looks after the interests and welfare of the members of the trade, sometimes known as the walking delegate.

Mat C. McLane met with this committee at practically all of its meetings; being secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, he, I think, attended personally all of the meetings of the committee.

Mr. Johnson. May I interrupt you there before we get too far away from it and ask you to later on furnish us with the exact place of residence of the two men who were proposed by you as police commissioners, and whose residence you were unable to give.

Mr. McLane. I might be able to give that. Who were they?

Mr. Pope. ~~Sellinger~~ and Craft and Allison.

Mr. McLane. Craft lives at the corner of 11th St. and College Avenue, and Allison at the corner of 10th and Summit Avenue.

Mr. Cooper. You said a moment ago that Mr. Johns was a walking delegate--- sometimes called a walking delegate. They call them now business agents, don't they?

Mr. Pope. I believe so; a business agent of the carpen-

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ters' union; and that is what it really is--he looks after the interests of the carpenters' union; sees that they get employment; advises them where to go. It is really the business agent of the carpenters' union.

Mr. Foster. Where did Mr. Thrasher live?

Mr. Pope. About 11th St., just off of Summit Avenue--- on 11th St., I think.

Mr. Foster. In the City of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. Did Mr. Johns attend these meetings of the executive committee.

Mr. Pope. I don't think he missed any of the meetings. Possibly on one or two occasions he might have missed, but he was always notified and was one of the members who attended willingly and promptly, and rendered a great deal of assistance to the committee.

Mr. Johnson. Were ~~gum~~ the meetings of either the Committee of One Hundred or the executive committee of that committee always open, or sometimes in secret?

Mr. Pope. The meetings of the Committee of One Hundred were open to the public.

Mr. Johnson. Always?

Mr. Pope. There was one time when some member objected to certain newspaper reporters being there, but that was---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). What papers did those particular objectionable newspaper reporters represent?

Mr. Pope. I think the Globe Democrat.

Mr. Johnson. Any other?

Mr. Pope. I don't know that there was.

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Mr. Johnson. What was the reason for objecting to his presence if other newspaper men were permitted to be present?

Mr. Pope. Well, now I want this understood that that objection didn't come from all the members of that committee. It was---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). It came from some of them, but was acquiesced in by all?

Mr. Pope. Well, temporarily only.

Mr. Johnson. Well, during the time that this newspaper representative was not permitted to be present, what was the reason ~~therefor~~ for it?

Mr. Pope. It was claimed that the proceedings had not been correctly reported.

Mr. Johnson. Do you recall the name of that newspaper man?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Boylan---Robert J. Boylan.

Mr. Johnson. In what respect were they said to be incorrect?

Mr. Pope. That I don't recall.

The meetings of the executive committee weren't public. That is, there was no effort made to get the public made, but we simply met at the Chamber of Commerce rooms, or wherever else we saw fit to meet, and there would be no one else there. There was no particular occasion for the meetings being secret, but no one ~~said~~, as I know of, particularly cared about being present. What we did would be reported to the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Foley. Was that report made in writing, ~~to~~ ^{to} the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. At times; yes, sir. Sometimes the reports would be made in writing, and sometimes verbal reports would be made.

Mr. Baker. Was a record kept of it by the secretary of the executive committee and the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know that a record was kept of the minutes of ~~xxxx~~ the executive committee, but a record was kept of the minutes of the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Johnson. Are you able to recall any report of your meetings made by Mr. Boylan that were not correct?

Mr. Pope. I am not. I paid very little attention to it, and thought it was a mistake to exclude newspaper reporters, and did what I could to have it impressed so that they would report what was taking place. Then, I know we saw Mr. Boylan ---myself and some others---and told him that we would be glad to give him a report of what took place at the meeting, and he said he would prefer that we would do that than to take his time of coming up there.

Mr. Johnson. So in a sense, you were censoring your own proceedings---~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ censoring the information regarding your own proceedings?

Mr. Pope. Well, to that extent; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. Pope. Well, now I have finished the subject.

Mr. Baker. I hold here a copy of the hearings had before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, August 3, 1917, in regard to the riots at East St. Louis, Illinois, and on page 9 I find what purports---the hearings were held in Washington, D. C., at 10:50

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o'clock A.M.---I find on page 9 what purports to be a copy of a resolution dated East St. Louis, Ill., July 19, 1917. I wish you would read that resolution over and see if that is the resolution that was adopted by the Committee of One Hundred (handing document to witness).

The witness read aloud the resolution referred to, as follows:

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., July 19, 1917

Whereas the recent disgraceful riots and disturbances in East St. Louis have done immeasurable damage to our city and our people and have brought humiliation and shame to the good citizens residing here; and
Whereas resolutions have been presented to the Senate of the United States and are under consideration there providing for a Federal investigation of the same, and there seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether such investigation should be by a Federal grand jury, the Department of Justice of the United States, or by a Joint committee of Congress: Now, therefore be it
Resolved by the Citizens Committee of One Hundred of East St. Louis, Ill., representing the law-abiding citizens of our community, that without in any way criticizing or impeding any local investigation now being conducted and with full indorsement of every such investigation that may result in determining the cause of the disturbances and the punishment of those responsible therefor, yet we heartily indorse the proposition of such a Federal inquiry both as to the causes and conditions leading to the disgraceful occurrences in our midst, as well as the remedies that may be adopted to prevent their recurrence: Be it further

*Resolution of
Committee of 100.*

Resolved. That we do not suggest or intimate to the Senate or Congress of the United States as to which method of inquiry should be adopted or as to how such investigation shall be conducted. We do, however, welcome and desire such an inquiry, under Federal authority and supervision, as will disclose the causes, suggest the remedy, and give assurance to the country and to the world that such occurrences are a thing of the past, and that law and order will hereafter prevail among us: And be it further

Resolved. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the United States Senators from Illinois and to the Representative in Congress from this district, with the request that they present the same to the Senate and House of Representatives in order that the position of our law-abiding citizens may be fully understood.

C. E. POPE, Chairman.
N. C. McLEAN, Secretary.

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Mr. Raker. Is that substantially a copy of the resolution adopted by your Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. It is.

Mr. Johnson. Is it substantially a copy or is it a copy?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would say that it was a copy, but not having the original before me, I couldn't say it was an exact copy.

Mr. Raker. What I am trying to get at is that so far as you can see, it is a copy?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; yes, sir; I think it is correct.

Mr. Raker. ^{Was} This resolution was taken up and discussed by the full Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. I think that matter was discussed by the executive committee. A resolution to that effect was ordered prepared, read at the full committee, and there passed.

Mr. Raker. Who was the author of the resolution? Who really drew it up and presented it to the executive committee or to the full body?

Mr. Pope. That I cannot recall. It might have been Dan McGlynn; ~~but~~ I am inclined to think it was Dan McGlynn, but I am not sure.

Mr. Raker. Well, Dan McGlynn is an attorney at law?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And how old is Dan McGlynn?

Mr. Pope. I would say he was about 48 or 49 years old.

Mr. Raker. And this same Dan McGlynn is now defending men charged with this riot?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. Raker. Has Dan McGlynn been active with your committee

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since its organization and his appointment?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he had.

Mr. Raker. In aiding the prosecution? He has been advocating the arrest and prosecution of the participants in the riot?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think he has. I think he has met with the executive committee.

Mr. Raker. Well, you said he had met with them.

Mr. Pope. Well now, I think he met with the Attorney General of the state.

Mr. Raker. Also?

Mr. Pope. I think so.

Mr. Raker. And heard and learned the method and the procedure of the Attorney General in preparing for the prosecution?

Mr. Pope. Yes; and there is no question but what he knew all about what was being done.

Mr. Raker. And got ~~his~~ information from the Attorney General as to the mode and method of what should be done?

Mr. Pope. Well, he may not have gotten it direct from the Attorney General, but he knew---

Mr. Raker. (interposing). He was in their confidence?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. In their conferences as well?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. And he was a member of your executive committee?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And is still a member of the executive committee?

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. He works with the executive committee and the Attorney General to lead the prosecution of these charged rioters? That is right, isn't it?

Mr. Pope. He did do that; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well, he hasn't desisted in participating with the committee?

Mr. Pope. Not any more than all of us have.

Mr. Raker. Then he must meet with some other people; and he is on the other side ~~with~~ the defending and counseling ~~the~~ those who are charged with actually committing the riot?

Mr. Pope. He is.

Mr. Raker. He is acting in the dual capacity of assisting the Attorney General, assisting the Committee of One Hundred in having them arrested and indicted, and then he is acting in the capacity as defending the men ~~arrested~~ whose arrest and indictment he has participated in bringing about?

Mr. Pope. He is.

Mr. Raker. And of course must have known about the state's evidence, as well as what the Committee of One Hundred were doing? Isn't that right?

Mr. Pope. No; I ~~want~~ won't say that he knew about the state's evidence---that is, in detail.

Mr. Raker. I don't mean---well, not in detail, but generally?

Mr. Pope. Oh, he knew specifically the work that was being done and how it was being done, by the state; yes, sir. He knew that the same as all the rest of us.

Mr. Raker. Now, have any proceedings commenced against

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Dan McGlynn to ^{dis}bar him from this proceeding?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Has any action been taken by the executive committee or the Committee of One Hundred to disbar Dan McGlynn?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Do you think it ought to be done? It is so vital that a man who participates in it with the Attorney General's office, who is on the Committee of One Hundred--- and I am going to read more about this resolution---according to your idea of professional ethics and as you understand the duties of an attorney, having participated in bringing about the indictments, going into the matter, and then turning around and defending the men that have been indicted by virtue of the prior work, your ethics of the profession are such that some procedure would be in line to see that proper actions were taken?

Mr. Pope. I would answer that question "Yes", and state that I felt that I should not represent any of the defendants and I refused to represent them; and I felt that I could not rightfully do it.

Mr. Baker. Well, what I am getting at---of course, I got blunt on the questions and drove right at it, because I took down a memoranda this morning of the names of the five men who were to act by the Committee of One Hundred, and you named Mr. McGlynn, and it had appeared ~~xxxxxx~~ before that he was the attorney---I think I noticed it in the paper---representing the defendants.

Mr. Pope. He is representing, I think, two or three

police officers whom he claims to be old clients of his.

Mr. Baker. Well, those are the very chaps that were held up as inefficient and incompetent during the riots, weren't they?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they are.

Mr. Baker. And were the ones that the people of this town claimed were responsible for so much disorder, and want of enforcement of the law?

Mr. Pope. They are.

Mr. Baker. Did he have any more old clients of the same character and reputation---any more besides these, of this same character and reputation?

Mr. Pope. Well, that I am not able to answer.

Mr. Baker. Now, did Mr. McGlynn counsel, advise, and participate in these meetings of the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. He did.

Mr. Baker. Did he act, advise, ~~and~~ counsel and participate in the meetings of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. He did.

Mr. Baker. Tell them what ought to be done?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he was really the "expose" man of the committee, of the executive committee.

Mr. Baker. Well now, that being the case, he being on the executive committee, I find this in the resolution: "We do, however, welcome and desire such an inquiry, under Federal authority and supervision, as will disclose the causes, suggest the remedy, and give assurance to the country and to the world that such occurrences are a thing of the past, and that law and order will hereafter prevail among us".

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Those were the things you wanted the Congressional Committee to investigate?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And to bring about that condition, one of the most important things to accomplish was that the perpetrators, big or little, poor or rich, with or without influence, with or without reputation, should be apprehended, arrested, ~~and~~ prosecuted and convicted?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I concede that that was the purpose and object of this committee.

Mr. Cooper. ^{will} I interrupt Judge Raker at this point because this is some of the most important testimony that has been adduced before this Committee. I didn't understand that Judge Raker had got on such a lead as this---all of it. I knew some of it.

Did you say a moment ago, in reply to Judge Raker's question, that this lawyer McGlynn asserts that he is defending old clients of his?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think he has been criticized for taking the cases, and I remember hearing him say on one occasion that they were old clients of his, people he has known a long time---something of that kind.

Mr. Cooper. He nevertheless was ~~advising~~ counseling with the men who were procuring the evidence which resulted in the indictment of his old clients, wasn't he?

Mr. Pope. Well, he---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). All this investigation he counseled with them, didn't he?

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Mr. Pope. Now, let me make that clear. He didn't counsel with the prosecution as to the manner and details of procuring the evidence, but only as to the method---that is, in the employment of detective agencies, and getting the Attorney General here to do the prosecuting.

Mr. Cooper. He could tell his clients that certain men were here as detectives, and certain detective agencies?

Mr. Pope. Well, he had that information.

Mr. Cooper. He had other information, too, didn't he?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. Isn't he now defending Cornelius Mehan and James O'Bryan, the two policemen who were in charge of the soldiers and who gave the orders to the soldiers to shoot, and whose shooting resulted in the shooting off of the arm of this 20-year old Minnieola McFee, and the killing of a negro, on the morning of the 3rd of July?

Mr. Pope. He is defending the two men named, who are charged with those offenses.

Mr. Baker. Well, isn't he also defending this man who is claimed to have been a leader, who took the men from the City Hall up to a meeting hall on Collinsville Avenue some place, on the 2nd of July, about 10 o'clock---what is his name---Brockway?

Mr. Pope. I don't know. I didn't know that he was employed by him, but I know Brockway was arrested---indicted.

Mr. Baker. How will you just present to the Committee---that is, the Congressional Committee---that written evidence or statements or data that the Committee of One Hundred and its executive committee have procured since their adoption

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of this resolution on July the 29th, 1917?

Mr. Pope. What evidence they have procured?

Mr. Baker. Yes, in the way of any written statements or affidavits or anything that would be of value to the Committee.

Mr. Pope. They have procured no evidence other than--- they have procured no evidence at all. All the records they have are the records of their meetings, the minutes of the meetings.

Mr. Baker. Will those records divulge the causes of the riot, what occurred on the riot, or the names of any of the participants?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they won't.

Mr. Baker. Now if you have no records, will you kindly state to the Committee what you have procured that you can verbally give to the Committee relative to the cause of the riots; what occurred during the riots, and the perpetrators of the riots, that has been procured now by this Committee of One Hundred and its executive committee?

Mr. Pope. There has been no work of that kind done by this Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Baker. May, ~~Mr. Baker~~ am I to understand from your testimony that since the Committee of One Hundred organized, appointed an executive committee, adopted resolutions which I have read, which were sent to the Congress of the United States, that absolutely nothing has been done by the Committee of One Hundred relative to securing the evidence that would lead to the conviction of the participants in this riot of July the 29th?

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Mr. Pope. What they did was to enlist the services of the Attorney General and turn the work over to competent counsel. That work has been done. The committee itself, as a committee or as members of the committee, made no effort to procure testimony or evidence.

Mr. Raker. Well now, can you explain to the Committee why the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred didn't make any effort to procure evidence leading to the proof of the perpetrators of the riot of July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. Well, I should correct one statement there a little. The question of the prosecution was discussed, and members who knew of the committing of crimes during the riot were directed to go to one of the lawyers employed to do this work and give him the information that they had, or that they knew of. That resulted not in the committee, but in the various members as individuals, and others, being sent to Mr. John Hamlin, who was employed here in East St. Louis for that purpose, and what information they had they gave to him.

Mr. Raker. Who is John Hamlin?

Mr. Pope. John Hamlin is an attorney at law, and an ex-assistant state's attorney.

Mr. Raker. ^{Is} Mr. Hamlin assisting in the prosecution?

Mr. Pope. He was assisting in the procuring of evidence, but is taking no active part in the trial of the cases. He worked with Mr. Warner and Mr. Middlecott, and ~~him~~ all the information that we had---the members of this executive committee had---or that we knew of any one else having, we directed them to go to Mr. Hamlin and tell him. They did that

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and the evidence was all tabulated and put in shape to be presented to the Grand Jury.

Mr. Baker. As furnished by your committee?

Mr. Pope. It was not furnished by our committee; no, sir.

Mr. Baker. I want to drive the question solely and entirely to what the committee did.

Mr. Pope. The committee reorganized the police and fire departments.

Mr. Baker. I mean what ~~kind~~ did the committee do?

Mr. Pope. And procured the Attorney General to become interested in the prosecution of the rioters; hired Mr. James A. Farmer, an ex-state's attorney of Belleville, Illinois, and Mr. John B. Hamlin, to take charge of the work. The Attorney General made Mr. Farmer an assistant attorney general, and also gave to us ^{the} services of Mr. Middlecalf, an assistant attorney general, out of his office, and Mr. W. B. Trout. Mr. Trout formerly lived here, but now resides in Springfield. So we had working on the matter Hamlin, Farmer, Middlecalf, and Trout.

Mr. Baker. Now, which one of your members of the Committee of One Hundred did this work?

Mr. Pope. Did which work?

Mr. Baker. The work in regard to securing evidence.

Mr. Pope. All of us. We talked that matter over, and it was understood that if we had any information or saw any one who did have information, that he should take it up to Mr. Hamlin and let it go through the regular routine; turn it over to the investigators and let them investigate and see

whether there was any basis.

Mr. Raker. Then Mr. Dan McGlynn was accessible to all the information that was turned over by your committee to the state's attorney?

Mr. Pope. I don't think so. I don't think he ~~did~~ was.

Mr. Raker. Why not?

Mr. Pope. I don't think he ever asked for it. Possibly had he gone and requested it, it might have been shown to him.

Mr. Raker. He was one of the committee, the executive committee. Was there any doubt in your mind that if he wanted to go there, he could look over all that had been done?

Mr. Pope. I think that had Mr. McGlynn made application, he possibly could have learned what was being done.

Mr. Raker. In other words, you are not advised but what Mr. McGlynn did get whatever information was furnished to this particular attorney by the members of the Committee of One Hundred, and, in fact, knew everything that was being done? It is reasonable to suppose he did, isn't it?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think Mr. McGlynn did. And knowing him as I did, I don't think it is reasonable to suppose he did.

Mr. Raker. Why not; he was one of the committee seeking evidence--hunting facts?

Mr. Pope. Yes, but he would have no particular object as a member of that committee to find out other testimony that had been turned over to the prosecuting attorney.

Mr. Raker. Why not? You were all interested in securing the evidence to convict the perpetrators.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Baker. And now what leads you to believe that he was not interested in knowing everything that was done?

Mr. Pope. Well, he was interested, but then I don't think he was interested in those details.

Mr. Baker. Why not?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know what interest he could have. I know I never went to Mr. Hamlin and asked for any of the details. I inquired from time to time in a general way as to how he was getting along with the work, and he would tell me, but I was not interested in the details, nor did he ever go into details and tell me.

Mr. Baker. Well, is it for the same reason you have given ~~him~~ that you didn't go that you think Mr. McGlynn didn't go?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is the same reason/^{why}I think Mr. McGlynn didn't go.

Mr. Baker. Well, do you know of any of the members of your committee going to Mr. Hamlin?

Mr. Pope. And asking for information?

Mr. Baker. No; furnishing him information.

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't know whether they went or not.

Mr. Baker. Well, do you know of any of them taking an active part, spending three or four days or a week or two weeks going ^{about and} around East St. Louis inquiring of these various merchants and people on the streets here, to ascertain if they could acknowledge who were the perpetrators?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they didn't do that.

Mr. Baker. None of them?

Mr. Pope. Not to my knowledge.

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Mr. Baker. Why didn't they do it?

Mr. Pope. Because they thought that could be more effectively done---at least I did---by the men employed especially for that purpose.

Mr. Baker. And that was through the Attorney General's office and his assistants?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. So then, it might be safely said that the Committee of One Hundred, except bringing the Attorney General here, counseling with him, as you have said, took no other part in securing the evidence that would lead to the cause of the riot and the punishment of the perpetrators? Would that be a fair statement?

Mr. Pope. Well, substantially.

Mr. Baker. Now, you have lived here many years in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Well, I have lived here a little over twenty years.

Mr. Baker. And you are very familiar with the city, its workings, ^{and} its commercial, its business and its social conditions?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think I am more or less familiar with all those matters you have mentioned in regard to this city.

Mr. Baker. No one was ever arrested for the May riot--- that is, those occurring on May 28 and on May 29?

Mr. Pope. I think not.

Mr. Baker. Your Committee of One Hundred made no investigation of that, so far as you know?

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Mr. Pope. No, sir; it didn't.

Mr. Baker. You had heard that a meeting was held here over in the City Hall on the 28th of May, this year?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. At that meeting inflammatory speeches were made?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. By those who spoke---you have named Jerry J. Kane, Alexander Flammigan, and C. B. Thomas as people who did speak.

Mr. Pope. Well, now I say that that was reported to me.

Mr. Baker. Well, you understood it. You never heard it denied, did you?

Mr. Pope. No; I never heard it denied.

Mr. Baker. You believe it was a fact that inflammatory speeches were made there at that meeting?

Mr. Pope. One, at least.

Mr. Baker. One speech, at least, and that no rioting had occurred before the members---or the people left that meeting?

Mr. Pope. That is my understanding.

Mr. Baker. But as soon as the meeting was adjourned, within an inconceivably short time,---from five to 20 minutes --- rioting did start and negroes were assaulted, beaten, and one was actually knocked down and laid upon the street-car track, with orders to the conductor to drive over him and cut him in two?

Mr. Pope. Well, I didn't know of that.

Mr. Baker. Well, the rioting did commence?

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Mr. Pope. The rioting commenced, but I ~~am~~ didn't know of that.

Mr. Baker. Following this meeting?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now, as an attorney and man of long experience and a man analyzing events and evidence, you draw the conclusion--in fact, almost irresistibly about it--that it was by virtue of what occurred in that meeting that inflamed the people present, and when they got out the rioting started?

Mr. Pope. Yes, and possibly the conditions which led up to the calling of the meeting. I presume the people who attended that meeting had some grievance that they thought--- at least, they thought they had---that they had grievances that they thought should be remedied, and weren't in a very good frame of mind, ~~with~~ and it didn't take much after they assembled there to cause that riot.

Mr. Baker. Well, knowing people as you do, and having many grievances, ~~and~~ if those are all recited to them in a body from one thousand to 1500, those grievances ~~with~~ all recited in a good, clear, strong, appealing way, and then some attorney, or some man who is known in the community to be an attorney, to have been a school teacher, to get up and say, "Boys, while rioting and mobbing is not lawful, nobody is ever convicted by virtue of participating", it would be almost a climax, wouldn't it?

Mr. Pope. I think so.

Mr. Baker. In other words, it is the certainty of punishment or the punishment of crime that deters and prevents it?

Mr. Pope. To a great many people; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Of course, if a man is insane or if he is

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so degraded that he had lost all sense of propriety and decency, he just commits it because he commits it. That is, he has got no repelling force of mind or anything else.

Mr. Pope. Well, some people refrain from committing crime because it is wrong to do it--not wholly from fear of punishment.

Mr. Baker. But then it is generally understood---

Mr. Pope (interposing). A great many others refrain from committing crime through their fear of punishment, and when they think there will be no punishment, they don't hesitate to commit crime.

Mr. Baker. That is what I was trying to get at. You have used the language ~~inasmuch~~ I was trying to convey.

Now, the May riots were somewhat serious?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You had to call in the troops here, and they did come in on the 29th of May?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; the 29th of May.

Mr. Baker. And then ^{the} troops took charge of the situation, and, after they got in full touch with the situation, they sort of prevented any more rioting after the 29th of May?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. Baker. Now, that continued would be very serious?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Baker. To the lives of the innocent as well as to the lives of those who were guilty, or participants?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Life and black the same. There is a law against inciting a riot in this state, isn't there?

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. A punishment for the man who does the actual rioting, who does the physical things. It is an offense to stand by and aid the rioting, isn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And it is also an offense to advise or ~~in~~ encourage rioting?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. In other words, if a man should stand in this hall and he had an audience out there and should tell ~~in~~ them that ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ they couldn't be hurt for rioting if they wanted to, and that they could go and do it and it would be all right--words in substance to that effect---he would be guilty of advising a riot, wouldn't he?

Mr. Pope. Yes; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. Raker. Now, has there been any act, directly or indirectly, taken by the Committee of One Hundred to punish, to apprehend, or ^{to} prosecute the men who spoke there at that meeting that night?

Mr. Pope. I cannot say positively, but I don't think there has. I don't think there has been anything done.

Mr. Raker. No action has been taken against Alexander Flannigan?

Mr. Pope. I think not.

Mr. Raker. And, as an attorney at law, has any action been taken by the attorneys or the Bar Association of East St. Louis, or otherwise, for the purpose of disbarring him for his conduct at that meeting?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

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Mr. Baker. Now, it has been stated, and clearly, by the labor men here, that Alexander Flannigan got in on that meeting uninvited by them; not representing them. He was there without their knowledge or consent. Do you know whether or not they, as an organization, or any of their members, have taken any action to apprehend and prosecute Flannigan for his conduct there that night?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think they have.

Mr. Baker. In other words, the Chamber of Commerce, the Committee of One Hundred, organized labor---or these laboring men who attended according to that notice---none of you have taken a single, solitary move to prosecute the instigator, the inflamer, the fire brand, that started the mob on the 28th of May this year?

Mr. Pope. ^{There has been} Nothing done that I know of toward the prosecution of the party you refer to, Alexander Flannigan.

Mr. Baker. Well, don't you believe that the citizens of East St. Louis, before they can clear themselves and make Congress believe that they were in good faith in sending this resolution to it, that they should assure the country and the world that such occurrences should never occur again, that the instigator of these riots ought to at least be apprehended and prosecuted?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think they ought to.

Mr. Baker. Have you got any reason to give the Committee why these instigators haven't been, ^{at least} at least some proceedings taken against them?

Mr. Pope. Nothing more than there is a lack of prosecution of other crimes and criminals.

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Mr. Baker. Well, are they so influential and have so many friends and business and political relations that the people are afraid to reach out and put the law onto them?

Mr. Pope. I don't think that; no. But it has been a rather hard job under ^{the} conditions existing here to procure convictions.

Mr. Baker. Well, it wouldn't be hard if the members of the legal profession should appeal to the state bar association of Illinois and present affidavits of what this man has done--at least to drive him out of the legal profession--would it?

Mr. Pope. Well, yes, it would be hard.

Mr. Baker. Why, Mr. Pope?

Mr. Pope. Well, it would be a hard fight. We have put up with Alexander Flannigan here in this community for many years, and that is only one very small offense, I would say. He is simply a man that is tolerated.

Mr. Baker. But it seems to me that the great bar association of Illinois would not permit a member of that profession, if the evidence is true as it has been shown to this Committee. ~~What is the evidence?~~ ---as it has been testified that he has done--- that they would permit him to hold the license of an attorney in this state.

Mr. Pope. Now, I don't know how many members of the bar know that.

Mr. Baker. Why that statement has been published broadcast; it has gone over the United States and the world--what Alexander Flannigan said. It has never been denied. It is in the Congressional Record; it is in the publications, and everybody

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here has said that Alexander Flannigan advised that it was all right to use mob violence, and I am going to read what this paper says, just to show you. This is a copy from "The Crisis." You haven't any doubt that everybody knows that he is charged to have done this, have you?

Mr. Pope. Oh, no; there is no doubt but what he is charged to have done it.

Mr. Baker. But then ^{the} question is to catch him, is it?

Mr. Foster. He didn't advise, as the evidence has shown here, that they should riot, did he? He stated that it was bad to riot, but nobody was ever convicted.

Mr. Pope. He might take the position that he was simply stating facts.

Mr. Foster. But he didn't advise ^{a riot}, as I understand from the evidence. ~~that he advised a riot~~ He took rather the negative position.

Mr. Pope. No; while the speech may have meant that, I don't understand that he advised it.

Mr. Foster. Of course, it amounted to an inflammatory speech.

Mr. Pope. Yes; it did that.

Mr. Cooper. To save himself guiltless from any particular offense, he cunningly said enough to incite the rioters without directly advising it.

Mr. Pope. That is my understanding of what took place.

Mr. Cooper. In other words, he addressed a lot of men sufficiently excited already; the facts had all been gone over before he spoke, and then he said, "If rioters do commit riots, there is not any law to convict them", or "they are not

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convicted"---that is, he never knew of any.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I understand that that is what took place.

Mr. Raker. Well, I have got out the facts on that, and it has been shown in the evidence and read here, and I will read it further later.

Now, you had heard^{of} the condition of the saloons in East St. Louis. There were many of them?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Three hundred and some odd saloons?

Mr. Pope. About 350 saloons here.

Mr. Raker. And drunkenness prevailed around these saloons?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; I know that that is a fact.

Mr. Raker. Drunken men were in there; they would fight and shoot and cut each other, and have done it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. It was a rendezvous for thugs, hold-ups, cut-throats and otherwise? ~~summarized saloons were~~

Mr. Pope. Some of the saloons were.

Mr. Raker. Well, that is the way to put it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And these men who would get drunk in the saloons were filthy in their appearance and habits^{and} came out upon the public streets in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Where is a nest of them in one end of town and a bunch of them in the other, these saloons that permitted this kind of---permitted conduct that I have stated?

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Men would come from one end of town down through the main part of the town, through the residential districts, to the other end, whose habits were filthy, whose person was filthy, and drunk, and ^{who were} disorderly on the streets?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would say that you could see that kind of people on the streets. I don't know that they went from one resort in one end of town to a resort in the other.

Mr. Baker. What I meant was that if the resorts were thus located, it would give an opportunity for them to travel back and forwards.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And gambling was permitted and carried on?

Mr. Pope. To what time are you referring?

Mr. Baker. Well, before---yes, I'll get that---within, say, from November, 1916, during some part of 1917.

Mr. Pope. I don't think there was much gambling in the town during that time.

Mr. Baker. Have you a segregated district here for fast women?

Mr. Pope. No, not now. There was a time when such a district existed.

Mr. Baker. Well, wasn't there a sort of a semi-segregated district over here right across from the City Hall?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; the district known as "the valley" on 3rd Street, I think; possibly some over on ~~suzanna~~ 2nd St., but it was along 3rd Street.

Mr. Baker. That was right across the street from the City

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Hall?

Mr. Baker. You have heard of many hold-ups within the last year?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I have heard of them; quite a few. My house was broken into twice or three times.

Mr. Baker. Was there a charge, now, of grafting in existence ~~in~~ with the justices of the peace or police courts?

Mr. Pope. Well, my attention hasn't been called particularly to that. I think there was a little system of petty graft. It may not be exactly graft. Possibly there is some warrant for their charge under the statute; that is, most men giving bond, I believe, are required to put up fifty cents--- that is a proper charge under the statute---but I think arrangements were made that certain justices of the peace got the city cases. Possibly they distributed it around, that is, gave it to one one week and another one another week.

Our justice system is all wrong. It ~~was~~ is founded and based on the fee basis, and with a very few exceptions, the justice wants the costs.

Mr. Baker. Constables are on a fee basis the same?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they are on a fee basis.

Mr. Baker. Is it "constables" you call them here?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. About how many ~~men~~ do you have in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. I should think four; possibly five.

Mr. Baker. What is the policeman's fee, if he arrests a man for doing the same act that a constable would arrest him for, does he get a fee for that too?

Mr. Pope. I don't believe he does. I don't believe he

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does at this time, although if he would serve papers, he would be entitled to a fee; and it is probable that when he serves papers now, they make the charge.

Mr. Baker. In other words, to make the case specific, here is a man found on the corner of 5rd and Collinsville Avenue breaking in the window; a constable arrests him, which he can do without a warrant; takes him to the station, and charges him, and gets a certain fee for that?

Mr. Pope. I don't think so.

Mr. Baker. For the arrest, charging and making ^{an} affidavit against him, doesn't he get a certain fee? He has got the man in his possession.

Mr. Pope. I don't believe there is any fee chargeable for making an arrest of that kind. Where you arrest under a warrant, you get a fee for serving under warrant.

Mr. Baker. Then there is no inducement, so far as a fee is concerned, for arresting a fellow while he is committing an offense, but let him go ahead and commit the offense and then get a warrant and get the fee.

Mr. Pope. There is no pecuniary **inducement**

Mr. Baker. Was there a fellow that made it a business to furnish bonds for these fellows taken to the City Hall?

Mr. Pope. Well, I know of one or two people that did that.

Mr. Baker. How did they get their money out of it?

Mr. Pope. Well, if they got money, it would be through the people who were arrested.

Mr. Baker. Who gave the bond?

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Mr. Pope. And then they might get business or money in some other way from people.

Mr. Baker. In other words, there must have been some monetary consideration flowing between the man arrested and the man that went on the bond, for him to go on the bond?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. But just how they arranged this monetary consideration you are not advised?

Mr. Pope. Oh, no; I don't know how they did that.

Mr. Baker. Was it charged that?

Mr. Pope. But that has not been greatly abused in this town. There wouldn't be much object getting out on bond, because they just turn them out without bond.

Mr. Baker. They make an order that he be turned loose without any bond or any proceeding?

Mr. Pope. Yes; that is where the trouble comes in.

Mr. Baker. That has been charged to exist, and I understood that it has existed to some extent.

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. Quite considerably?

Mr. Pope. I would think so.

Mr. Baker. Now, for instance, certain individual loafers, thugs, cut-throats and vags were arrested, were they given --- was it understood that they were given a more lenient hearing, or want of prosecution or want of affidavits or complaint being filed against them, ^{as} against the ordinary law-abiding citizen? Do I make myself plain?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't believe that that class of people could successfully operate in this town, surely for no great

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length of time, unless they received proper police protection.

Mr. Baker. And they have operated?

Mr. Pope. They have operated.

Mr. Baker. And have succeeded?

Mr. Pope. And have succeeded; and I don't believe they could do it without protection.

Mr. Baker. Now, let me ask you this one, who knows the law here, isn't it a crime under an ordinance, or, if not, under a city ordinance, under some state law, for these chaps to be on the street drunk, dirty, begging and everything else?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; there is, I think, both a state law and a city ordinance that prevents intoxicated people from being in public places and on the streets, or which provides a penalty for them being there; it doesn't prevent them from being there.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will now recess till 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock P.M., the Committee adjourned for recess).

AFTER RECESS.

The Committee reassembled at 2 o'clock P.M., pursuant to recess.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Pope, will you take the stand.

(Mr. Pope resumed the stand).

Mr. Pope.
/ Before I go further with my examination, I would like to clear up one matter that ~~Mr. Baker~~ was inquired of me this morning, and that was in regard to the secrecy of the meetings held by the Committee of One Hundred at the time the newspaper reporters were excluded. My memory was refreshed after I

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left the stand in regard to that matter, and I will state that the only time newspaper reporters were excluded was on one occasion when Mayor Mollan appeared before the committee. He had a short conference with the members of the executive committee just before the meeting of the Committee of One Hundred, and stated---and I might here add that he had been subjected to more or less criticism from time to time--- stated that he would make a statement before the Committee of One Hundred, but that he didn't desire publicity about it and didn't want the newspaper reporters present when he made the statement. We assured him that he would be treated courteously before that committee and not be subjected to criticism. And he and the members of the committee went from the ante-room in the hall where the committee met, and Mr. Boylan was requested---Mr. Boylan was a reporter for the Globe Democrat--- he was requested to leave the hall. As to what explanation was made to him as to why he should leave, I don't know whether the explanations were made or not.

Mr. Johnson. Was he the only newspaper man present?

Mr. Pope. I think that he was.

Mr. Johnson. If any other newspaper men were present, were they also asked to leave?

Mr. Pope. If there were others present, they were asked to leave; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Is this the only instance when any meeting of the Committee of One Hundred was secret?

Mr. Pope. Well, if you call that secret, yes---where the newspaper reporters were excluded. That is the only time that the newspaper reporters were excluded.

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Mr. Johnson. But you are speaking now of the Committee of One Hundred and not of the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. ~~Yes~~ I am speaking of the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Johnson. Not the executive committee?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; not the executive committee, because Mayor Hollman appeared before the whole committee. He was going to make a statement and he requested that it be before the committee and not before the newspaper reporters, and for that reason they were asked to leave the hall.

Mr. Raber. Out of some three hundred or more saloons running in East St. Louis, can you tell the Committee approximately what proportion of those were conducted by colored men?

Mr. Pope. My estimate would only be a guess. I would say from twenty to thirty; maybe a few more.

Mr. Raber. Do you know anything about their condition as to undesirable characters frequenting and being harbored, or making these places their headquarters---these negro saloons?

Mr. Pope. Only in a general way.

Mr. Raber. It was understood that they were making these places their headquarters.

Mr. Pope. Well, I understand that some of the real crooks in this town, that did real crooked work, weren't harbored in the class of saloons that you mention, but saloons that weren't supposed to be of that character.

Mr. Raber. ^{Saloons} Supposed to be doing business under the law.

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but still harbored these characters in and about their places of business?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Does that class of fellows have any known occupation or business, that hang around these saloons?

Mr. Pope. I think not.

Mr. Raker. Why aren't they apprehended as vagabonds?

Mr. Pope. Well, as to why they are not---as to why they have not been in the past, I couldn't say. As I said before, I didn't think that that class of people could operate unless they were receiving protection. I understood and was told that one of the---I think one of the detectives from Chicago pointed out a number of almost national crooks that he recognized; pointed them out to someone on the streets here in East St. Louis after he came here.

Mr. Raker. Has any effort been made to apprehend that class of men?

Mr. Pope. Not that I know of.

Mr. Raker. Well, their presence is bound to breed more crime and actual commission of crime, is it not?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Does Mr. McGlynn live in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he lives in East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. How long has he lived here?

Mr. Pope. He has lived here, to my knowledge, over twenty years.

Mr. Raker. Well, was there anything done on his part in bringing the matters that I have called your attention to to this executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, that

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they should be stopped and suppressed?

Mr. Pope. Was there anything done by him?

Mr. Baker. Yes, as a member of the committee.

Mr. Pope. Nothing more than was done by other members of the committee.

Mr. Baker. Well, did he bring it up in the executive committee---~~Mr. Baker~~ did he say, "Now look here, fellow committee men, this town has been infested with gamblers and hold-up men and prostitutes and loafers. We must rid our community of these men"?

Mr. Pope. Those matters were all talked over by Mr. McClynn and other members of the committee; they were discussed on numerous occasions.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you do anything more than talk about it?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; we did a whole lot more than talk about it. We thought that a properly organized police department here would tend to rid the town of these characters, and we bent our energies toward reorganizing the police department and getting money to pay the members thereof.

Mr. Baker. Well, have you driven out this class of citizenship since July the 3rd?

Mr. Pope. I think that very likely many of them have been driven out, and I am inclined to think that it wouldn't be necessary to drive them out; that they would take the hint and leave when they found that there was a chief of police here who would not stand for law violation.

Mr. Baker. What has been done, now; to make them feel that it is unsafe for them to be present, since July the 3rd?

Mr. Pope. The police department has been reorganized,

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and a good capable man has been placed in charge of that work as chief of police. The details of doing the work, of course, have been left to the police department.

Mr. Raker. But no specific act in apprehending this class of men has been inaugurated, has it?

Mr. Pope. Well, none other than what I have mentioned, the procuring of a new police department.

Mr. Raker. The saloons run just the same, don't they?

Mr. Pope. The saloons are being operated here; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well, these hangers-on hang on around there just the same, don't they?

Mr. Pope. I am not prepared to say that they do just the same. I am inclined to think that they don't. I don't think there are as many of that class of people in this town now as there was before the riot.

Mr. Raker. Well, is it perfectly safe now to go on the streets now, night and day, at all times, without running into these organized bands of pick-pockets and thugs and toughs?

Mr. Pope. I think it is just as safe as it is in any other commercial city.

Mr. Raker. Well, is it considered now, even up to date, perfectly safe for women and girls to come down on the streets at any hour of night, to go where they may want to go from place to place, ^{and to} go from their homes to lodge meetings and social ~~munition~~ gatherings?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know that it is considered perfectly safe. I don't know that many of them do it.

Mr. Raker. My fault was, do it, is it is perfectly safe?

Mr. Pope. I say I don't know that it is perfectly safe. But then we have got bad people here and always will have them here.; have had them here, and it is impossible to change the morals of the community. We can't change the people who are here.

Mr. Baker. I know, but then you can change the conditions such as to make this class of men realize that this isn't the place for any to stop.

Mr. Pope. Yes; we can work along those lines, and we think that we have been doing that. We think we have made a very good start.

Mr. Baker. Is there any feeling existing yet relative to the presence of the colored people here?

Mr. Pope. Yes; there is some feeling, but it has materially changed. For a long time after the riot the feeling was that the riot would start again, and statements were frequently made that as soon as the soldiers left, there would be more negroes killed and more rioting. That feeling has changed, and I don't believe ^{it} exists here, and I think largely on account of the--partially I would say on account of the efforts that were made by the Committee of One Hundred in re-organizing the police force and in the prosecution of those participating in the riot.

Mr. Baker. Has any member of your Committee of One Hundred made it his business to go in and about the negro saloons and see how they conduct their business after sundown, since July 3rd?

Mr. Pope. No member that I know of has done that; no, sir.

Mr. Baker. Have any of the members of your Committee of

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One Hundred gone in and about the saloons, since July 3rd, ~~and~~ ~~what~~ ~~man~~ conducted by white men, to see the way they conduct their business?

Mr. Pope. Not that I know of; no, sir.

Mr. Baker. Has any of your Committee of One Hundred made it his business as a committee man to go about and observe the conditions of the town, as to the people that were here, the men on the streets, fellows drunk on the streets and begging for more money to get whisky, that were very untidy; in fact, dirty in their personal habits, clothes dirty, and personal appearance such that they were really sort of nauseating to the Citizens?

Mr. Pope. No one has done that as a member of the committee. The committee has never undertaken any such work as that.

Mr. Baker. Have any of the members of this Committee of One Hundred investigated the living conditions of the negroes or white people in East St. Louis since July the 3rd?

Mr. Pope. Not as a committee. I understand that some of--well, that matter has been talked of, but not as a committee.

Mr. Baker. Has anything been done by the committee, or the executive committee, relative to the conditions prevalent before the riot of July the 3rd--2nd, as to the conditions at these various large plants, the condition of the working men there?

Mr. Pope. No; the committee hasn't done any work of that kind. It was talked over at the various committee meetings.

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Mr. Baker. Has the committee taken any action or any step to better the condition of the laboring men at the plants, so far as their hours of labor are concerned?

Mr. Pope. Not as a committee; no, sir.

Mr. Baker. Have they done anything relative to bettering the condition as to pay?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. Has the committee made any investigation as to the condition prevalent before July the 2nd of this year existing at the plants, or even since, as to the ^{way} the men were treated who worked at these various large packing institutions?

Mr. Pope. They have not. That was not considered within the scope of the authority or business of the committee.

Mr. Baker. Well, I understood that the committee's function was for the purpose of trying to ascertain the conditions that caused the riot, and to try and remedy all those conditions. Isn't that right?

Mr. Pope. Not wholly; no, sir. We were confronted with a very serious condition here on July 2nd, and it was thought that some quick, definite action should be taken to restore things to conditions as nearly normal as possible, and this committee was formed for that particular purpose.

Mr. Baker. Well, you have taken no action relative to the conditions prevalent in the various justice and municipal courts here, as they existed prior to July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; we have not.

Mr. Baker. All of the officers are still in office that were then in office?

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Mr. Pope. All of the elective officers are.

Mr. Baker. Well, all the appointive officers, then, save and except the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, the Chief of Police, and the City Attorney, aren't they?

Mr. Pope. And the policemen, patrolmen, chief of detectives.

Mr. Baker. How many of the old force of the police are still on the police force at the present time?

Mr. Pope. That I do not know. There are a number that are on; those who were indicted were suspended at once, and there have been others who have been discharged since then.

Mr. Baker. Why were they discharged; for what reason?

Mr. Pope. I don't know the specific reasons, but it was not thought that they were men qualified to be policemen.

Mr. Baker. Did your committee or your executive committee investigate as to where the policemen were on the 2nd of July, and what they were doing?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; the committee didn't go into that, only it was talked about at these various meetings. They talked about the policemen being at different places and doing practically nothing to stop the rioting or apprehend anybody.

Mr. Baker. Did your committee make any investigation as to the causes leading up to the riot of May the 28th and 29th?

Mr. Pope. Only in general talks with the people that we came in contact with.

Mr. Baker. Have you drawn any conclusion from the talk that you did receive as to the cause of that riot?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. State it to the Committee.

Mr. Pope. The industrial troubles here; labor difficulties

Mr. Raker. Growing out of what?

Mr. Pope. Growing out of the conditions here--^{the} labor con-
ditions.

Mr. Raker. What were those labor conditions?

Mr. Pope. Well, there was a condition of unrest all over the country. Labor was scarce and in many instances dissatisfied. They felt that something was to blame for their condition, and the negroes had been coming in here in unusual numbers at that time, and many laid the cause of their trouble to the negroes that came here.

Mr. Raker. Well, what was the particular cause, now, that labor was complaining of that affected their condition?

Mr. Pope. Well, some of the causes were that they felt that the negroes were supplying places here of white men.

Mr. Raker. By what source was that brought about that the negro should come here and take the place of the white man? Did you ascertain that?

Mr. Pope. Well, I ascertained that negroes were leaving the South in large numbers for all northern industrial centers. East St. Louis got its quota; Chicago got its quota, and other towns got their quota.

Mr. Raker. Were you able to learn what caused that exodus of the southern negro to the City of East St. Louis and other northern cities?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. What was it?

Mr. Pope. The scarcity of labor in the manufacturing

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centers.

Mr. Raker. In the South?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; in the North.

Mr. Raker. Well, who was responsible for getting this information to the colored people in the South, and how were they brought up here? Did you ascertain that fact?

Mr. Pope. Some were brought up---there were advertisements in the South made for help, and no doubt the negroes who were here, who had friends and acquaintances in the South, would communicate with them. It was generally known, I think, throughout the South that there was a market for southern laborers in the North. I think that was pretty generally known. Efforts were made down South, so I understood, to keep the negroes there, and efforts were made here to get them up here. I know of one firm that advertised for labor when they needed it.

Mr. Raker. What firm was that?

Mr. Pope. That was the Missouri Malleable Iron Company. I don't know that others did. I have heard that there were agents in the South trying to get men to come here and do work. There is a class of work here in this town that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to get white men to do, and colored help is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Raker. Now, going on to the riot of July the 2nd, have you figured up as to what caused it?

Mr. Pope. Well, ^{not} any more than what I have already explained to you.

Mr. Raker. It would be the same cause; the same reason?

Mr. Pope. It was the industrial situation here.

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Mr. Raker. Well, what has now transpired since July the 3rd to prevent a re-occurrence of what occurred in May and in July of this year?

Mr. Pope. A determination on the part of some here to see that law violations are prosecuted. I think the prosecution of those who participated in the riot has partially caused it. If the negro was the cause of the riot, many of them have left; and if that was the cause, the source of the cause has been partially removed.

Mr. Raker. Well, would it be removed by simply their going across the bridge to St. Louis and then coming back here to work each day? Wouldn't it be just as acute as it was before?

Mr. Pope. Well, it hasn't been. Of course, there have been ~~negroes~~ many negroes who haven't gone to St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. So you really believe that by virtue of the large numbers of negroes who left East St. Louis by July 3rd, that is, to a greater or lesser extent, removed the cause of unrest here, and also made it more certain that a ~~re-occurrence~~ re-occurrence of the riots would not be again.

Mr. Pope. Oh well, I couldn't say that. I say if that was the immediate cause, that there have been a great many negroes left, and they aren't here now. Many of the houses they lived in are still vacant. Many of them were destroyed and haven't been rebuilt.

Mr. Raker. If that was the cause, and the negroes are gone, you have removed the cause, haven't you?

Mr. Pope. If that was the cause, it has been removed in part. There are many negroes here yet. Many of them are

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working here and living over the river. Many of them have gone permanently and are not over here or working here.

Mr. Raker. Well, they are living over the river because they are afraid to live here, aren't they?

Mr. Pope. Some of them are; yes, sir, especially afraid about their families, too.

Mr. Raker. What is your remedy for the prevention of the re-occurrence of these riots, if you have any to suggest?

Mr. Pope. The remedy would not be different for the prevention of crimes of that kind ~~than any other~~ ^{or} than any other kind. It is simply the enforcement of the law. If our law was enforced here, and the people understood that the law was to be enforced, these things would not occur.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you understand that after the riot on July the 2nd, that your state's attorney and justices of the peace turned about a hundred---about 89---of the rioters loose without an examination at all, or a hearing or a trial?

Mr. Pope. Yes; they did that.

Mr. Raker. You have got that same justice of the peace presiding over your court?

Mr. Pope. Well---oh, yes, he is here.

Mr. Raker. You have the same state's attorney presiding over the state's attorney's office?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Do you think they have changed since July the 3rd as to their attitude on these matters?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. They have got a change ^{of} court?

Mr. Pope. I think possibly the present attorney has.

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Mr. Baker. For the better?

Mr. Pope. I think so; yes, sir. I think a change has come over a great many citizens in this town, a change for the better since that riot.

Mr. Baker. But still I find no gathering of citizens or meeting of citizens for the purpose of taking up and discussing the betterment of East St. Louis at all since the riots? Is that right?

Mr. Pope. No gathering of citizens?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Pope. No; you are wrong in that. There has been a movement inaugurated since the riot to change things.

Mr. Baker. Through what source?

Mr. Pope. Through the citizens here in the town.

Mr. Baker. Well, when ~~they~~ did they meet?

Mr. Pope. Well, they have been meeting all along; there is a movement on foot now to change the form of government in the town from the present form to a commission form of government. A great many people think that that will improve conditions; that it will be a better form of government; and if good people can be elected to ~~the~~ office, it will inure to the benefit of the town.

Mr. Baker. What else?

Mr. Pope. That is all that is being done just at this time that I know of---that is, any concerted effort.

Mr. Baker. The Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, I think, are working faithfully in an effort to get a better and larger police force. It is a rather difficult matter to get good policemen.

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Mr. Baker. Well, isn't it practically ineffective, in a way, even if you had a good police force, if you have a court that will not enforce the law properly; ^{that will not} give proper trials after the policemen have done their duty?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is very discouraging to the police officer.

Mr. Baker. Well, doesn't it have a very strong tendency to drive it right back to the old conditions?

Mr. Pope. It does; yes, sir. When you get on to that subject, then you get onto the subject---the fundamental law of jurisprudence. Here in this state, the law provides for justices of the peace being elected. It is nothing but a fee office. You can't get a competent lawyer to accept a position of that kind, because there is very little in it, and a good lawyer doesn't care to hold the position. The practice before a justice of the peace is nothing but small cases, and there aren't many lawyers that care to indulge in that practice.

Mr. Baker. Still, practically all your criminal prosecution starts from the justice's court, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. Well, they can start there.

Mr. Baker. Justice and police court.

Mr. Pope. They can start there, ^{all} and the justice can do would be to hold the man to the Grand Jury and the man---

Mr. Baker (interposing). That is where you start. ~~the man~~ If you can't get the man held, you are in a bad way; and if the justice doesn't hold him, by the time you get around to take it up with another justice some other place, the fellow is gone.

Mr. Pope. Well, if he is a man that wants to get away; yes, sir. One city in the State has got away from the justice

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of the peace, but only one.

Mr. Baker. The aldermen of the city are the men that were supposed to be present at this meeting on May the 28th, weren't they---with the Mayor?

Mr. Pope. I think that they were: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~. I think this was a meeting to confer with the city council, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. Baker. Well, that would be the City Council, wouldn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; the Mayor and the aldermen would be the City Council.

Mr. Baker. Do you know of any active part being taken by any of these aldermen in regard to these various riots?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they didn't even cooperate with the Committee of One Hundred. They seemed to have considerable antagonism against that committee.

Mr. Baker. Just what do you mean by that?

Mr. Pope. Well, they wouldn't work with us, or take any interest in what was going on. We would make certain recommendations that should be done, and the Mayor would say he would have to take it up with his City Council, or his aldermen, and ^{he would} report back that the aldermen wouldn't stand for it. I don't know how he presented matters to them at all.

Mr. Baker. When you intend to convey the idea to the Committee that the aldermen, or City Council, since the riots haven't been in harmony with the Committee of One Hundred in their efforts to better conditions in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think they were, any more than the Mayor was.

Mr. Baker. I think that is all.

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Mr. Cooper. Mr. Pope, how long have you practiced law in this city?

Mr. Pope. A little over twenty years.

Mr. Cooper. You are chairman of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And therefore recognized as one of the leading citizens of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would say I was recognized as a citizen of East St. Louis; I don't claim to be a leading citizen.

Mr. Cooper. Well, they wouldn't have put you in that place if you hadn't been recognized as one of the leading citizens. I will say that because it is perfectly certain that that is true. Did you know that witness after witness has come upon the stand and testified that within the last two years there has been a great influx of negroes, and that some of them came here from the South about a year ago now, when the weather was cold, and that they landed here without a cent of money, with nothing but overalls--some of them with nothing but overalls and a shirt on, and a straw hat; hungry and without a job?

Mr. Pope. I didn't know that there had been some such testimony, but I would not be surprised to know that that is a fact.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, can you conceive of what made these trainloads or carloads of colored people come here at that season of the year, clad in that way, without a penny of money, and with no jobs?

Mr. Pope. Can I conceive of what made them come?

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Mr. Cooper. What induced them to come?

Mr. Pope. Well, they came in that condition, no doubt, on account of their ignorance of the climatic conditions here. That is why they came in that condition, no doubt.

Mr. Cooper. You think the average colored man down South doesn't know that it is colder up North than it is down South, and didn't know about the climatic conditions up here and that winter was coming on?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't think they realized what the conditions are here.

Mr. Cooper. Can you conceive how they came here at that season of the year, clad in that way, ~~numb~~ hungry and with no jobs, ~~and~~ with ~~numbness~~ only money enough when they started from home to bring them here, ^{and} land them off the cars ~~and~~ without a cent of money; with exactly enough to get here and not a cent more? Doesn't that look as if somebody had paid for them to come?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know anything about the facts. It may be so.

Mr. Cooper. Well, but witness after witness has testified to it.

Mr. Pope. Well, I am not saying that it is not a fact. I simply say that I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. Well, assuming that it is a fact, it is a demonstration, isn't it, to a reasoning man who wants to take an impartial view of it, that their care was paid here?

Mr. Pope. Well, that I cannot say.

Mr. Cooper. No, but when it looks---the inference is fair, isn't it? Remember, now, they came that long distance

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clad in that way, and they got off the cars without a cent of money. If they paid the fare themselves, they had exactly enough to land in this city and not be able to go an inch beyond it, nor to buy anything when they got here.

Mr. Pope. Well, I think the majority of the colored people in the South wouldn't have enough to pay their railroad fare up here.

Mr. Cooper. How did they get here, then; ~~they~~ just exactly enough to get here, and no job?

Mr. Pope. If they didn't have it, some one else paid it.

Mr. Cooper. At reduced rates, too?

Mr. Pope. I say if they didn't have the money, it is evident someone else paid the fare.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. Well now, you know that southern employers didn't pay them to come here?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Then the inference is fair that northern employers did.

Mr. Pope. Alright.

Mr. Cooper. Do you doubt it?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't. I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. No; you don't doubt it, but you don't know--- that is a candid admission, and it is in line with the inference that we could draw, and the only inference that we could draw from the testimony, that northern employers did furnish the money to bring those people here.

Mr. Pope. But I have talked with employers of labor in this town, who have stated that they didn't furnish transportation, and I had no reason in the world to doubt their

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word in that respect, and I have never talked with anyone who claimed that they did pay the railroad fare.

Mr. Cooper. Are you as an attorney retained regularly in the employ of any of the plants in this town?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Which one?

Mr. Pope. I have been representing Swift and Co.

Mr. Cooper. Packers at National City? Who else?

Mr. Pope. I represent some railroads.

Mr. Cooper. What railroads.

Mr. Pope. The Chicago and Alton.

Mr. Cooper. Any other?

Mr. Pope. The Toledo, St. Louis and Western; The C. P. & St. L.

Mr. Cooper. Anything else?

Mr. Pope. I have a general practice.

Mr. Cooper. I know you have, of course, a large practice, but ~~mean~~ I mean are you^a regularly retained attorney of any other of the great corporations?

Mr. Pope. No; I am---none other than the railroads. I am district attorney for the Chicago and Alton, having two counties under my jurisdiction in my district.

Mr. Cooper. That includes East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. It includes all of St. Clair County and all of Madison County. I am attorney in Illinois for the Toledo, St. Louis and Western, and receiver therefor, which includes the entire state of Illinois. My employment with Swift and Co. is merely local. Their regular business is transacted in Chicago, and nothing of a general nature is

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ever referred to me.

Mr. Cooper. No, but something of a special nature is, then?

Mr. Pope. Well, I mean questions of policy or anything of that kind.

Mr. Cooper. No, of course not, questions of policy.

Mr. Pope. I then do nothing but some local matters which they might have here that can not be attended to from their main office in Chicago, and that employment is only special. I have been doing the work, but there is---I have no regular retainer with that concern.

Mr. Cooper. But you do their business such as is done in this city?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Any other packing plant?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And any other of the great business establishments of this town, or plants, that you do business for regularly as their attorney?

Mr. Pope. Well, I represent the Illinois Zinc Company, formerly the Cranby Smelting Co. They have a plant outside of East St. Louis in a little village known as Fairmont City. They pay me a regular salary.

Mr. Cooper. Any other plants?

Mr. Pope. Well, I have done business for other plants.

Mr. Cooper. What others?

Mr. Pope. The Obear-Necker Glass Company. I am stockholder and director in that plant, and I attend to what legal work it has in Illinois.

I have done some work for the Commercial Acid Company.

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I don't recall any other large ~~company~~ plants.

Mr. Cooper. Have you done any business for the liquor interests?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. For any other of the large plants at National City or any ~~others~~ other in the outlying suburbs of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. I beg your pardon; I didn't understand the question.

Mr. Cooper. Any of these other plants?

Mr. Pope. That I represent?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I think I have named them all.

Mr. Cooper. You are not an attorney for any other of the packing plants than Swift and Co.?

Mr. Pope. No, sir. I would like to be, but am not.

Mr. Cooper. Perhaps it is their oversight.

Mr. Pope. No, it is rather probably good judgment on their part.

Mr. Cooper. Well, then you say in reply to Judge Rabin's question that it wasn't a part of the function or duty or business of the Committee of One Hundred to investigate the conditions of labor here in the City?

Mr. Pope. I say that that was not the object for which the committee was formed, as I understood it.

Mr. Cooper. Well, has it ever been the object of any committee of prominent citizens in this city to investigate and know about the conditions under which white labor and black labor lived---did not live---existed/in this city?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know who you would include in the prominent citizens. I think the labor people have been largely left to themselves to fight out their own salvation.

Mr. Cooper. Now, a witness went on the stand and said, in the winter, here---I think it was last winter---right in these busy times, in the house of a white workman employed in one of the big plants---he saw them at dinner---some children in the family---cold weather---and they had for dinner this, and this only: bread and molasses and black coffee.

Mr. Pope. No doubt there has been a number of cases of destitution in this city in the past winter.

Mr. Cooper. But that was a man that was employed in one of the big plants, and this witness said that the wages were so small, that the reason for that, in his judgment, was the wages were so small, the cost of living so high, that they couldn't live in any other way. Do you know how general that a petition obtained among the employes of this city---that is, the men doing the common labor, the common laborers white and black? You don't think that was an isolated case, a single case, do you?

Mr. Pope. Well, I won't say that was the general case. I don't know of any laborer but what could buy more than that from the receivers.

Mr. Cooper. Well, suppose he pays \$15.00 a month, and on the average these witnesses testified---one of them, at least---that they can live on \$300 a year---the way they are shifted about from this to that, etc.; a man with a family, with the necessities of life at the prices they were last winter---and apparently are today, and are going to be

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hereafter for a time---clothing some children; trying to protect them from the cold; suffering in a climate like this during the winter months; clothe himself---he won't have very much left if he earns less than \$500.00 a year, will he?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; he will not.

Mr. Cooper. In other words, ~~min~~ white labor and ~~min~~ black labor have been allowed to go on right in this city without the slightest attention being paid by the great employing interests as to how the white laborer was housed, or how the black laborer was housed?

Mr. Pope. I wouldn't say that. I don't think that is true.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you say you don't know of any investigation?

Mr. Pope. Yes; but I didn't say that there was nothing being done by the employers of labor to better conditions. I think that something is being done.

Mr. Cooper. Is being done--but I mean prior to the riots?

Mr. Pope. Oh, I think things were done prior to that time; yes, prior to that time. I think a great deal has been done.

Mr. Cooper. Did you ever visit one of the working men's houses in this city?

Mr. Pope. Oh, I have been in lots of working men's houses; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How recently?

Mr. Pope. Probably a month ago.

Mr. Cooper. I mean before the riot.

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't recall just when I was in one, prior to the riot.

Mr. Cooper. You spoke of the courts, the justice of the peace courts. You said that they lived all upon fees and had no salaries here.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And for that reason, among others, you thought no good lawyer would want to accept a position as a justice of the peace here?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And you said also---these were your words--- that the cases before justices of the peace were usually small cases; the fact, however, that the preliminaries in murder cases are often before justices of the peace.

Mr. Pope. Well, when I referred ^{to} the small cases, I had reference to simple cases, and what cases you call murder cases are simply the preliminary hearings.

Mr. Cooper. But they are often of the utmost importance.

Mr. Pope. At times they are; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And in other criminal cases they are of the utmost importance, especially where the man arrested is innocent.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. If a crooked officer or a crooked court has before it an innocent man who hasn't money to pay a fine or anything else, is in a bad way, isn't he, even though ~~it~~ it might not mean more than five or ten dollars?

Mr. Pope. Yes; if he is not in a position to protect himself; appeal his case, provide an appeal bond, and have his case tried.

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Mr. Cooper. But no man ought to be compelled to file an appeal bond and go to an upper court, and if he is innocent and ^{the} honest justice of the peace and honest officer are after him, he will be discharged in a lower court without going to the expense of an appeal.

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. We have been told by witnesses here---and your answer reminds me of it---that it has got to be so bad in this town that people that were taken---some of them were cases before ^a justice of the peace---paid no attention to it; but just let the justice enter up any judgment; he appealed knowing they would file a bond, and take it to the circuit court at Belleville.

Mr. Pope. That is largely my practice.

Mr. Cooper. That is largely your practice?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, suppose if possible that these cases are of that importance---criminal cases?

Mr. Pope. What I referred to was simple cases.

Mr. Cooper. But part of their jurisdiction is criminal?

Mr. Pope. I know, but he said when it was my practice to ignore decisions. The justice of the peace ^{cases} had refer to simple cases.

Mr. Cooper. But the fact that the jurisdiction is criminal absolutely in certain cases shows the importance of having in the office of justice of ^{the} peace a man of personal honor, ability, industry, with the ability to see both sides, and to discharge his duty fearlessly at all times, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. We would like very much to have that kind of

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men not only in those offices, but other offices in this town.

Mr. Cooper. But I am confining myself to what you said about the justices of the peace. Now you said they were small cases?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; ~~your~~ the jurisdiction is limited now to \$500.00.

Mr. Cooper. That is usually the case of a poor man, isn't it, then, or poor women?

Mr. Pope. Well, the others can go into a justice court if their claim or demand doesn't exceed \$500.00.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; but if anybody should sue your corporation; any one of those great corporations you represent--- and very ably I am sure---

Mr. Pope. Thank you.

Mr. Cooper. Your corporation would not care a snap the finger; they would take it right to the circuit court, wouldn't they?

Mr. Pope. Well, they would if they thought there was no merit in the plaintiff's cause. If there was merit to the cause, an honest effort would be made to settle it before suit, and settle it in the justice court. If there was no merit to the claim, we would not bother about a trial in the justice court.

Mr. Cooper. I don't quite get that. Will you please say that once more?

Mr. Pope. I say, if there was merit to the claim, and honest effort would be made to settle it; if just it. If any of your clients owe any money---my advice is to them, to pay it. There is no disposition on the part of the people I

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represent to withhold the payment of money from those to whom they owe it. If there are claims brought against those people, that have no merit in them, in many instances the suit before the justice of ^{the} peace is ignored, and within twenty days the case is appealed.

Mr. Baker. May I ask ^{a question} /right there: Do you mean in addition you wouldn't try to thrash out the merits before the justice?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. On any case?

Mr. Pope. Well, that is the rule. Sometimes the case will be tried before a justice, but not often. We don't care to either go there or send anyone there representing us and thrash around and have a jury called, at least half a day trying a case there, when I know beforehand how it will be decided.

Mr. Cooper. That is what I was trying to bring out.

Mr. Pope. When you say "small cases" they are not of special importance so far as the corporations are concerned, or the individual. ^{*Mr. Cooper.} The private individual who has a bundle of money, but these small cases sometimes involve the property rights of poor people?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. And the mere fact that they are small cases doesn't lessen the importance of having honest, competent, able, unflinching men to preside over those courts?

Mr. Pope. Most assuredly not.

Mr. Cooper. Isn't that one of the first things that you ought to maintain secure in this town if you ever expect to

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have a community that is really fit for people to make their home, to have lower courts where the humblest suitor will get speedy justice?

Mr. Pope. That certainly would be a grand thing if we could have it.

Mr. Cooper. One of the grandest things?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, when the poor man knows that you have that kind of a court for his small cases, and that he has to go before a court notoriously corrupt, what do you suppose the attitude of the average poor man in this community is toward those courts? What does he feel or think about it?

Mr. Pope. Well, it doesn't affect him so much. They are the ones that always get judgment, as ^{the} case is decided in their favor in the lower courts, where the corporations are concerned.

Mr. Cooper. ^{I am} /not talking about the corporations. Very frequently a man can be arrested for no reason, and I was told of a most remarkable case this noon

Mr. Pope. You have in mind the criminal. Then matters are entirely different. I had in mind the civil matters. When a corporation is sued in one of those courts, my experience has been that in a great majority of cases, the judgment will be rendered by the justice against the corporation.

Mr. Cooper. Suppose ~~any man~~ there is some poor man sued by a close personal friend of one of these Justices of the Peace in a matter involving the replevin of property--seeking to replevin property---

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and he goes before one of these crooked justices, what chance has the man whose property has been taken on a replevin writ?

Mr. Pope. Well, if his friend is on the other side, in some instances he wouldn't have much of a chance. There are some justices of the peace in this town who aren't as bad as the picture you paint.

Mr. Cooper. There are some, I know, undoubtedly, but there are some just as bad as the picture I have painted, aren't there?

Mr. Pope. I think some---we have at least had some that bad.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, that general impression among the working people that the courts are so constituted in this community makes them lose all respect---or tends to make them lose all respect for law, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is true. There are some people that are turned loose that should be held.

Mr. Cooper. Now can anything be worse for a community than for such an impression of ^{the} courts to grow up in it?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; there are other things that could be worse than that.

Mr. Cooper. Isn't the administration of justice---don't you, as a lawyer, think that the administration of justice, the keeping of it, ^{as} pure as our declaration says, is of paramount importance?

Mr. Pope. I think that; yes; but then I don't think that the justices of the peace courts are the ones that administer

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the criminal law, only incidentally.

Mr. Cooper. No, but if the people of a community get the impression which obtains through this community, as the witnesses have said, that you have had corrupt courts here for years, and corrupt officers in attendance upon those courts, there must have arisen through the rank and file of the community a feeling that there is no such thing as justice and law. Isn't that so?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think that is true.

Mr. Cooper. And where that sort of a feeling has grown up in a community, it isn't to be wondered at that there was a riot, is it?

Mr. Pope. Well, I say the non-enforcement of the law is one of the things that makes it possible for conditions to exist which will bring on riots, ^{and} disturbances of that kind.

Mr. Cooper. Would it be your suggestion, as a practicing lawyer, that the justices of the peace should be given salaries sufficient to insure the selection of men worthy to administer justice?

Mr. Pope. Well, either that or abolish the justice courts altogether.

Mr. Cooper. Well, what would you substitute for that?

Mr. Pope. I would substitute courts similar to the courts that have been procured in the City of Chicago known as municipal courts. They have jurisdiction up to \$1000, or \$2000---something of that kind. The judges are good men and are elected by the people, and they are paid a salary.

Mr. Cooper. In any city, they have municipal court

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and they have justices also, but they have a municipal court that has jurisdiction, I think, of \$2500---possibly over \$2000---and it also has criminal jurisdiction in certain offenses.

Mr. Pope. I think something of that kind would be the solution for the petty court problem.

Mr. Cooper. Well, would you have the judge of that municipal court, or municipal courts if more than one, with a salary?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. The fee system is all wrong.

Mr. Cooper. The fee system offers a direct temptation to a corrupt man, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. It does.

Mr. Cooper. Of course, it won't lead an honest man to do a ^{dis}honest thing, but it is a constant temptation to a corrupt man.

Mr. Pope. It is; and they take advantage of it.

Mr. Cooper. I think that is all.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Pope, it has been testified that there was a meeting held out at the Aluminum works sometime ago, within the last year, in which the matter of labor was discussed, etc. ~~Will~~. Were you at that meeting?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. Foster. So that you knew nothing about that?

Mr. Pope. I do not.

Mr. Foster. I wanted to ask you if you know whether the police force, when appointed by the police commissioners, then goes under the direction of the Mayor, or are they subject to the Chief of Police?

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Mr. Pope. At the present time, they are ^{not} under the direction of the Mayor, but subject to the Chief of Police.

Mr. Foster. What is the law?

Mr. Pope. That is the law.

Mr. Foster. ~~Am~~ So that they are not subject to the orders of the Mayor at any time?

Mr. Pope. That is correct.

Mr. Foster. But are subject to the direction of the Chief of Police?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. During this riot--you were ~~here~~ here that day and were here afterwards, and were here before-- what efforts have you observed on the part of the sheriff of the county to enforce the law as to gambling or other violations, and what did he do on that day of the riot, July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. I understood that the sheriff did nothing on that day, and I know of no activities on his part or that of his deputy to correct any abuses existing since the riot.

Mr. Foster. The sheriff maintains an office in this city?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; he has an office in the City Hall, with a few deputies who have certain work to do.

Mr. Foster. He had, under the law, the right to summon a posse as large as he desired?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. To take business men, lawyers, doctors and others?

Mr. Pope. Under the law, any able-bodied citizen that

he called upon ~~him~~ was bound, under the law, to respond to his call and assist in his work.

Mr. Foster. Yet he did nothing?

Mr. Pope. He did not.

Mr. Foster. To maintain order or to suppress the riot of that day?

Mr. Pope. He did not, so far as I know.

Mr. Foster. Did you see those deputy sheriffs that day?

Mr. Pope. I did not.

Mr. Foster. You said that the sheriff of Madison County, the new sheriff, who was elected last fall, had driven the gamblers out of that county, to some extent at least?

Mr. Pope. No; I said the state's attorney ^{did} not the sheriff.

Mr. Foster. The state's attorney---I believe you are right.

Mr. Pope. Gambling had existed in Madison County extensively under the term immediately preceding this term, and that was a question that was discussed during the campaign, and Mr. Struble, who was formerly judge of the Probate Court, was elected there, and it was generally understood that he would inaugurate a campaign to stop gambling in Madison County, and he has been rather successful along those lines.

Mr. Foster. And among other gambling devices, he drove out the cock-fighting gang?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And they established themselves in St. Clair County?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I understand they had a place out

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on the Bluff somewhere. I don't know just where it was.

Mr. Foster. That is the county in which East St. Louis is located?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. But outside of the East St. Louis, outside of the city? Now, that would then become the duty of the county officials to enforce the law, so far as that matter was concerned?

Mr. Pope. It was, and I think after the newspapers wrote various articles in regard to it, and the Attorney General, the correspondent of the state's attorney---possibly some other work was done---I think then it was stopped.

Mr. Foster. Was anything done until the Attorney General directed that that be suppressed?

Mr. Pope. I think not.

Mr. Foster. You think he was the first who came here and saw the situation and said that this sort of gambling and violation of the law must be suppressed?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. The newspapers exposed that particular instance of law breaking, and it was called to the attention of the Attorney General, and he, I think, wrote to the State's Attorney about it, and his replies were not so wholly satisfactory that he got from the state's attorney, and he I think he sent men here to investigate the conditions, and then some of them were corrected.

Mr. Foster. So it was suppressed?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So far as you know, ^{it} doesn't exist now?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

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Mr. Foster. These commissioners of police, fire and police; they are all residents of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Now, these men who were proposed or suggested to the Mayor and City Council as proper persons to appoint on this commission, do you know the reasons given why they wouldn't be appointed? Say, for instance, Mr. McLean---do you know any reason ~~ing~~ they gave why they wouldn't appoint him?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't. Nat McLean was looked upon as a good citizen of this town, and one who had the welfare of the city at heart.

Mr. Foster. You never heard any reason given?

Mr. Pope. Well, I won't say that there was no excuse or reason ~~not~~ given, because I know in some instances they said they were possibly politicians or had been active with the party opposing the Mayor at the last election---something of that kind. Some excuses were given.

Mr. Foster. Was that all the excuse that was given?

Mr. Pope. Well, it was said at times that such people were political enemies.

Mr. Foster. No other reason but political?

Mr. Pope. That is all.

Mr. Foster. You never heard any suggestion in reference to the renting of property, and so on, to those who were undesirable?

Mr. Pope. Not from the Mayor, I don't think.

Mr. Foster. No; not from members of the City Council?

Mr. Pope. I think someone had it in for Nat McLean.

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because he was agent for some house that was rented to a colored person.

Mr. Foster. What is that?

Mr. Pope. I heard a complaint about Nat McLean, who was agent for some piece of property that was rented to colored people.

Mr. Foster. Where?

Mr. Pope. I don't know where that property was.

Mr. Foster. In a white neighborhood?

Mr. Pope. From the talk I am inclined to think it was, but I don't know just where it was.

Mr. Foster. That he had rented property in a white neighborhood to some negro family?

Mr. Pope. As an agent of the owner; yes. I heard that complaint about Nat McLean.

Mr. Foster. So they felt that Mr. Nat McLean would not be a satisfactory police commissioner?

Mr. Pope. I don't say the Mayor gave that as an excuse, ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~matter~~ nor the aldermen. I don't say that.

Mr. Foster. But you heard that was one of the excuses why they didn't want to appoint him?

Mr. Pope. No; I didn't hear it directly.

Mr. Foster. But you heard it out---

Mr. Pope. But I heard other people talking about McLean in that respect. That is the only thing that I heard McLean charged with during the activities of the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Foster. Mr. Thrasher, you say, is dead?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I'll not say anything about him. What was the objection to Mr. Maurice V. Joyce?

Mr. Pope. A political enemy.

Mr. Foster. Is that all?

Mr. Pope. That is all that I heard.

Mr. Foster. You never heard anything more than that?

Mr. Pope. No; I didn't.

Mr. Foster. You never heard it talked about anything at all?

Mr. Pope. Oh, I have heard all of the talk about Maurice Joyce.

Mr. Foster. I mean in reference to this. I am not talking about anything else.

Mr. Pope. Well, I think that the only objection to Mr. Joyce was on a political ground.

Mr. Foster. You think there was nothing else?

Mr. Pope. There may have been, but I don't recall anything else at this time.

Mr. Foster. Now take Mr. Theodore Sollinger---did he live in the city at the time he was suggested?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. He lived inside the city limits?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. What was the objection to him that you heard at the time?

Mr. Pope. I never heard any.

Mr. Foster. That is, I mean from the Mayor or the Council?

Mr. Pope. I didn't hear any from him or anyone else.

Mr. Foster. So that you know no more why he would be

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objectionable to anybody?

Mr. Pope. I don't know any reason why any of these men would be objectionable.

Mr. Foster. Well, of course, but did you hear anything why Mr. Bollinger was objected to?

Mr. Pope. Why, no, sir.

Mr. Foster. Did you hear it claimed at that time he was not a resident of the city?

Mr. Pope. I did not.

Mr. Foster. Dr. Reed, you say there was no objection to him, and that the Mayor didn't object or the City Council, and your committee proposed him?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; our committee proposed him.

Mr. Foster. He lives inside the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir, but his place of business is outside.

Mr. Foster. Did you hear any reason why Reverend Allison was not satisfactory?

Mr. Pope. Well, I am not certain. It seems to me that a remark was passed that they had enough of the "damned" preachers.

Mr. Foster. That ~~what~~ was a reason given by the---
(interposing)

Mr. Pope. I don't know just who it was.

Mr. Foster. By the Mayor and City Council?

Mr. Pope. I don't know just who it was that made that remark, but that is the way it came to the committee.

Mr. Foster. Well, who was it that had enough of the preachers?

Mr. Pope. Well, when they said that they referred to the administration.

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Mr. Foster. That is, the administration had had enough?

Mr. Pope. That is the way it came to me.

Mr. Foster. The city administration?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So they didn't want Reverend Allison?

Mr. Pope. They did not.

Mr. Foster. It would have been a good thing to have a had a little more religion in the City of East St. Louis, wouldn't it?

Mr. Pope. Well, the committee thought Reverend Allison would make a good fire and police commissioner.

Mr. Cooper. The Doctor said a "little more" religion in the city administration---had there been any? (laughter).

Mr. Foster. Well, a little might have done a good deal of good. I supposed they had some. I wouldn't want to reflect on the ministers who had been ministering here for sometime.

Mr. Cooper. No---I didn't say in the city; I said in the city administration.

Mr. Foster. That is probably so.

Now, what about Mr. Craft?

Mr. Pope. Well, the Mayor made a specific objection to Mr. Craft. Craft was on the school board, and he claimed that a friend of the Mayor wanted on one time to sell a piece of property to the school board, ^{and} that the board thought the price was too high, and there was some controversy over that. The Mayor wouldn't go into the merits of the controversy at the time; he had his own ideas about it and just said that he wouldn't ~~any~~ entertain the appointment of Mr. Craft. Craft was on the board and ~~at~~ some words, or had that sale matter

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up with a friend of the Mayor's.

Mr. Foster. That Craft wanted to sell property to the school board?

Mr. Pope. No; it was another party that wanted to sell property to the school board. Craft was president of the school board at the time.

Mr. Foster. Who was that other party, do you know?

Mr. Pope. That was Mr. Farlton---L. G. Farlton.

Mr. Foster. And they wouldn't buy it or did buy it?

Mr. Pope. The matter came up to vote and the vote was close, I believe.

Mr. Foster. Where was that located?

Mr. Pope. Anyway, it was a controversy growing out of this matter that the Mayor objected to Mr. Craft about.

Mr. Foster. Where was that property located?

Mr. Pope. I don't know.

Mr. Foster. You don't know what part of the City?

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

Mr. Foster. Now, of all these people that I have mentioned and gone over here, these six names, these were the only reasons, that you ^{have} mentioned here, why any of these were not satisfactory as police commissioners to the Mayor and City Council?

Mr. Pope. As to why they weren't satisfactory to the Mayor and City Council?

Mr. Foster. Yes. You have mentioned Mr. McLean because he sold or rented some property, as agent, in a white neighborhood to colored people. Now Mr. Thrasher, of course, I don't desire to question about him.

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Mr. Pope. Well, I can say that there was no specific objection ever made about Mr. Thrasher.

Mr. Foster. I don't want to say anything about that. Mr. Thrasher is not living. But none of these others: Mr. Joyce, Mr. Sellinger, Dr. Reed, and Reverend Allison, except as you stated, and Fred J. Craft. How that is all you know of?

Mr. Pope. Was those are the only objections that I can now recall that were made to any of those men--that is, that were brought to my knowledge, and I was rather active in the matter. I was very much interested in getting ^{the} new board. And I will say that a great number of other men were discussed in the committee---in the executive committee---but those are the names that were submitted.

Mr. Foster. Now, on that board you proposed, or suggested, the real estate men, the attorneys, the business men, the ministers, and so on. Who on that board represents any laboring man, on that suggestion?

Mr. Pope. In what way do you mean represent them?

Mr. Foster. I mean ^{is there} anybody on there? You have got other business represented.

Mr. Pope. I think the minister and the lawyer would represent ^{the} laboring men as much as they would any other class of people.

Mr. Foster. I know, but you had the lawyers and you---

Mr. Pope (interposing). The lawyer was not put on there for the purpose of representing the lawyers.

Mr. Foster. ~~Indeed; indeed~~ I don't mean that. I don't mean representing anybody, but I mean there is nothing nobody of that class, is there, on there? I don't mean they would

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represent any particular interests.

Mr. Pope. ^{There is} /no one of that class in the list ~~was~~ that was submitted.

Mr. Foster. You stated these men were turned loose the night of the riot, or the next morning? Who turned them loose, or who ordered them turned loose?

Mr. Pope. Well my information ^{that it was} was /the city attorney or assistant state's attorney.

Mr. Foster. Well, they weren't city prisoners, were they, or were they?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know. I am inclined to think that complaints hadn't been filed against a great many of them. The complaint filed would determine as to whether or not they were city prisoners or state prisoners. And I think many of them had no complaint made against them. Many were possibly turned loose without complaint having been made.

Mr. Foster. Who was city attorney?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Thomas H. Fekete.

Mr. Foster. ^{Did} you say he was city attorney or ^{states attorney} the assistant ^{here?}

Mr. Pope. I say city attorney or assistant state's attorney.

Mr. Foster. Who was assistant state's attorney?

Mr. Pope. Mr. Wolcott; and they also had a colored assistant state's attorney at that time.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know anything about why there ~~was~~ were no trials of the men charged with embezzling \$150,000 in the office of the city treasurer, and then burning up the books?

Mr. Pope. There was a trial of that party.

Mr. Cooper. What was done?

Mr. Pope. He was convicted in the City Court of East

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St. Louis, and the case was reversed in the supreme court of the state. Since that time there has been nothing done, and I understand that it is not the intention to do anything further. At least, nothing is being done that I know of.

Mr. Cooper. The Committee has been told that the books of that office were burned and the hinges of the books were found, some of them. They were brass or other metal. About how long ago was that?

Mr. Pope. Well, that was during the time, or right after the time, that Fred Gerald was city treasurer.

Mr. Cooper. About how many years?

Mr. Pope. Well, Mr. Hollman has been mayor about three ~~sun~~ years since that time. That was about three years ago, I should say.

Mr. Cooper. More than that, isn't it? I have been told it was five or six years.

Mr. Pope. No, I think he was treasurer under Mayor Lambert.

Mr. Cooper. On what point was that case reversed, do you know, as a lawyer?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; it was reversed---one of the grounds, and I think the main ground--for the reason that there was evidence tending to show that the attorney for the state had been the attorney for Gerald previous thereto, and Gerald claimed that he had consulted this attorney about this matter, although the lawyer denied that, and that was, I think, the main ground upon which the case was reversed.

Mr. Cooper. It was rather of a technical reversal, on technical grounds?

Mr. Pope. Well, I would hardly call it a technicality

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if the court really thought that the defendant was prejudiced by reason of the personnel of the prosecuting attorney. I think it would be proper to reverse it.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, then the prosecuting attorney in that case had been consulted, the supreme court found, by the defendant?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; the prosecuting attorney---that is, the one that assisted--Mr. Charles Webb was state's attorney, and he had a brother in this town by the name of Tom Webb, and Tom Webb assisted Charlie in the prosecution of this case. And before the case, it was claimed that Gerald, the city treasurer, had been a client of Tom Webber, which, I think, was true.

Mr. Cooper. So this lawyer got the facts ~~month~~ while he was consulting a man, and then went on the other side of the case and prosecuted?

Mr. Pope. Well, he said he didn't.

Mr. Cooper. But it was claimed by the defendant that he did?

Mr. Pope. The defendant claimed that.

Mr. Cooper. And the supreme court found that to be true, did they?

Mr. Pope. Well, they found that the case should be reversed on account of there being evidence in the case to that effect.

Mr. Cooper. That would prejudice the case of the defendant. Now then, suppose a man is interested in looking up the facts for the prosecution of offenders, and then takes the defense of the offenders who have been arrested as a result

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of these investigations. That prejudices the case of the state, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. Well, it might, and it might not.

Mr. Cooper. Well, but you said that the other case, on the same theory, ~~was~~ which you explained in that decision---you said that it might prejudice the case of the defendant.

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. And it might just reverse the facts--- and it might prejudice the case of the state. Isn't that so?

Mr. Pope. Yes; it might.

Mr. Cooper. Well then, do you think that a lawyer who is associated with in an investigation which results in the arrest and indictment of offenders, ought to be associated, after they had been indicted, in the conduct of their defense?

Mr. Pope. Well---

Mr. Cooper. You declined, I understand?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I want to.

Mr. Cooper. But do you think---I am not putting this to my concrete case; I am speaking to you as a matter of professional ethics.

Mr. Pope. If he knows the details and the facts that have been procured by the prosecution, and has been instrumental in procuring those for the prosecution, I don't think it would be ethical for him to represent the defendants.

Mr. Cooper. If he has been taken into their confidence, if there has been a confidential relationship with them, that is another matter, but you can't prove specifically that he has

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ascertained any detail of fact, isn't it, as a matter of professional ethics, at least?

Mr. Pope. Well, I say that no lawyer should represent both sides of the case.

Mr. Cooper. You declined to go on the defense or be associated with the defense?

Mr. Pope. In some of these riot cases, I have.

Mr. Cooper. Did you think that you couldn't consistently do that inasmuch as you were a member of the Committee of One Hundred, or a member of the executive committee, whose primary function it was to investigate the facts, or have investigated by others the facts, of this riot?

Mr. Pope. What was that?

Mr. Cooper. Did you think that you ought not to undertake the defense of anyone indicted because you were a member of the Committee of One Hundred or of the executive committee, whose primary function it was to investigate the facts which led up to these arrests and indictments?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I felt that way.

Mr. Cooper. And you hadn't ascertained any special facts about these people, had you?

Mr. Pope. Not through the office of the prosecution at all.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, without your having ascertained a fact definitely, you say, but simply because of your relation to the community as a member of the Committee of One Hundred, and of the executive committee, your conception of professional ethics, as a lawyer, wouldn't permit you to associate yourself in the defense?

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Mr. Pope. Well, I would say that after I had been instrumental in assisting the work of the prosecution and procuring it to be done, I didn't think it would be consistent for me to take employment by any of these defendants.

Mr. Cooper. But you were assisting in getting the evidence; all you had done, you said in reply to Judge Baker, as a member of that committee, you had a detective agency put on the job, or these officers, changed the police force, etc., but you hadn't ascertained the facts nor looked up anything at all which gave you knowledge of any detail of the facts to prove the complicity of any of these men who had been indicted?

Mr. Pope. I had received no information of that kind through anyone connected with the prosecution.

Mr. Cooper. In other words, you think that a lawyer who is a minister---and he is a minister of justice---and in the proper conception of the word lawyer, occupies ~~ministry~~ ^{of the} one/ most dignified and important positions in the community,--- he is an officer of the court---ought to keep himself absolutely free in every way from even so much as the slightest suspicion?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think that is true.

Mr. Cooper. ~~Further~~ It ought not to be required of the community that the man who has occupied those relations has acquired any knowledge of the facts; they can't tell what he has acquired and has not acquired, can they?

Mr. Pope. No, the community, of course, doesn't know, and they might put a wrong construction on it.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. Therefore, they will doubt---

whether justly or unjustly. I am not saying---but the natural result of that situation is to arouse doubt, a suspicion, in the minds of the community always, isn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is true, if a lawyer gets on ~~either~~ both sides of the case.

Mr. Foss. I want to just ask one question. Do you believe there exists today, on the part of the citizenship of East St. Louis, a strong, virile and determined public sentiment to see to it that law and order is enforced here, and to back up the officers of the law in the enforcement of the same?

Mr. Pope. From a certain class of citizens here, I think that exists.

Mr. Foss. ^{Do} you believe that exists on the part of the majority of the citizens?

Mr. Pope. I wouldn't say that, because after that riot it seemed to me that possibly a majority of the people had ill feeling against the negroes, and felt that what was done it was alright to do it.

Mr. Foss. Do you think that exists today, a feeling of that sort?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think it exists to anything like the degree that it did, because they were open in their assertions at that time, saying---many of them remarked, "Well, the nigger got what was coming to him. He got what was right".

Mr. Foss. Well, where did expressions of that character come from?

Mr. Pope. Well, it came from people that I was surprised at. I don't recall any particular instance, but I heard of

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one instance, that Mr. McGlynn related to me when his daughter was in the millinery store. I think he had requested her to make inquiries to see what she could find out as to what the feeling was of the people that came in ^{to} that millinery store.

Mr. Johnson. Before or after the riot?

Mr. Pope. Right after the riot. And the subject would be brought up. She reported that practically all they talked about, that came in that millinery store, was sympathy with the rioters.

Mr. Johnson. And those who came in were women?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir. That is simply an illustration.

Mr. Foster. You have lived here a good many years?

Mr. Pope. A little over twenty.

Mr. Foster. And are pretty well acquainted?

Mr. Pope. Fairly well; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. You ^{have} seen the growth of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. People coming and going?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And know a good many people?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Is it your opinion that there are more good people, law-abiding people, in East St. Louis, than there are those that are not law-abiding?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think there are more law-abiding people in East St. Louis than that are not law-abiding.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you believe that is the case in nine-tenths of the communities, or 999 out of a thousand, throughout the United States?

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think that is true.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you believe that if the proper public sentiment is aroused in East St. Louis, that the majority of the people here who are in your judgment good people, could control this situation in the future?

Mr. Pope. I don't think there is any question about it.

Mr. Foster. Well, is it the intention of your Committee of One Hundred to continue its efforts along that line, or do you consider your work over now?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't think it is. The committee adjourned, as you know, ^{subject} to call, and I don't know that it will be required to meet any more. As a member of the committee, I feel that we have accomplished the purpose and object for which we were formed.

Mr. Foster. You do? Well, do you think that one hundred citizens who have banded themselves together for the enforcement of the law, which, according to your own admission, the majority of ^{the} people at that time probably didn't look on it in a serious light when this riot occurred, that now, after this length of time and you have appointed or secured the appointment of a police and fire commission, that that is the end of the work of 100 good, law-abiding citizens?

Mr. Pope. No; it is not the end of the work of the 100 law-abiding citizens, but it is the end of the work of these citizens as a committee.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you believe that you would do greater work as a committee of one hundred, representative citizens of East St. Louis, in providing the police of East

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St. Louis and of its good citizens to see that the law was enforced; that you can do that better with an organization than you can individually?

Mr. Pope. Well, I will say that that committee wielded some considerable influence in the town, and I think accomplished considerable good.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you believe, Mr. Pope, at the head of a committee of one hundred representative, law-abiding citizens of East St. Louis, that it is your duty as citizens of East St. Louis that you ought to continue that organization to arouse the feeling among the better element of people of East St. Louis, ~~and~~ those who are law-abiding, for the enforcement of ^{the} law?

Mr. Pope. No; I do not.

Mr. Foster. You think you are through when you simply got another police commission appointed? Don't you think you owe any duty to your city?

Mr. Pope. I think I owe a duty to the city.

Mr. Foster. I am not speaking of you---I am speaking of these 100 ~~man~~ men; I don't mean you individually. But don't you think that the committee of one hundred citizens owe a duty to the City of East St. Louis to continue an organization that has exerted along the lines for the better enforcement of law and ^{the} building up of East St. Louis in a better way?

Mr. Pope. Well, it is possible that they do.

Mr. Foster. That they do what?

Mr. Pope. That they do.

Mr. Foster. Feel that way?

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Mr. Pope. No; that they do owe that duty.

Mr. Foster. Then why do you say that you consider your work closed, or practically so, and that you have nothing more to do?

Mr. Pope. Well, ~~you~~ you got me to say that I felt the committee could do some good if it was continued. I think that it could do some good, but I don't think it is a practical way of handling the situation. I don't think that a committee that large would be a practical way of handling ~~the~~ ordinary affairs.

Mr. Foster. You have an executive committee here. Now it seemed to me, from what I took from your testimony, that there was an organization of one hundred good citizens of East St. Louis, who stood for law enforcement and for ~~the~~ better moral conditions, and within a few months you felt that your work was over, and you were about ready to disband it, and I couldn't understand ^{it, and} that was the reason I asked you, Mr. Pope.

Mr. Pope. Well, those are the facts. That is the way we felt as a committee. Now it isn't customary, Congressman, to have committees of that kind in communities in normal times. That committee, now, had no legal authority. It could only make suggestions.

Mr. Foster. You don't believe from your history---I ask you particularly now from your acquaintance in East St. Louis, having lived here twenty years---do you think in East St. Louis, located here on the river, opposite St. Louis, that you have normal condition here at any time?

Mr. Pope. No; our condition here is a little abnormal.

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Mr. Foster. And it requires strenuous means, doesn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I know, but then you must recall, or be reminded of the fact that it would be a rather difficult matter to get a hundred men that would devote themselves to work of this kind of an endeavor nightly. It isn't practical to do it.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you think that the influence of 100 citizens in East St. Louis would have a good effect at all times?

Mr. Pope. I think the influence of 100 good men ~~would~~ would have an effect upon any community. I think that; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Don't you think we need it here?

Mr. Pope. They have needed it in the past.

Mr. Foster. Wouldn't you think that there would be some use for it in the future?

Mr. Pope. There would be work that it could do, no doubt, about that.

Mr. Foster. Not all of the evil of East St. Louis is ~~not~~ likely to disappear right away, is it?

Mr. Pope. Not until all the bad people disappear.

Mr. Foster. Well, I can only express my individual hope, Mr. Pope, that you will reconsider your idea that the work of the one hundred good citizens organized here is over and nothing more to do.

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't want you to put it that way because that would leave the impression that the hundred good citizens aren't doing anything.

Mr. Foster. I mean as an organization. I don't mean to

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infer, Mr. Pope, that they are not acting as individual citizens, but what I mean is---understand this, Mr. Pope, as well as I do, or anyone on this Committee---that concerted action is what counts; organization is what counts; don't you think so?

Mr. Pope. Oh, I do, and I say that the committee accomplished wonderfully good work. We did.

Mr. Foster. I am giving you credit for that. Your statement is true. But I cannot understand that within a few months a hundred representative business men, professional men, organized together to make East St. Louis better, should make up their minds that at the end of this time---this is November the 3rd---the committee, was organized in July---that all this evil condition now is going to go along and gradually be rid of it and there will be no more use for an organization, the concerted action of 100 representative citizens of East St. Louis. Do you think so?

Mr. Pope. Well, as I have stated before, I think there is some good that that committee could do as a committee, but I think they accomplished the object---surely the main object---that they set out to accomplish, and for that reason their work was practically ended. Now, they set out with the idea of reorganizing the police board.

Mr. Foster. How are you going to get these changes in East St. Louis that you speak of and that would be made---namely, I mean, the last one?

Mr. Pope. They are going to get that as far as the rest of the legislation.

Mr. Foster. I am going to get that letter, isn't it?

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if you have 100 citizens representing^g condition that is as bad as it is represented to be in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Yes; an organization of that kind would have considerable weight with the legislature.

Mr. Foster. Certainly.

Mr. Pope. And then it would be the business of someone to look after it. As it is now it is no one's business, and the individual doesn't care to take that work upon himself.

Mr. Foster. Exactly, Mr. Pope; that is what we are getting at, and here is an organization that could accomplish that--- that is, I mean I don't know what they would be able to do, but they could be organized so they could make that effort.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; there is a lot of good things that that committee should be able to do, the same as 100 other good people.

Mr. Foster. Well, who else is there, if it is not done by an organization of this kind? Who else is there to do it here?

Mr. Pope. To do what, now?

Mr. Foster. To bring about these reforms we have talked about: These justices of the peace; build up East St. Louis.

Mr. Pope. ^{There is} No one else to do it---that is, they have existed here as long as the town has existed, as the state has been organized; that has been the custom and no change has been made.

Mr. Foster. And there is no one else here like this organization to go to the legislature and do this work?

Mr. Pope. Yes; there is the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Foster. Yes; but I have dismissed the Chamber of ~~the~~ *the*

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chamber of commerce and appointed a committee of one hundred, and that is largely a business proposition.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; largely.

Mr. Foster. Now here was an organization of 100 men to help bring about these reforms, and you talk about dismissing them in November, after the riots occurred in April May and July. I can only express the hope that you will reconsider, and not consider that the concerted action of the 100 men is through now.

Mr. Pope. Well, when we get the report of this honorable body, it may be that there will be recommendations made which this committee---

Mr. Foster (interposing). Well, so far as one man of this Committee is concerned, I can say to you freely and frankly now that I should think it was a great mistake to disband the membership of the Committee of One Hundred. That is only expressing my individual opinion.

Mr. Baker. Right in that connection, has the Committee of One Hundred while in session voted to discontinue their work?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they have not.

Mr. Baker. Has the executive committee voted that they would discontinue their work?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; the committee is a permanent organization.

Mr. Baker. You have the power to call the committee together?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Is there any length of notice that is required?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. You could call them together for a meeting next Wednesday, couldn't you?

Mr. Pope. ~~Perhaps~~ I could.

Mr. Baker. Well now, this Committee can't tell whether or not the Committee of One Hundred is going to approve what you have said about their being through and whether or not they are going to quit. Why don't you call this committee together next Wednesday or Thursday; get all of them here and thrash this thing out, and see whether or not they are going to quit on the work they have started?

Mr. Pope. I would be very glad to do that.

Mr. Baker. Will you try and do it now, and then report back Wednesday what you have done? I am most intensely interested, because I thought we would be able to just pick up any one of this Committee of One Hundred and be able to show that they had been active day and night whenever necessary to bring about the better conditions in East St. Louis. ~~They were active day and night~~

Mr. Pope. They were active day and night for awhile.

Mr. Baker. Well, I can see that is right.

Mr. Pope. They were active day and night for awhile, and--

Mr. Baker. (interposing). Well now, so that we may determine what this Committee of One Hundred has done, intends to do and will do, will you make a report here Wednesday of whether or not you will call that committee together and see whether or not they are going on with the good work and press and enforce upon the people of East St. Louis that something must be done and changes must be had?

Mr. Pope. I can't make a report to you Wednesday. I will

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have to be in Springfield, Ill., I think, on Tuesday and Wednesday, and in the Federal Court here on Thursday, but I can call the meeting. While I won't be present, that will not be material, and I will be very glad to arrange for a call.

Mr. Raker. Don't you think it ought to be done after what has occurred now?

Mr. Pope. If this Committee or any member would like to meet that committee--

Mr. Raker (interposing). No, no; that isn't my purpose. That isn't my purpose. My purpose is that you get this committee together and put before them just what you have told us, that you think they have gone as far as they ought to; that you think there is no further need, and then see what they say. It has been testified here by witness after witness that conditions exist here practically the same as they did before the riot, except the ^{feeling} that the riot may break out again; that even such a thing as that may occur. Why, the category of charges against officials state and county officials, the sheriff's office, the district attorney's office, the city office, justices of the peace, the constables, ^{and} deputy sheriffs has been made here without any ~~exemption~~ reservation. Do they still exist?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. That more or less gambling exists; that the saloons---not quite so bad as before---but they still exist, wherein the thug, the cut-throat, the hold-up, the yeggman makes his headquarters; wherein the pronounced criminal from all over the world exists still here; that drunkenness is on the street--you can go on the street and see it today---

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that murder since this 3rd of July has existed; that hold-ups are still in existence; that graft still exists; that the prostitution question still exists in East St. Louis, not quite so much as before the 3rd of July; and still you have got your Committee of One Hundred and nothing ^{is} presented as to what they are going to do. Don't you think those things ought to be presented to them?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know that they ought to be.

Mr. Raker. Why not?

Mr. Pope. Because the committee has had all of those matters presented to it, and has accomplished as a committee about what it thought it could accomplish. I don't see how they are going to.

Mr. Raker. Well, has this committee now, as a committee, with 100 strong, virile men---have you gone to the justices of the peace and said, "Here, gentlemen, there is a chance to prosecute you ~~unham~~ for graft and other crimes; East St. Louis has been published the world over, and its citizens and property have been injured. By virtue of your conduct you ought to resign." Have you done that to any of these justices?

Mr. Pope. No, and we wouldn't get resignations if we did.

Mr. Raker. You haven't tried it, have you?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. You have tried the police commission and the courts.

Mr. Pope. Well, we didn't get their consent.

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Mr. Baker. But you got the commission^{out}; that is the main thing: not by consent, but you got them out. You got that board of fire and police commissioners out, the whole shooting match?

Mr. Pope. Yes; we did that.

Mr. Baker. Because you made a center fire right at that and hit the bull's eye every time; but you have made no efforts to get the constables out that have been doing this work?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. You have made no effort to get the justices ~~and the peace~~ out that have been charged with these various offenses?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Baker. You have made no effort to get the justices of the peace out?

Mr. Pope. Now, let's---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Now answer the question.

Mr. Pope. No; we have not.

Mr. Baker. You have made no effort to get these aldermen out?

Mr. Pope. No; we have not.

Mr. Baker. Now, don't you think before you adjourn sine die and abandon your work, that this committee of one hundred men ought to meet and make further investigation, from all that you have heard of what occurred before the committee; the Council of National Defense; that you have learned through the Grand Jury; that you have learned through this Committee,

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and others, and put these specific facts right up to them and say, "Here, gentlemen, for the good and welfare of East St. Louis and its citizens, to the end"---now this is what I am going to drive home---"to the end ~~and~~ that interstate traffic may exist between the states of Illinois and Missouri; to the end that the railroad cars may run and people not be again dragged off of those cars and murdered; and to the end that our business may exist here and go back and forth from the two states, Missouri and Illinois, as it has done before, that you fellows ought to resign and let us put in new men that will carry out the will and desire of ^{the} good people that exists in East St. Louis". Don't you think you ought to do it?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't think that at all?

Mr. Baker. Why not?

Mr. Pope. Because the Committee of One Hundred has no authority to enforce any suggestions or orders. Take your justices of the peace; if we got them to resign, who would we get to put in their place?

Mr. Baker. Now that is just the point exactly. Who would appoint the justices of the peace?

Mr. Pope. They would be elected.

Mr. Baker. They would be appointed before election.

Mr. Foster. No; they are elected for four years.

Mr. Baker. Now, I want to get that from the attorney. It can't be possible under ^{the laws of} the state of Illinois ^{if} that a man resigns and leaves a vacancy that it isn't filled by appointment; is that right?

Mr. Pope. Yes; it can be possible.

Mr. Baker. Well, isn't it the law? You don't have to call a special election when a man resigns. For instance, if the sheriff dies, isn't there provision to appoint a successor to him?

Mr. Pope. Yes; if it is less than a year---that is, if it is less than a year, then there is an appointment made; if it is more than a year, a special election is held.

Mr. Baker. Alright; then there would be a chance to appoint some special man in his place, ~~is~~ a provision made in your constitution and state laws?

Mr. Pope. Yes; temporarily.

Mr. Baker. Now the same way would be with the justices of the peace, wouldn't it?

Mr. Pope. That is what I thought you were referring to.

Mr. Baker. Now I am going to the justices *of the peace*.

Mr. Pope. I don't think the governor has the power or any one else to fill a vacancy of a justice *of the peace* by appointment.

Mr. Baker. The same way with city justices?

Mr. Pope. Judges of the city court?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Pope. No; they would be on the same basis, I think.

Mr. Baker. There is no provision to fill a vacancy?

Mr. Pope. Possibly a circuit judge.

Mr. Baker. Well, I say no provision for filling a vacancy?

Mr. Pope. I think there is in the case of a judge of the city court---not a justice of the peace.

Mr. Baker. Is there a provision for filling the vacancy of a

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constable?

Mr. Pope. I think not; I think there is no provision for the filling of a vacancy of a constable. It is a matter that is regulated wholly by statute, and I never knew of an office being filled by appointment of either a justice of the peace or a constable.

Mr. Raker. Upon death or resignation?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The office remains vacant and ^{there is} no one to take possession of the office at all until an election is had, special or general?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think that is true.

Mr. Raker. Well, that is so remarkable that it kind of almost staggers me to go on with the examination. I can not grasp the situation at all---that here is an important office; that the occupant dies; ^{and} that there is no way to fill that place until an election is held, general or special.

Mr. Pope. Of course, there are always a number of justices of the peace in the county.

Mr. Raker. Well, they all might die within a week, and there would be no one to fill the vacancies.

Mr. Pope. Well, I may be mistaken, but I don't know of any.

Mr. Raker. Alright, I'll assume it. Take that point, then. It is even better yet for my case. If they all died, under the condition in East St. Louis, I could leave it better until you had a new election, wouldn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Then if you could get them all out by this

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Committee of One Hundred going to them and can't have any justices at all, the City of East St. Louis would ^{be} better off?

Mr. Pope. This committee couldn't get them out.

Mr. Baker. I know, but if you requested it and made it so apparent to them that they ought to resign?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; they wouldn't resign.

Mr. Baker. I know, but you haven't tried them yet.

Mr. Pope. No; we haven't tried them, but there would be no use to try it. And then suppose you did get them to resign? I tell you it is not so much the fault of the men as it is the system. If you get them to resign ^{and} if you lived ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{would you take} ^{the} office of justice of the peace, and devote all your time to it? We can't get men of your caliber to fill those offices, and under the law anybody has a right to run for those offices, and they are elected by the great people.

Mr. Baker. Well, supposing that a man doesn't have to be a lawyer to be elected a justice of the peace?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; he doesn't, which is very unfortunate.

Mr. Baker. He doesn't have to be a Chesterfield or Webster or Calhoun or John Marshall. It just wants a good, honest black-smith or a good store-keeper that knows right from wrong, and that the rich looks no better to him than the poor, and that will sit up there and give out justice as he understands, and 99 times out of 100 he will get at it. Now, you have got lots of that kind of men here, haven't you?

Mr. Pope. Oh, Judge, our---well, I can't ^{again} say anything, but I won't say it---we have got lots of that

kind of men here, but they are not available for the office of justice of the peace or constable.

Mr. Baker. Then that brings on further matters that I want to drive out, because I have seen it done. This Committee of One Hundred could go to one of these good men, although not versed in the law, but versed in common sense, decency, justice, honesty and humanity, who could be advised that he would get ^{the} support of the Committee of One Hundred and the good citizens, and he could be induced to act as a justice, just like the man you got on the police board, couldn't he?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't think so. I don't think he could be induced to act as justice of the peace, that kind of a man, in this town.

Mr. Baker. Well, can you tell offhand about how much one of these justices gets a month, on an average?

Mr. Pope. It varies materially, all the way from. I should think, \$50 to \$250 a month. I know one that made as high as \$300 a month for awhile.

Mr. Baker. Now, isn't it a fact that there should be some pretty good, capable, young lawyers in East St. Louis that aren't making \$300 a month?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; we have one young lawyer that is a justice of the peace here, a very good man; we have one very old lawyer that is a justice of the peace here, and a good man; there is another gentleman who is not a lawyer that I think is a very good man. I think these three men are as good as the average citizen of East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Well, it would be quite an inducement for any young lawyer from 25 to 29, if he could get from

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\$75 to \$150 a month on the average, to take the justice of the peace office for four years, getting acquainted with the practice and the law, that he might build ~~an~~ up.

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think that that would be much assistance to a young lawyer for the reason that ^{but} very little law is ever discussed in a justice court.

Mr. Raker. Alright; that is all.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Pope, what, in your opinion, is the actual population of East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. Ninety thousand people.

Mr. Johnson. I take it for granted that you don't know exactly the number.

Mr. Pope. Certainly not.

Mr. Johnson. But I would be glad if you would give me the closest approximation that you feel able to make as to the number of churches here.

Mr. Pope. By not ask Reverend Allison, so as to get it ~~thoroughly in manuscript for your publication this year~~ accurate? I could only guess.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I'll ask you as a public spirited man.

Mr. Pope. Probably 20 or 25.

Mr. Johnson. And how many barrooms are there here?

Mr. Pope. There was at one time 350, a few more than churches, but I believe that there aren't quite so many at this time.

Mr. Johnson. In your opinion, then, there are about a dozen saloons to every church?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. ~~And in manuscript~~ I believe that statisticians

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allow about five to a family, do they not?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; they do.

Mr. Johnson. So that every fifth person would be the head of a family?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; the allowance is a little large for this town.

Mr. Johnson. A little large?

Mr. Pope. Yes; a little large for this town.

Mr. Johnson. Then there would probably be 15,000 heads of families here?

Mr. Pope. I would think so. I think that would be about right.

Mr. Johnson. What percent of those 15,000 heads of families, in your judgment, are wage earners?

Mr. Pope. 80 to 90 per cent.

Mr. Johnson. I might preface the next thought which I have in view by saying that I am in favor of quite a liberal wage being paid to the wage earner. I am so much in favor of it that I myself, as the employer of a small number of men, have during the last year increased their wages sixty per cent without anyone of them asking me to increase his wage at all.

Would you attribute a lack of ^{the} necessary provisions in the home of the wage earner in East St. Louis entirely to the wage that he received?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Would you attribute any part of it to the great number of saloons that are here within his easy reach?

Mr. Pope. In some instances; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. I take it for granted that you are familiar with the wage that is paid here.

Mr. Pope. In a general way, I am.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't ^{it} more probable that whatever ~~we~~ want there may be in any family here is more directly attributable to the large number of saloons than it is to the smallness of the wage?

Mr. Pope. Well, we know that all of these saloons must be supported if they exist. That money must come---

Mr. Johnson. ^(interposing) If you will allow me to break in right there---from eighty to ninety per cent of your population?

Mr. Pope. That is just what I was going to say---it necessarily must come from eighty to ninety per cent of our population, because what the other few would spend would not keep ~~up~~ up the saloons, and it must necessarily come from the large majority of the people who are what we call wage earners.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it usually the case that where want is found in a family, it comes from excessive drinking?

Mr. Pope. I don't know but what that is true. I think that is usually the case. I don't know that if the money that was spent in ^{the} 300 saloons was put on the tables in East St. Louis, there would be a whole lot more to eat.

Mr. Johnson. How much license is gathered from the 300 and odd saloons now in existence here? How much a license?

Mr. Pope. \$750 for each saloon.

Mr. Johnson. Has your Committee of One Hundred had anything to do with the lessening of the number of saloons here?

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Mr. Pope. No, sir; it has not.

Mr. Johnson. Has it taken up the question of increasing the number of churches?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. It hasn't dealt with either of those very important subjects?

Mr. Pope. It has not. We have left that largely to one member of the committee.

Mr. Johnson. And who is that?

Mr. Pope. Reverend Allison.

Mr. Johnson. And you have shouldered upon him the entire responsibility of reducing the number of saloons here?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think he ~~has~~ had that responsibility on him before he became a member of the committee, and is continuing to hold it.

Mr. Johnson. And, so far as you know, without help from any other part of the committee?

Mr. Pope. No; there is being no active help rendered the Reverend Allison by the Committee of One Hundred as a committee.

Mr. Johnson. As an unusually intelligent man, ^{and} as an observer of events as they occur, has it been your observation that a large part of the wages earned by the laboring men of your city has found its way into the saloons?

Mr. Pope. Well, I concede this, that there has been enough money spent by laboring men to keep up all of these saloons, and they are rather expensive propositions. The license is only a small part of the expense of a saloon.

Mr. Johnson. That is the next thing at issue. Is the expense of running a saloon, in your opinion?

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Mr. Pope. Well, that would depend on the location. Sometimes the rent is an item of expense.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know what the average rent for a saloon is here?

Mr. Pope. I have no way of knowing that.

Mr. Johnson. Do you yourself rent any property for saloon purposes?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I do.

Mr. Johnson. If you don't mind, would you tell us what you get for that?

Mr. Pope. I get \$375 a month for the portion occupied by the saloon.

Mr. Johnson. And what percent of that building is occupied by a saloon?

Mr. Pope. Just a small per cent of it. I should say---well, there is one, two, three, four other tenants.

Mr. Johnson. I don't wish to go into your private affairs, but I would just like to just know how much rent you get from the others who do occupy that room.

Mr. Pope. Well, there is one man occupies a very small space for a restaurant. He pays, I think---I think he is a Greek---I think he pays \$35. There is a fish man that has a very small place on the other side of the building; he pays \$35. There is a butcher shop that has a store and pays \$225 a month; and there is a little shoe shop, that pays \$30 a month, in another part of it.

Mr. Johnson. I suppose that the ability of the one who pays the rent is measured by his receipts and his profits?

Mr. Pope. The ability?

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Mr. Johnson. The ability to pay rent is measured by the receipts of the one who pays the rent?

Mr. Pope. Largely; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it entirely?

Mr. Pope. No; not entirely.

Mr. Johnson. Is it a reasonable deduction that the shoe maker and the butcher and the restaurant keeper pays less rent because his profits are less than that of the saloon keeper in your building?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Is that a fair sample of the business in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. In what respect?

Mr. Johnson. As to profits or receipts and the ability amount of rent paid.

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

Mr. Johnson. For a small part of your building, a saloon keeper pays you \$375 a month, and the man who sells the meat upon which the women and children ought to be fed by the wage earner, pays \$225.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And you think that that, as a public spirited citizen, as a man undertaking to regulate various affairs in this city, is a matter that should rest entirely with the preacher?

Mr. Pope. What affairs do you want to regulate?

Mr. Johnson. What kind of affairs do you want regulated?

Mr. Pope. I want all the affairs regulated here that

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are necessary to the betterment of the community and the city; I would like to see them regulated.

Mr. Johnson. And to arrive at your judgment in the matters, ~~which~~ I take for granted, that you desire the regulation of nothing except the regulation of which you have undertaken?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't say that. I haven't taken that position at any time.

Mr. Johnson. Well, tell us, please, the municipal affairs, the affairs of your city, the affairs of your community, that you are most anxious to regulate.

Mr. Pope. I would like to see all the laws and ordinances of the town enforced.

Mr. Johnson. Would like to see any of them changed?

Mr. Pope. There is not so much necessity for a change as for their enforcement. Most of the laws that we have here are good laws, and ~~there is~~ no necessity---no great necessity---exists for a change, but rather for their enforcement.

Mr. Johnson. What law have you to regulate the sale of intoxicants to ~~anybody~~ inebriates?

Mr. Pope. There is a law here which prohibits the sale of intoxicants to inebriates.

Mr. Johnson. Is it strictly observed?

Mr. Pope. ^{It is} Very rarely observed.

Mr. Johnson. We might say that it is so seldom observed that it is practically ignored?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't want to do anyone an injustice: There are some people who will not sell intoxicants to people

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who are drunk, but it is not generally the case with a saloon here in this town.

Mr. Johnson. Have you personal knowledge of such an instance?

Mr. Pope. Of people who would refuse to sell?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. When was it done and by whom was it done, and who was the inebriate to whom the sale was declined to be made?

Mr. Pope. I could not give you those details, but I have known of people who would refuse to sell liquor to those intoxicated. I couldn't give you specific instances. I am not around the saloons very much.

Mr. Johnson. Has the Committee of One Hundred undertaken to see that law enforced?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Has the sub-committee of seven, of which you are chairman, undertaken to see that law enforced?

Mr. Pope. It has not, other than by what I have told you, that we have done.

Mr. Johnson. And as I recall, you have told us of something that has been done in that respect?

Mr. Pope. I have told you of a good deal that has been done in that respect.

Mr. Johnson. Examples preventing the sale of liquors to inebriates?

Mr. Pope. Under the enforcement of the law here in this town.

Mr. Johnson. Have you told us anything relative to the enforcement of the law against selling intoxicating liquors to

to inebriates?

Mr. Pope. Nothing other than the effort made to procure an efficient police department.

Mr. Johnson. You have confined your efforts strictly to political offices and not to any branch of business, have you not?

Mr. Pope. No; we have not confined our efforts to political offices. They are non-political.

Mr. Johnson. Then you have confined your efforts to official positions?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir--well, we have done that, and then we have made efforts to bring about the prosecution of the participants in the riot.

Mr. Johnson. I believe you have signified your willingness to let that burden fall upon the shoulders of one man, Reverend Allison.

Mr. Pope. Well, I didn't seem to be serious when I made that statement.

Mr. Johnson. Were you not so serious in it as to exclude yourself from all effort at rendering him assistance in that direction?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you rendered him assistance in that effort?

Mr. Pope. In the way that I have spoken of, and the work that is being done.

Mr. Johnson. You are generalizing now. Were you not also generalizing in your efforts to look to the enforcement of the law?

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Mr. Pope. For what do you mean?

(to stenographer)

Mr. Johnson. Read the question, please.

(The question was read by the stenographer).

Mr. Pope. Yes, we were generalizing. We didn't undertake to go out---to try as members of this committee to go out and ferret out ~~the~~ crime ourselves, to do the work personally. No efforts of that kind was made.

Mr. Johnson. Do you believe that there would be less poverty in your community, if you were without the saloons?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; ^{where is} no question about that in my mind.

Mr. Johnson. Do you believe that if all the saloons were closed, there would be less suffering among the poor?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. Johnson. When these so-called "damned preachers" are endeavoring to close the saloons, have you cooperated with them?

Mr. Pope. I don't know of any effort made on their part to have the saloons closed here in this town.

Mr. Johnson. Efforts are terminated frequently by you, only, as by yourself and your committee in the instances which it undertook to perform. How many sermons have you heard from these ~~the~~ preachers during the last 24 years in which some reference to intemperance caused by the great number of saloons was not made?

Mr. Pope. Well, I have heard quite a number in which no reference to saloons was made. I can't recall any now in this town in which the saloon was alluded to.

Mr. Johnson. Do you have any idea of the gospel, either in which, or any denomination, is not preaching

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temperance?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think they all advocate temperance. Some of them advocate it absolutely---the non-use wholly of alcoholic liquor. Others advocate the moderate use of liquors.

Mr. Johnson. Do they advocate it or tolerate it?

Mr. Pope. Both.

Mr. Johnson. You think, then, that there are some preachers in your community who go about urging people to use intoxicants to some extent?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think there is any such class of priests or preachers here who do that.

Mr. Johnson. Then you don't know of any preacher who is advocating the use of intoxicants.

Mr. Pope. Well, I can't say that they are advocating the use of it, but some of them don't advocate total abstinence.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know of any of them who would object to every member of his congregation practicing total abstinence?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't know of any that would object to that.

Mr. Johnson. You have been thrown quite a good deal recently with the Reverend Allison, have you not?

Mr. Pope. Well, I have been with him some; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You have recognized him as an advocate, an earnest advocate of temperance?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't---Oh, yes, of temperance. I will say I have recognized him as an advocate of temperance.

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Mr. Johnson. And the most---I think you will agree with me---that the most aggravating cause of intemperance is the open, convenient saloon?

Mr. Pope. Yes; that has been my experience.

Mr. Johnson. Have you undertaken to cooperate with him or any other preacher of the town in closing the saloons?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you cooperated with them to the extent that the saloon in your building was closed at all times, either on Sunday or at night when the law required it to be closed?

Mr. Pope. No; I haven't cooperated in that work. That is work that has been left wholly to the administration. Whatever the administration rules on, that seems to be done.

Mr. Johnson. Your public-spiritedness was aroused immediately by mob violence here, and died almost as instantly as that disappeared?

Mr. Pope. Well, I will say it was aroused by mob violence, and I guess it quieted down along with the others after the violence ceased.

Mr. Johnson. And you now find yourself back in the old rut?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't believe we have gone back quite that far.

Mr. Johnson. You have been worse off in that respect than you are now?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I think that I have.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Pope. Well, that was previous to the riot (Laughter).

Mr. Johnson. And, in your judgment, was the deep-seated

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cause of the riot?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't recognize---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). The predominant cause.

Mr. Pope. I don't recognize much difference in degrees of the cause of the riot.

Mr. Johnson. How many causes for the riot were there, in your opinion?

Mr. Pope. In this community when there have been strikes and riots, there has been a resort to force.

Mr. Johnson. Well, can you have a riot without a resort to force?

Mr. Pope. No.

Mr. Johnson. Then what do you mean by that?

Mr. Pope. But I say that in this community during labor troubles, disputes, there has frequently been a resort to force. That has not been checked. It was not checked as it should be, and no doubt ^{the} people who participated in this riot thought that they would be immune from punishment, and ~~that~~ it was not a far step from what they had done heretofore to what they did on this occasion.

Mr. Johnson. Is your citizenship here, in your judgment, so degraded that all that it needs to break loose in a riot is to feel immune from punishment?

Mr. Pope. There are some people in the community, I am sorry to say, who I think ~~fixed~~ ~~that way~~ are that way. The great majority of the citizens are not.

Mr. Johnson. You've heretofore ~~mentioned~~ said that the majority of your people here were law-abiding people?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Johnson. Does that not to some extent contradict the statement you have just made?

Mr. Pope. I don't think it does. What statement do you refer to?

Mr. Johnson. I refer to the one that you just made ~~namely~~ wherein you said that the riot was the result of the belief that punishment would not follow acts of violence.

Mr. Pope. Well, that is partially true.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it wholly true?

Mr. Pope. Very likely. I believe that ^{if} those people who participated in the riot thought there was any possibility of being punished for it, they wouldn't have done it.

Mr. Johnson. Those who inflict punishment are ~~and~~ your courts, and your courts are made up of judges and jurors.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean to say now that the County of St. Clair, in the State of Illinois, is made up of a majority of people who connive by the violation of laws to the extent that they will help to prevent convictions in the courts?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't say that; I say there is a minority of people who will do that--not a majority.

Mr. Johnson. But these officers are elected by the majority of your people, are they not?

Mr. Pope. They are elected by a majority of the people in the State.

Mr. Johnson. What right has the man who to complain who has elected a majority of willful law-breakers to demand the election of a new majority?

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Mr. Pope. He has no right to complain.

Mr. Johnson. Have you voted?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Is it the law-breaker who does not vote, or is it the one who calls himself the better citizen who doesn't vote?

Mr. Pope. I think, as a rule, it is the one who calls himself the better citizen, and not the law-breaker, that refrains from voting.

Mr. Johnson. I believe you ^{have} said that you have not cooperated in the movement to lessen the saloon and its effects here?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. Johnson. When you were casting about in your own mind, as chairman of the Committee of One Hundred, to better the conditions in East St. Louis, your mind didn't turn to that at all?

Mr. Pope. Yes; that was discussed.

Mr. Johnson. By you?

Mr. Pope. By the members of the ~~main~~ executive committee and others.

Mr. Johnson. Did you bring up ^{the} discussion of it?

Mr. Pope. I don't recall that I did; but it was thought by these matters that those who composed the mob and who did that work were not intoxicated people.

Mr. Johnson. Did you have anything to do with the closing of the saloons on that day---on the day of the riot? Did you oppose it or advocate it?

Mr. Pope. I didn't do either one.

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Mr. Johnson. You were perfectly content for the saloons to remain open during the pendency and going on of one of the worse mobs in American history?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; that isn't true. I wasn't content that they remain open.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't express your discontent to anybody?

Mr. Pope. On that particular day I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Your mind didn't then turn to the closing of the saloon in your building, or any other saloon?

Mr. Pope. I think they were closed.

Mr. Johnson. But not by your activity, if I understand you correctly?

Mr. Pope. No; not by my activity. My activity in that respect took place a little later.

Mr. Johnson. Think for a little bit, in order that you may be sure, and tell us who first suggested to you the advisability of your being sole chairman of the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Pope. I don't recall.

Mr. Johnson. It is quite an important matter, isn't it, in the events of your life?

Mr. Pope. Yes---just a moment---I think when the matter was first talked over with me, that Mr. McEllynn and Mr. Joyce were present, and I don't know who else.

Mr. Johnson. Who first mentioned it to you?

Mr. Pope. That I couldn't say.

Mr. Johnson. Where did you first hear of the movement to make you city clerk?

Mr. Pope. At the office that was held at that time.

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Mr. Johnson. And who with the conferees?

Mr. Pope. Well, I recall that Mr. Joyce and Mr. McGlynn were both present. I don't know who else.

Mr. Johnson. How many were present upon that occasion?

Mr. Pope. That I couldn't say.

Mr. Johnson. In what room was it held?

Mr. Pope. I think in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, but I won't be positive.

Mr. Johnson. What ^{is the} size of the room in which that conference was held?

Mr. Pope. That is a room probably fifteen feet wide and thirty feet long.

Mr. Johnson. Look back now in your memory, and see whether the room was full, half full, or quarter full.

Mr. Pope. I don't even say positively that that is the room where the matter was first suggested, but my impression is that there were not a great many people there.

Mr. Johnson. How many people would that room hold, do you think, since you have given us no other room ^{with} which we can treat?

Mr. Pope. That room would hold forty or fifty people very comfortably.

Mr. Johnson. Were there 25 or 30 there?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think there were.

Mr. Johnson. Were there twelve or fifteen there?

Mr. Pope. I don't think so.

Mr. Johnson. Eight or ten?

Mr. Pope. I doubt if there were as many as eight.

Mr. Johnson. Certainly six or seven?

Mr. Pope. I would think there were five or six people there. I think Mr. Reed was there, and there may have been others there, but I don't think of them.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you have only mentioned three, when you have already said there were certainly five or six there.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Now, upon an important event like that, with the preservation of life and property hanging in the balance, you aren't able to recall who the others were that were there?

Mr. Pope. No; my mind was on something else at that time.

Mr. Johnson. It was not upon the preservation of life and property in your city?

Mr. Pope. Yes, it was; that is exactly what it was on, but it wasn't on the question as to who was to be chairman or what effect it was going to have on me, on my being chairman.

Mr. Johnson. I didn't suggest that thought at all.

Mr. Pope. Well, I thought you did. I may have misunderstood you.

Mr. Johnson. But you have not the remotest idea now whence came the suggestion of your being made chairman?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; I told you I thought one of those gentlemen suggested it.

Mr. Johnson. I understood you to say they were present, but I didn't understand you to say one or the other of them had suggested it.

Mr. Pope. Now, I think---several of those gentlemen ^{were} there and I imagine they used that latter.

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Mr. Johnson. When the Committee of One Hundred met, how was the chairman selected?

Mr. Pope. He was nominated and elected.

Mr. Johnson. Was there more than one nomination?

Mr. Pope. I think not.

Mr. Johnson. Who made that nomination?

Mr. Pope. That I don't know.

Mr. Johnson. You were there?

Mr. Pope. I was there; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You were put in nomination?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And you don't recall who made the nominating talk?

Mr. Pope. The records of the meeting, I think, could show that.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it a little singular in case of memory on that you aren't able to tell us an important thing like that?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; it is not singular, because it is not an important thing, the man who put me in nomination. I don't regard that as being an important matter at all. The fact that I was nominated may be important, but the man who nominated me I don't regard as important, and if it was important, it is a matter that would be very easily determined if reference be made to the minutes of the meeting. ^{of 1911} I don't know that.

Mr. Johnson. Yes; I thought the first man to come to the meeting at that meeting, and I don't see at all how you could tell us that.

Mr. Pope. Well, it would be better that I go and see as

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being of importance.

Mr. Johnson. You say there was a man by the name of McLean suggested as one of the police commissioners?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And what was the objection urged to his appointment?

Mr. Pope. I think that it was political. His partner had recently been a candidate for a member of ^{the} East Side Levee and Sanitary District for that board.

Mr. Johnson. What is Mr. McLean's business?

Mr. Pope. Real estate and insurance.

Mr. Johnson. Is he the man that you speak of having, as you said, rented a house to negroes in white quarters?

Mr. Pope. Well, he rented a house to negroes that people were objecting to. I don't know where the house is.

Mr. Johnson. Was that the objection made by negroes or by the white people?

Mr. Pope. By white people.

Mr. Johnson. Then it was evidently in a neighborhood occupied by white people?

Mr. Pope. I naturally presume it was.

Mr. Johnson. You never heard of white people objecting to the renting of a negro house in a negro neighborhood, did you?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. One of the white people who knew the possibility of renting a house to negroes in a white neighborhood, did you not say that he rented a house to negroes?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Johnson. Out of what spirit or sentiment? To be plain, was it race prejudice?

Mr. Pope. Yes. They called up Mr. McLean's house one night.

Mr. Johnson. Who did?

Mr. Pope. I don't know. Someone, he told me, called up his wife, I think, on the telephone---she told him about it---and threatened.

Mr. Johnson. What did she say the conversation was?

Mr. Pope. They threatened to "get" Mr. McLean for renting that house.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by "getting" him?

Mr. Pope. Kill him.

Mr. Johnson. They threatened to kill McLean for this rental of a negro house?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. In a community where the negro has been told that he could come upon an equal with anybody else he lived in the community to think he was coming?

Mr. Pope. That I don't know.

Mr. Johnson. Well, do you mean to tell me that race prejudice was so high in the State of Illinois, or any part of it, that if a real estate agent rents a house to a negro in a white part of the town, that he is threatened with death?

Mr. Pope. Well, I say in this particular instance it is a fact.

Mr. Johnson. That he was?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. So that is a clear-cut indication that race

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prejudice runs that high in East St. Louis?

Mr. Pope. No; it wouldn't be a clear indication that it runs that high, because that might not have been some man who made a threat with no intention of carrying it out.

Mr. Johnson. Well, did anything follow which indicated to you that that threat might or might not have been carried out?

Mr. Pope. Well, Mr. McLean was never injured or assaulted.

Mr. Johnson. Did this death threat come before or after the July riot?

Mr. Pope. I think it came before.

Mr. Johnson. Did the killing of the negroes after this threat was made on Mr. McLean's life indicate to you that that threat might ~~not~~ have been carried out?

Mr. Pope. I never thought for a moment that it would be carried out, because I thought if anyone wanted to assault or kill Mr. McLean, he wouldn't call him up on the telephone and tell him about it.

Mr. Johnson. Then you don't believe that a threat conveys any warning, whatever, worth noticing?

Mr. Pope. What I don't believe it contains any warning worth noticing? Yes, I do.

Mr. Johnson. In your practice of the law, don't you frequently prove---undertake to prove threats?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson. You give to them the greatest of importance at times, do you not?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. Johnson. But in this particular instance, you said no

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attention to it?

Mr. Pope. Well, I paid as much attention to that threat as I would other threats that people tell me about. There was nothing to do. We didn't know who made the threat.

Mr. Johnson. Now, when you treat other threats in the light that they were made for the purpose of giving a warning, that death or serious results would follow if some demand was not observed, why not give ~~this~~ to this one that same importance?

Mr. Pope. Well, it can be given that importance.

Mr. Johnson. But you have expressed the opinion that that threat amounted to nothing.

Mr. Pope. Well, I didn't think the party was sincere, that he intended to carry out any such threat, and I gave you my reason for thinking it.

Mr. Johnson. What was the reason?

Mr. Pope. The reason was that if anybody wanted to kill Mr. McEach, I didn't think they would call him up and tell him about it.

Mr. Johnson. Then, when people do contemplate--you lay it down, as a general principle, that when people do contemplate giving doing violence, they never give a warning in the nature of a threat?

Mr. Pope. Not often.

Mr. Johnson. Not often?

Mr. Pope. No.

Mr. Johnson. When it seldom arises that it is worth while to court people in threat?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think that follows at all.

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Mr. Johnson. You don't think that that is logical sequence to what you have said?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Why do you attach so little importance to this threat?

Mr. Pope. You mean now?

Mr. Johnson. No. Why did you now, or at any time other time, heretofore, attach so little importance to this threat?

Mr. Pope. For the reason I have stated.

Mr. Johnson. By what course of reasoning or ^{by} what facts have you reached the conclusion that that threat meant nothing?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't say that it meant nothing. I think it represented that someone was very much dissatisfied over what had been done, and took that method of expressing himself and calling Mr. McLean's attention to it.

Mr. Johnson. Of expressing disapproval?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. And of course you don't know who made that threat?

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. I say of course you do not, but do you think that the one who made the threat felt that all his objects and ends had been accomplished when he conveyed in that anonymous way his disapproval?

Mr. Pope. I don't know. I have no idea what he thought. That would be mere speculation.

Mr. Johnson. Could you speculate from what happened on July 2nd as to what that threat meant?

Mr. Pope. No, because I don't know what the party who made the threat had anything to do with what happened on July 2nd.

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Mr. Johnson. Why do you think that?

Mr. Pope. I say I don't know that.

Mr. Johnson. Did you say you didn't know it or didn't think it.

Mr. Pope. I said I didn't know it.

Mr. Johnson. Well, since you don't know who made the threat, how could you know whether the maker of that threat participated in the riot of July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. I could not know it.

Mr. Johnson. Then, you have in answer to a question of mine stated a meaningless thing, an answer without meaning.

Mr. Pope. No; I don't think I did.

Mr. Johnson. Is it your judgment from the general information that you have received upon the subject, that any threats were made concerning the blacks before July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. My impression is that there were threats made before July 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. Is it your impression that they were carried out, that those threats were put into execution?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know that anyone here contemplated such trouble as we had here on the 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. Well, a contemplation of that was expected and that was threatened to be done are entirely foreign to each other. But let me change it and put it this way: You, as a public-spirited man, have undertaken to cause the punishment of those who were guilty of the rioting on July 2nd, have you not?

Mr. Pope. I have assisted in that work; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. If you could find the man who, prior

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to July 2nd, had made a threat that he was going to kill niggers on July 2nd or any other time, would you think that that would be a reasonable argument of his guilt in a trial up here at your circuit court that is now going on?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; that would be an argument, a very plausible argument.

Mr. Johnson. I am quite unable to see your line of demarcation between the threats which were made towards the negro and the threat made towards Mr. McLean, except that one has been carried out, and the other has not, and the time within which a threat may be carried out has not expired.

Mr. Pope. Well, I am not able to make it any plainer to you. I may be mistaken in my position.

Mr. Johnson. We can make allowance for that, because I have been around a court-house enough to know that anybody can be mistaken.

Is it your opinion that the prejudice of the whites against the blacks was the principal reason cause of the riot?

Mr. Pope. I don't know whether it was the principal cause or not.

Mr. Johnson. What other cause might rival it as a principal cause, in your judgment?

Mr. Pope. Well, there were, no doubt, a number of causes leading up to it.

Mr. Johnson. Name one now that might rival race prejudice in prominence.

Mr. Pope. Of course, if there had been no negroes here, there wouldn't have been any killed.

Mr. Johnson. And if there hadn't been any white people here, they wouldn't have been killed by white people?

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Mr. Pope. If there had been no white people here, there wouldn't have been any niggers killed by white people.

Mr. Johnson. If there had been no white people here, none of them would have been killed by negroes.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. So that is the meaning^{less}, and, as suggested by Mr. Cooper also, if there had been nobody here, there would have been nobody killed.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. Johnson. So your answers are not enlightening us much.

Mr. Pope. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Your answers aren't enlightening us much as to one other cause which might rival the race prejudice in prominence concerning the riot.

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know that I am in a position to give the causes.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, you have said there were several others.

Mr. Pope. I think there were.

Mr. Johnson. Now, you have stated flat-footedly--- now I ask you for one and only one.

Mr. Pope. I think there were a number of causes.

Mr. Johnson. Have one now; ^{I'll} let you off with the others.

Mr. Pope. Off of the others?

Mr. Johnson. I'll let you off of the others.

Mr. Pope. There was a state of war here among the workmen.

Mr. Johnson. What state?

Mr. Pope. When the white people were killing the negroes for it.

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Mr. Johnson. At what time was labor scarce here? When did labor become so unrestful? Was it about July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. Ah Oh, no.

Mr. Johnson. Was it about May 28th?

Mr. Pope. No; before that.

Mr. Johnson. About when?

Mr. Pope. There had been a scarcity of labor in the latter part of---I would say a good part of 1916.

Mr. Johnson. Well, what was the result of that, bearing upon the subject which we are discussing now, and that subject being the riot?

Mr. Pope. The result of it was that there were negroes that came in here.

Mr. Johnson. Were there not also white people that came in here during the time?

Mr. Pope. No doubt white people came in here; wages were increased.

Mr. Johnson. Because of the influx of incoming laborers?

Mr. Pope. No; because of the scarcity of laborers.

Mr. Johnson. Do you think that wages have been increased here because of the scarcity of labor, or because of the high cost of living?

Mr. Pope. I think wages have been increased here largely on account of the scarcity of labor. In some places, it has been increased on account of the high cost of living.

Mr. Johnson. It has been testified before this Committee that so many men came here about the time that you have indicated that it was necessary to forward them on to Baltimore, and to Pittsburg, and up into Ohio and other places

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and Kansas City and Chicago, and some men have said that there were three men here to every job.

Mr. Pope. I didn't know that any such conditions as that existed. When was that?

Mr. Johnson. During 1916, particularly during the latter part of it; during ^{the} late summer and early fall of 1916; it went along up to November 1916.

Mr. Pope. Well, I didn't know that those conditions existed.

Mr. Johnson. But go ahead now and advance ~~your~~ ^{your} that theory that wages were increased because of the scarcity of labor; then what happened, leading up to the riot. You have said, now, that the black man came in here, and in answer to another question by me, you have also said that at the same time the black man was coming, the white man was coming. Now go ahead and carry that.

Mr. Pope. And ^{there were} white men going.

Mr. Johnson. And ^{there were} negroes going, too, were there not?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think more negroes came than went.

Mr. Johnson. But still, some came and some went?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes; there were some leaving.

Mr. Johnson. Well, let us carry your theory now, founded upon that, up to the riot.

Mr. Pope. Well, that was a matter, now, that was being talked of.

Mr. Johnson. What was?

Mr. Pope. The negroes coming in here.

Mr. Johnson. Well, go ahead with that theory now, and lead it to its consequences.

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Mr. Pope. I say that was a matter that was talked of, and it was thought that---at least talked---I don't know whether it was thought, ^{it was} but mentioned that the negro was taking the place of the white men.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead with your reasoning on that line.

Mr. Pope. And from that this trouble arose, I think.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, why would trouble grow out of the talk, if not the thought, that the negro was taking the place of the white man ~~in the same laborer~~ as a laborer.

~~Mr. Pope.~~ What deduction do you draw from that?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't just catch that.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, you have left the Committee to imply something from your statement that the negro was taking the place of the white man as a laborer.

Mr. Pope. No, I don't say that that was the case, because I have heard various people say that they didn't take the place of the white man, but it was talked that.

Mr. Johnson. Now, what was talked?

Mr. Pope. I have heard people say that the negroes were doing that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, suppose they were; take it for granted that they were. Then what is your reasoning from that, leading to the riot?

Mr. Pope. That created dissatisfaction.

Mr. Johnson. Upon the part of whom?

Mr. Pope. Upon the part of the white people.

Mr. Johnson. Then that followed in your reasoning, now; your theory?

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Mr. Pope. Well, I think that the trouble arose out of that.

Mr. Johnson. What trouble?

Mr. Pope. The riot.

Mr. Johnson. The riot, then, in your mind---you have already said it was partly attributable to race hatred, to race prejudice, and you have been asked to give one of the several reasons which you have which rivals race prejudice as a factor in bringing about the riot. Now do I understand you to say that that other---that that rival factor in bringing about the riot was because of the feeling of unrest created among the white people because negroes had taken their places as laborers in these ^{manufacturing} institutions here, ~~manufacturing institutions here~~

Mr. Pope. Yes; because they were supplying the labor market.

Mr. Johnson. Now, let us carry your reasoning still further and see where we go. On the day of the riot, July 2nd, you don't know of any white man killing another white man, unless it was by accident, do you?

Mr. Pope. No; I don't.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, there were other white men coming in here and taking the places in the laboring establishments of the white men who were here already at work. They did they not assault the white men just as well as they assaulted the negroes? I am taking it now from your standpoint---not my own.

Mr. Pope. Well, I think white labor would be more tolerant to white labor than it would to colored labor.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see any evidence of intolerance

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of white labor towards white labor?

Mr. Pope. No; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. The intolerance of one laboring element against another laboring element was entirely the whites against blacks and blacks against whites, was it not?

Mr. Pope. No; not at that particular time.

Mr. Johnson. At what time was it?

Mr. Pope. During that Alumina strike I think that those who were out on strike would have attacked white men just as the same as they would colored men.

Mr. Johnson. But you didn't have any riot then?

Mr. Pope. No; there was no riot.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it a fact that, in your opinion, the severe riot of July 2nd grew out of negroes being permitted to go ~~into~~ in the white residence parts of the town, of going to white theaters and restaurants, and riding with the white people on the street-cars. Were alleged indignities are said to have been offered?

Mr. Pope. No, sir;

Mr. Johnson. Give us some reason for your answer.

Mr. Pope. I only heard of the one instance about there being objections to colored people living among the whites, and that is the McLean instance.

Mr. Johnson. Now you only heard of one, but don't you know, as a business man, ~~where~~ that there is objection to that wherever it occurs?

Mr. Pope. Yes; I do know that.

Mr. Johnson. So that being true, the race prejudice asserts itself.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; that is one thing. Now I don't

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understand that the negroes eat in the restaurants here where the whites eat.

Mr. Johnson. What about the movies?

Mr. Pope. I don't understand that they attend any of the moving picture shows or theaters where the whites go.

Mr. Johnson. I'm afraid we have been told here that they do.

Mr. Pope. I didn't think it was a fact.

Mr. Johnson. We have also been told of clashes between the two races on the street cars.

Mr. Pope. There has been trouble on the street-cars. They aren't separated on the street-cars.

Mr. Pope. I don't think they attend the theaters at all.

Mr. Johnson. You and I have gone all around it. I have made efforts---the best efforts I had at hand---to bring you up to it, and you have kept away from it.

Mr. Pope. Well, I beg your pardon; I don't want to keep away from anything.

Mr. Johnson. I want to ask you a direct question as to whether or not you think that white labor here was the cause of the riot, and if so, was white the riot made up of white laborers?

Mr. Pope. Well, I think that all the people who participated in that riot as against the negroes were whites. ^{Mr. Johnson.} ~~Mr. Johnson.~~ The people who participated in it as against the whites were negroes. That is equally true, isn't it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I think that is true.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, we have got it down to color against color?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

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Mr. Johnson. Do you desire to go any further than that and state that the cause of ^{the} attack made by the white laborer upon the black laborer was simply because the black laborer was coming in here and getting employment, or do you prefer to leave ~~it~~ it as a race riot strictly?

Mr. Pope. Well, I don't know what the cause---what the trouble was.

Mr. Johnson. Well, who would know now, if you wouldn't?

Mr. Pope. Well, a good many people ~~know~~ would know when I wouldn't.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, you and I have agreed that race prejudice is one of the causes and one of the dominant causes?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. But you have said there are several other causes, and for half an hour I have been endeavoring to get you to state at least one of those causes.

Mr. Pope. Well, what was the cause of those riots at other towns over the country?

Mr. Johnson. I don't know. I am only inquiring about this one, and you, as chairman of the board of one hundred, are the man I am inquiring of.

Mr. Pope. I don't know, either, but they have broken out and it is a difficult matter to tell the exact cause.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, you have gone all around the head about the negro man coming in here and taking the place of the white man in the shops, and the white man's resentment towards the negro because of that, but I can't get you to say yes or no as to whether that was the great contributing cause or not.

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Mr. Pope. I don't say that the negro came here and took the place of the white man.

Mr. Johnson. What do you say then? Let us have some positive assertion from you.

Mr. Pope. Well, alright. I believe the negro came here and took the places and did the work that a white man wouldn't do.

Mr. Johnson. Well, that is another qualification.

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. You are still fighting around now instead of coming right up with a direct answer.

Mr. Pope. I don't like to answer a question that I don't know about.

Mr. Johnson. Well, but you have said that you knew that there were several other causes for this riot besides race prejudice, and in order that you might not go rambling off with various others, I have asked you to come down to one, and you have, by remote intimation, suggested that one of those was due to the negro man coming in and taking the place in the shop of the white man, but you won't say in so many words that that is the **cause**.

Mr. Pope. I think that is one of the causes.

Mr. Johnson. Think it. Do you feel perfectly satisfied of it?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir; I feel perfectly satisfied of that. I think the industrial situation here was one of the causes.

Mr. Johnson. That charge has been made in the press, and out of the great number of witnesses we have had here, we have found no one to make the same statement, except yourself.

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Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And you would enlighten the Committee more than anyone has if you would give us your information and your sources of information which led you to that conviction.

Mr. Pope. That part of the trouble ^{which} arose from the competition among the whites and blacks here?

Mr. Johnson. Yes, ~~among~~ not among the whites and blacks as a race, but between them as laborers.

Mr. Pope. Well, I understood that there had been considerable trouble between the whites and blacks. They had not joined the unions here.

Mr. Johnson. Who hadn't?

Mr. Pope. The black people hadn't.

Mr. Johnson. Why not?

Mr. Pope. Well, now, I heard testimony here to the effect the other day that some of them wouldn't join, and some made application and they wouldn't be accepted as members. I understood that that trouble had existed. They had been taken in unions of a certain class--hod carriers and such as that--but other unions wouldn't permit them to join. That has been my understanding, and that trouble arose.

Mr. Johnson. Unless the whites had expressed their prejudice against the blacks and unless the blacks had resented these expressions of prejudice against them on the part of the whites, would the riot, in your judgment, have occurred?

Mr. Pope. Well, that I couldn't say.

Mr. Johnson. Could you be willing to say that the war here on July 2nd, which continued for 12 to the whites upon one side, and the blacks upon the other side, strictly was nothing

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more than a race war?

Mr. Pope. No; I wouldn't want to make that statement.

Mr. Johnson. You would not be willing to go that far?

Mr. Pope. No; I think there was more to it than that. I think the industrial situation had something to do with it.

Mr. Johnson. Did you apprehend in advance that the bringing in, or the coming in, of such a large number of negroes into this section to take the place of white labor would bring about a serious condition in your community?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't anticipate that at all?

Mr. Pope. No, sir..

Mr. Johnson. Do you believe that the employers of labor anticipated that?

Mr. Pope. No, I don't think they did.

Mr. Johnson. Do you believe that the employers of labor entertained the remotest notion, the remotest idea, that the bringing in of anybody to take the place of strikers would bring about disorder?

Mr. Pope. Well, they have a right to believe that disorder is likely to result from that, because that has been the effect in the past.

Mr. Johnson. And that is your opinion?

Mr. Pope. Yes, where there is a strike and others are brought in to take the place of the strikers, there is apt to be disorder, but I don't understand that these negroes were brought in to take the place of the strikers. They came here because of the industrial condition. Possibly some came through the influence of the employers of labor.

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Mr. Johnson. The employers of labor were the ones who would pay the negro if he came here, would they not?

Mr. Pope. They would be the only ones interested; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, if they, from their former experiences or from their observations of these troubles in other places, believed that the incoming of anybody to take the places of strikers would make trouble, might they not feel absolutely certain that serious trouble would follow the bringing in of negroes against whom this race prejudice prevailed?

Mr. Pope. If they were brought here for the purpose.

Mr. Johnson. I'll change the word from "brought" simply to their coming.

Mr. Pope. Well, if they came here for the purpose of taking the places of other labor, they should have anticipated trouble.

Mr. Johnson. The public-spirited citizens of this town and the employers of labor know in their own minds in advance that if a large number of negro laborers in any way found their way here, and took positions of employment which white men wanted, that serious trouble would follow?

Mr. Pope. They would be warranted in believing that.

Mr. Johnson. They would be warranted in believing that?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, being fully warranted in that belief, do you believe that the employers of labor have been right in starting the negro into coming here, if he did about this, that he knew that the consequences would be serious

trouble, such as you did have, and of trouble that has gone all over the world **and brought** ignominy to your town?

Mr. Pope. I say I don't believe it would be right for any employer to import any kind of labor when he had a reason to believe that trouble would arise from it.

Mr. Johnson. Would it be right for the employer of labor in a community as thickly settled as this, in a city as large as this, to give encouragement by giving employment to anybody, no matter what his race may be, what his color may be, when the giving of that employment made him a fixture here, and made practically certain that which occurred on July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. No; no one would be warranted in doing anything that would bring about an occurrence of that kind.

Mr. Johnson. Yet the employers of labor here did that very thing, did they not?

Mr. Pope. I won't say that.

Mr. Johnson. You aren't willing to say that the employers of labor here employed the negro to go into the factories and accept the wage which he was offering, and that wage was the inducement of his going to work in there?

Mr. Pope. Well, that is a different proposition.

Mr. Johnson. No; I think it is exactly the same proposition. In other words, isn't it not the logical sequence of all that you have said, that ^{the} employers of white labor have employed negro labor by the thousands, when they knew from their own experiences and from their observations of labor troubles in all the other parts of the country, that trouble would be augmented by the fact that there was race prejudice against the negro?

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Mr. Pope. No; I don't subscribe to that at all. I know there were people here who needed laborers, and had work that they couldn't get white people to do.

Mr. Johnson. Why is it, then?

Mr. ~~John~~ Pope. ^{And} that they then tried to get colored laborers.

Mr. Johnson. How hard did they try to get colored labor and where did they try? You have spoken of that now as a fact.

Mr. Pope. I only know from what they said they did.

Mr. Johnson. What did they say---what did they tell you? What efforts did they tell you they made to get negro labor, and where were those efforts made?

Mr. Pope. They were made here in East St. Louis and in St. Louis. I know of people who had agents out all over East St. Louis---

Mr. Johnson. Who were they?

Mr. Pope. (continuing). Every day hunting laborers.

~~Chicago~~ The Ober Kester Glass Co. for one. They had a man last year.

Mr. Johnson. What was the name of the man?

Mr. Pope. I don't know his name.

Mr. Johnson. What did he do?

Mr. Pope. He went out on a bicycle trying to find labor to work in the glass factory.

Mr. Johnson. Now you have said that they tried to get black labor, and it is concerning black labor that I am asking you. Are you still sticking to black labor?

Mr. Pope. I know one plant that wanted black labor.

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Mr. Johnson. What plant was that?

Mr. Pope. The Missouri Malleable Iron Co.

Mr. Johnson. They wanted black labor in preference to white labor?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir--no, I won't say that.

Mr. Johnson. But they wanted black labor?

Mr. Pope. They wanted black labor because they couldn't get white people to do the work they wanted done. Now that condition obtains---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Then they did this deliberately?

Mr. Pope. Oh, that condition maintains at a number of plants here, that there is work around those plants that white people will not do and they must get colored labor.

Mr. Johnson. Are negroes engaged in any employment in those industries that white men can do?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson. And they are non-unionized?

Mr. Pope. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Doesn't that fact---those two facts, ^{first} that they are negroes, and next, that they are non-unionized, in your judgment, tend to inflame white labor?

Mr. Pope. Yes; it is a cause.

Mr. Johnson. It is a cause which led up to the riot, in your judgment, of July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Then you think that these employers deliberately created a situation which was liable to so much bloodshed here on July 2nd?

Mr. Pope. No, sir; I don't believe that at all.

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Mr. Johnson. Then they accepted it unwillingly, did they? They either did it willingly or unwillingly?

Mr. Pope. Now that question would require a little further explanation. I don't know just what you mean by that specific question, when you say ~~him~~ they deliberately accepted a situation?

Mr. Johnson. I was endeavoring to lay the cause of the riot at somebody's door.

Mr. Pope. Well, there is no one door that is big enough to lay it at.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean by that that there are several doors that are big enough at which it can be laid?

Mr. Pope. I think there were several reasons.

Mr. Johnson. Yes; and one of them is race prejudice?

Mr. Pope. Oh, yes.

Mr. Johnson. We have agreed to that.

Mr. Pope. We have agreed on that.

Mr. Johnson. That race prejudice is one of them.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And that the desire upon the part of the local industries to employ colored labor is another.

Mr. Pope. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well, we'll leave it that way, and the Committee will adjourn until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

(Motion on the Committee recommenced at 5:30 p. m. adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m., Monday, November 5th).