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East St. Louis Riot Investigation

Wednesday, Nov 7 - 1917

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Ed. J. ...  
10-11-17

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Wednesday, November 7, 1917.

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

STATEMENT OF DAN MCGLYNN, 120 North Main Street,  
East St. Louis, Illinois.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Mr. McGlynn, I believe you desire to make a statement to the Committee?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Proceed, and make such statement as you desire to make.

Mr. McGlynn: I desire to correct an impression which I gathered from the newspaper reports concerning the testimony of G. B. Pope, chairman of the committee of one hundred, in which he is reported to have said that I was in the confidence of the Attorney General that had acted through the information gathered by him in the prosecution of these riot cases, or that in substance.

In reply to that I desire to say that at no time was I ever in the confidence of the Attorney-General, if that statement is intended to mean that I was intimately associated with him and in a position to get any information concerning these riots from him at all, under any circumstances and at any time. If it is intended to mean simply that I had his confidence like I might have had the confidence of other citizens of this town, it is correct.

At no time did I ever have any information concerning the investigation that was carried on by Mr. Brundage or any of his assistants, or Mr. Schaumleffel or any of his assistants. I never saw a report, I never knew the name of an investigator; I never knew the substance of any kind of a statement made before the Attorney General or any of his assistants or deputies. In fact, I knew nothing more about what was going on there, so far as testimony or what they were investigating is concerned, than any gentleman on this Commission. The only time that I was ever present when the Attorney-General and the others were present was the one time in the committee headquarters, which were in the Arcade Building, in the offices of the East St. Louis Commercial Club, now the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Foster: What committee headquarters do you mean?

Mr. McClynn: The Committee of 100. That is where they first met. The Committee of 100, I suppose. The testimony in this record clearly shows that. I don't want to repeat it, but it shows how the Committee of One Hundred was organized or appointed.

Mr. Foster: Yes, we have had that.

Mr. McClynn: The Committee of One Hundred met temporarily when there was no regular meeting, whenever it was necessary to do so, in the rooms of the Commercial Club. At one meeting there I think Mr. Farmer was present. I don't recall what was said, but nothing was said, that I am sure of, concerning the testimony in any of these cases.



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At another time I was present in Judge Kramer's office when Mr. Brundage was present, Mr. Middlekoff, and I think Mr. Wilkinson, another one of his assistants, and that was the first time I ever met the gentleman. I saw Mr. Brundage during election, but I didn't meet him personally and never saw him afterwards until that day, and that is the first time I ever met him. I never met Mr. Wilkinson or Mr. Middlekoff before; and the only thing discussed at that meeting, that I remember, is whether or not the Attorney-General would come down here to take charge of prosecutions, and whether or not he would get any local financial assistance. Beyond those two questions, there was no discussion-- at least, while I was there.

Now that is my entire connection, and the impression seems to have been-- seems to have gone out that I was doing something that the ethics of the profession ~~is~~ forbid.

In connection with these cases, the only case that I represent any defendants in is the case of Weehan, O'Brien and Wilson, charged with murder. The testimony-- or some of the testimony-- concerning that case is before this board now, and I want to say to the board further that all of the testimony that was in that case was developed at the coroner's inquest before Mr. Brundage came down here to take charge of these cases, and long before I had seen any of the defendants or knew anything about it; and the coroner's inquest was filed with the circuit clerk of this county, as the law requires, and is a public record, and the first time I saw that testimony was after Mr. P. V. Johnson, an attorney

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at Belleville, associated with me in the case, obtained a copy from the Coroner or the circuit clerk, and furnished it to me.

Mr. Baker: What was the name of your associate in these cases?

Mr. McLynn: Preston W. Johnson. When these gentlemen came to employ me I referred them to Mr. Johnson. The first time was for the purpose of being admitted to bail on the Coroner's *mittimus*, as I understood it. I never saw the *mittimus*. I didn't participate in the hearing. Mr. Johnson filed the petition, conducted the investigation, and procured the bail and everything else, in the Circuit Court, and I had nothing whatever to do with that, and it was long afterwards, when the Grand Jury-- I don't remember just how long, but it was afterwards, when the Grand Jury indicted those men, that I assisted in preparing the bonds which they were required to furnish under the new statute of this State which requires the surety to set out in minute detail the description, the amount of property, incumbrance, and where it is located, and so forth.

I would be glad to have this Committee call any member of the Attorney General's staff, from Mr. Brundage down, to ascertain whether at any time I was in their confidence, or any time discussed the matter with them, or any time got any information concerning any of these cases, or at any time was ever in position to get it.

That is all, I believe, I desire to say in answer to

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gy connection with these cases. Further, that these two defendants, Mr. Meehan and Mr. O'Brien, were friends of mine of ~~for~~ many years standing, and I was under personal obligation to them to take a case I was entitled to take without any criticism or objection on the part of anybody.

Mr. Baker: What are their names?

Mr. McGlynn: Meehan, O'Brien and Wilson.

Mr. Baker: Three of them?

Mr. McGlynn: Wilson was indicted with them. He was the police chauffeur.

Mr. Baker: How is Meehan's name spelled?

Mr. McGlynn: M-e-a-h-a-n.

Mr. Baker: Which is the chauffeur?

Mr. McGlynn: Wilson; Wilson was a comparative stranger to me. I didn't know him until he came to the office with them. I think I knew him by sight, but not personally.

Mr. Johnson: I believe you said you felt under personal obligation to these two men to take their cases?

Mr. McGlynn: I did, and do now.

Mr. Johnson: Is that the reason why you took them?

Mr. McGlynn: That is the reason why I took the cases.

Mr. Johnson: Otherwise you wouldn't have taken them?

Mr. McGlynn: No; I wouldn't have taken them at all.

Mr. Johnson: Why?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the principal reason was because I was busy with other matters. I had all I could attend to. I have no one in the office with me, and I have more than I can

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attend to myself. I had an opportunity to accept employment in a great many other of those riot cases.

Mr. Johnson: At good fees?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it never got to where the fees were discussed.

Mr. Johnson: But you have an idea as to what the fee would have been, if you had taken the case, because you know each man's ability to pay, I take it for granted?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, some of them I did. Others were strangers. I didn't know how they were circumstanced financially. As a matter of fact, I didn't know what they were able to pay. We never got to the discussion of fees, because I told them at the start I wasn't able to take them; that I was too busy and couldn't take them.

Mr. Johnson: You just flatly declined those, without any consideration at all of their proposition to employ you?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: But in these two cases you felt under personal obligations to these two men and you did accept employment from them?

Mr. McGlynn: And for the further reason, if your Honor please, that all the information that could be obtained in those cases was already a matter of record, and I didn't think that there was any possibility of any criticism of my connection with the Committee of One Hundred or Chairman of the Executive Committee, with a case that wasn't a riot case, so-called, because it was the day afterwards and in



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the remote part of the town, where there had been no disturbance during the day of the riot. These men were sent down there by their superior officers to investigate the question as to whether or not a negro saloon was open.

Mr. Johnson: So at the time of these offers of various employments you were bearing in mind the possibility of criticism from the standpoint of the Committee of One Hundred, were you?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that was one of the reasons; yes, sir. I didn't want to have anything to do with those cases, because they were riot cases, so-called. They occurred on July 2nd.

Mr. Johnson: And the alleged offense out of which grew the indictments against your two clients occurred early the next morning, the morning of the 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; the next day.

Mr. Johnson: And you separate the incidents of the 2nd from those of the 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: When it comes to your taking employment?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the fact that one occurred one day and the other the other, was the only reason, as I have already tried to explain.

Mr. Johnson: I think you have said, however, that it was a reason.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. I considered all those matters-- tried to.

Mr. Johnson: And did anybody offer to employ you

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Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't quite understand your question. I can't answer the question the way it is put, because there were no cases in which I was familiar with the facts.

Mr. Johnson: You have stated you were familiar with the facts as to Meeker and O'Brien before you took the employment.

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I say that the facts concerning their case were a matter of public record. I hadn't read the facts.

Mr. Johnson: So then, you took it regardless of having any knowledge of the facts?

Mr. McGlynn: I had some newspaper information.

Mr. Johnson: But you didn't know what the facts were when you took their cases, Meekhan and O'Brien?

Mr. McGlynn: I knew from a discussion with them at the time that I saw them afterwards. At the time it occurred I didn't.

Mr. Johnson: So when they-- you have said, I believe, that the facts in their cases had become a matter of record?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Now then, you state that you weren't familiar with that record?

Mr. McGlynn: I wasn't familiar with the details of

the facts except so far as they were published by the newspapers. I hadn't read the record.

Mr. Johnson: So you took their cases in absolute ignorance of whether they were guilty or not guilty?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, no, no, sir. I didn't say that.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I am asking you if you did.

Mr. McGlynn: No, I did not.

Mr. Johnson: Then from what source did you get information when you took employment from them?

Mr. McGlynn: From them, and from the transcript of the testimony which they brought me from Mr. Johnson's office in Belleville.

Mr. Johnson: But you took the employment from them, or you became their attorney in the matter, simply because you were under obligations to them?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, yes, sir, that was one of the reasons, and because I had no connection with the Attorney General's office and wasn't connected with him in any manner in the investigation of these cases, or anything to do with them.

Mr. Johnson: Didn't the same rule apply to the other cases, to the charges against other men?

Mr. McGlynn: No; there wasn't any fact made public concerning any of the rest of them.

Mr. Johnson: We are not talking about the fact being made public; we are talking about the statement made in your last answer, relative to your association with the Attorney General's office. To refresh your memory I suggest that the stenographer read to you what you have just said relative to

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that matter.

(The answer was read as follows):

"Mr. McGlynn: Well; yes, sir; that was one of the reasons, and because I had no connection with the Attorney General's office and wasn't connected with him in any manner in the investigation of these cases or anything to do with them."

Mr. Johnson: Now what I wish to know is, if you had any less or any more association or connection with the Attorney General's office concerning these two cases than you had with the other cases?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; none whatever. The situation was just the same.

Mr. Johnson: Then these cases in which you did take employment were on all-fours with the cases in which you did not take employment?

Mr. McGlynn: With the exception of knowing that the facts in this case had been made public and these were friends of mine that I felt under obligations to assess under those circumstances.

Mr. Johnson: So you had two reasons for accepting employment from these men, and for declining employment from the other men, and those two reasons were that you were under personal obligations to these two men; and the next that the facts in their cases were known to you?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, they weren't known to me at that time. They were later, but they had been made public, as I understood, at the time, and later I found it to be true.



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Mr. Johnson: So then you did take the employment from them not knowing what the facts in their cases were?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, if you mean by that at the time that I was employed by them.

Mr. Johnson: No, I mean to ask the question if I thoroughly understand your last answer. Now the stenographer will please read that answer to you.

(The answer was read as follows):

"Mr. McGlynn: Well, they weren't known to me at that time. They were later, but they had been made public, as I understood, at the time, and later I found it to be true."

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I have said that several times.

Mr. Johnson: Then if I correctly understand you, in saying that you were another answer, Mr. McGlynn?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't think so. If you will pardon me, I am trying to make that clear to you. What I mean is, when they came to see me about their cases I knew that the Coroner's inquest had been held, and I knew that all these witnesses had appeared before the Coroner's Jury.

Mr. Johnson: All of what witnesses?

Mr. McGlynn: The witnesses that were afterwards-- when I saw their names on the back of the indictment, the soldiers that had gone down there, and the soldiers who did the shooting. I knew that at the time, and when they came to me about appearing for them in the habeas corpus hearing I refused to go to Belleville and told them to get Mr. Johnson, if they could. I was busy and couldn't do it.

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I didn't want to have anything to do with the habeas corpus proceeding at that time because I was too busy attending to other matters. If I hadn't been, I would have gone, and then I would have ascertained what the facts were. But when they came to me after their indictment, Mr. Johnson attended to the hearing before the Circuit Court and got them admitted to bail before Judge Crow, and when they came to me for employment after this indictment they brought this transcript of the testimony-- whether that day now, I don't remember, or the next day-- but the first time we discussed it we had the transcript of the testimony as to what occurred before the Coroner's inquest.

Mr. Johnson: Let me see if I understand you correctly. You didn't have knowledge or information concerning the guilt or innocence of these two men because of your association with the prosecution?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And you didn't have knowledge or information as to their guilt or innocence at the time you took employment then, because you didn't know what the facts were?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, at the time I took the employment we went over the matter. They explained the circumstances to me and I-- a few days later I read the testimony-- whether that day or that moment or at the next meeting, at the latest, I think, I read the testimony-- these transcripts which they brought.

Mr. Johnson: And when you went over the matter

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with them you didn't know-- or when you took employment from them-- you didn't know the lines of prosecution which would be followed by the State's Attorneys?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I knew what the indictments provided.

Mr. Johnson: The indictment just charged murder, didn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes. And I knew from them that their defense was that they hadn't fired the shots themselves, and I knew from them further that the soldiers claimed that the police officers, or Meehan, had directed them to do the firing, and they denied that. I knew that was the case-- at least I knew those were the circumstances to be contended for.

Mr. Johnson: But out of apprehension of criticism as one reason, and because you were busy as another reason, you declined the employment of others who sought to employ you, and then upon the other hand you accepted employment from O'Brien and Meehan because you were under personal obligations to them, and because a public record had already been made in their cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; and for the additional reason that my relation with the Attorney's office had never been of such a character that <sup>I thought</sup> anybody could take exception to my employment with them.

Mr. Johnson: Of these two cases, or of all cases?

Mr. McGlynn: So far as that is concerned, it would be true of any case, because I never knew a thing that went on

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in the Attorney General's office, or about the evidence that was ever produced by him or obtained by him.

Mr. Johnson: Just for information, I am curious to know what made you apprehensive of criticism in taking any of these cases.

Mr. McGlynn: Because I was a member of the executive committee, and I didn't want to have anything to do with any of those riot cases that occurred on the day of the riot.

Mr. Johnson: And so if this thing had occurred one minute before 12 o'clock on the night of the 2nd, you wouldn't have taken the employment; but if it occurred one minute after 12 on the morning of the 3rd, you felt at liberty to take that employment?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I felt at liberty to take employment if I had no connection or anything to do with the prosecution of these cases, whether it occurred a minute before or a minute after.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I thought that I understood you quite clearly to say that you did accept the two cases--

Mr. McGlynn: I did. I do now.

Mr. Johnson: And you took employment-- one of your reasons for taking employment is your separation of the two cases, that the killings that occurred upon one day were riots-- the result of riot-- and the killings that occurred the next day were not the result of riot; and that the committee had something to do with the affairs that occur-



red on July 2nd, and nothing to do with such rioting as might occur on the following day?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I didn't say that.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I am asking you if you did.

Mr. McGlynn: If I did-- pardon me; if I did what?

Mr. Johnson: I am asking you if you didn't so separate the days along those lines.

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir. I said that this killing occurred on the 2nd, the day after the 2nd, the day after the riot.

Mr. Johnson: It occurred on the morning of the 3rd.

Mr. McGlynn: I mean the morning of the 3rd, about 6 o'clock-- between 7 and 8 o'clock, somewhere in there; and that these were not riot cases, so-called, at all. They went down there with the officers.

Mr. Johnson: They were not riot cases because, in your judgment, the riot ceased, was passed and gone, as the 2nd day of July passed and went away?

Mr. McGlynn: I think that would be a correct statement.

Mr. Johnson: So, whatever killing occurred on the morning of the 3rd, in exactly the same way that killings had occurred on the preceding night, but a few hours ago, in your mind had a different status?

Mr. McGlynn: No; not if the killings occurred in the same way. But there was no such killing occurred in the same way in this case.

Mr. Johnson: Well, there was no such killing occur-

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red in this case; you are correct in that; because there was but one case in that one case.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and the circumstances were entirely different.

Mr. Johnson: But if the evidence that has been presented to the Committee is to be believed, soldiers participated in the killing of citizens here on the night of the 2nd, and soldiers also participated in the killing of citizens early on the morning of the 3rd; and I don't grasp the distinction which you make, that as a member of the Committee of One Hundred-- you were on the executive committee too, were you not?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And that as a member of the executive committee of seven from the Committee of One Hundred, the line of demarcation between offenses for which you could not take employment ended at 12 o'clock on the night of the 2nd, and the cases in which you could take employment commenced immediately following 12 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: Now, if your Honor please, I have never said that there was anything to prevent me from taking employment in those riot cases except my connection with the Committee.

Mr. Johnson: And your connection with the Committee ceased at 12 o'clock that night, did it, on the night of the 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I was about to say, when you asked the additional question, that there was nothing to pre-

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vent my taking those cases at all, if I wanted to take them, so far as my connection with the Committee was concerned, because I--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:) Then what did you say about declining on account of your being a member of the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. McGlynn: I said that was one of the reasons that I took into consideration.

Mr. Johnson: Why did you take it into consideration, if in your mind it had no bearing whatever on the situation?

Mr. McGlynn: Because I was connected in a way with the committee. I was a member of the Committee of One Hundred, and I was a member of the executive committee, and while I didn't have anything to do with the Attorney General's office in the investigation of these cases, at the same time I didn't care to take cases that grew out of the riot directly on that day.

Mr. Johnson: On that day?

Mr. McGlynn: On that day, yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Then may I not ask again-- I may be slow to catch it-- but I would like to again ask your point of view in stating that because of your association with the Committee of One Hundred, you couldn't accept employment?

Mr. McGlynn: I didn't say I could not.

Mr. Johnson: Well, that you preferred not to accept employment.

Mr. McGlynn: I say this was one of the considerations that entered into my refusal.

Mr. Johnson: And the same facts didn't enter into your consideration, then, on the morning-- as to offenses committed on the morning of the 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: The 3rd, no, sir, because there wasn't any reason, as I thought, where a case-- in a case where all the facts had been made a matter of public record, as they had in the Meehan and O'Brien cases at the hearing before the Coroner's Jury, where the inquest was being held on this negro Child-- that there could be any criticism of anybody defending that case, no matter what his connection was.

Mr. Johnson: Who were the others that offered to employ you besides these two?

Mr. McGlynn: Why, I can't recall their names. There were several that came in there-- Sergeant Haley was one of them.

Mr. Johnson: What was he charged with having done?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I really don't know what the indictment is. I don't know what was in the indictment. He said they had him arrested, and I told him I couldn't take his case. I didn't discuss it with him any further.

Mr. Johnson: From whom else did you decline employment?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, there were two ladies came in there who said their husbands were in the riot. I have forgotten their names: I don't know whether I knew at the time. They said their husbands were in the riot and they wanted to talk to me about defending them, and I told them



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I was too busy to take the cases.

Mr. Johnson: Were they indicted?

Mr. McGlynn: They were then indicted, as I understood from these ladies. I suppose they were.

Mr. Johnson: So a resume of the situation is that you declined employment from some of those charged with offenses, because of your association with the Committee of One Hundred, and you accepted employment from O'Brien and Meehan because you felt under personal obligations to them, and your further reason that they weren't charged with an offense committed on the 2nd, but instead, on the 3rd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: If you will add to that question, now, the fact that the testimony in their cases had been made public, I will say yes.

Mr. Johnson: And then I will add to that-- restate the situation, as I understand it-- that you declined employment with some of those charged with offenses committed on the 2nd, simply because of your association with the Committee of One Hundred; and upon the other hand, that you accepted employment from O'Brien and Meehan because you were under personal obligations to them, and next that their offense, if they were guilty of an offense, was committed on the morning of the 3rd instead of on the 2nd; and next, that there had been a coroner's inquest in their case before which coroner's inquest testimony had been taken?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir, I think that is it.

Mr. Cooper: You have lived in this city how long,

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Mr. McGlynn?

Mr. McGlynn: Thirty-three years.

Mr. Cooper: Industrial conditions had been quite disturbed here, hadn't they, for some months prior to the riots in July?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, there was some disturbance out here on account of the strike at the Aluminum Plant. I don't recall any other disturbance immediately preceding the riot but that.

Mr. Cooper: That is not actual disturbance, but there had been apprehension among the citizens of East St. Louis that trouble might break out here most any time in the spring?

Mr. McGlynn: Upon what grounds do you mean trouble might break out; on account of the presence of the negroes?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: They had been coming in in very considerable numbers for months preceding the July riots, in the spring at least?

Mr. McGlynn: They had been coming in in considerable numbers, to my observation, since about-- well, I would think-- I don't know, and maybe I wouldn't get that right, but June or July, the last year.

Mr. Cooper: 1916?

Mr. McGlynn: I would see them in the morning-- I go to my office every Sunday morning about 9 o'clock to write to my boys at school, and I would see them coming from

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the depot <sup>part</sup> ~~at~~ my office in considerable numbers.

Mr. Cooper: You knew about the meeting on the 28th of May last?

Mr. McGlynn: As a matter of public information generally, like others.

Mr. Cooper: It was generally discussed here by the citizens of East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I believe-- I guess I heard some citizens discussing it. I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: You heard about a speech made by Attorney Flannigan?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You knew that there came from that meeting, which was called primarily to be attended only  
874 by the delegates, of 80 or 100 men, but because of the public notice was attended by a great crowd of people-- they came from that meeting directly; and that the violence began, on the 28th of May? You knew that?

Mr. McGlynn: I have since known it. I knew it in the news item in the next morning's paper.

Mr. Cooper: And that was discussed by the people, wasn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, yes, sir. I can't recall any discussion, but I am sure it was.

Mr. Cooper: And then it went on up to July 2nd, and the rioting broke out?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. Well, I don't know that it went on. There was some discussion, and there was a

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feeling of unrest until July 2nd, and the killing of these policemen on the night before touched a match to the powder and there was an ignition.

Mr. Cooper: Well, don't you think that the riding through negro quarters of an automobile filled with white men, along about midnight, and shooting indiscriminately in the houses of the negroes was something of a match to touch it off?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I do. I surely do.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you think that if white people had had their houses shot into in that way that night, that they would have been apt to fire up and explode around here?

Mr. McGlynn: I do, absolutely.

Mr. Cooper: Then the killing, the most unfortunate killing, of the officers, followed that morning, and then the next day began the riot. Men were killed in the streets-- you have heard about that?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Did you see some of them killed?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Cooper: Where were you on that day?

Mr. McGlynn: I was in my office the principal part of the day after our efforts failed to get any action from the authorities.

Mr. Cooper: And did you meet about two o'clock with the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, my recollection is that we met

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several times that day.

Mr. Cooper: For what purpose?

Mr. McGlynn: To see if we could get the authorities to do something to disperse the crowds on the streets.

Mr. Cooper: And stop the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You were apprehensive of destruction of property and a general killing here?

Mr. McGlynn: There wasn't any question on earth about it. It was in the air. You could see it when there was large crowds on the streets.

Mr. Cooper: And that night began the burning?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That was a terrible day. We have it in evidence that one man that was shot, his body laid out by the side of the street that day until well along through the afternoon of the next day, Tuesday: Do you know about that?

Mr. McGlynn: I have heard it. I went down the night before the fire.

Mr. Cooper: Wounded but not dead?

Mr. McGlynn: I went down to Broadway, and bullets were whistling around there, and I went home.

Mr. Cooper: This man was wounded and not dead, and nobody care to his assistance. There was such a reign of terror here that the ordinary humanities were forgotten on the public streets. Now the next morning this negro was killed and this young girl, 20 years of age, had her arm

shot off. You took the case of those soldiers killing those-- not the soldiers, but Meahan, O'Brien and Wilson, charged with killing them the next morning between 7 and 8 o'clock?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You said that that didn't grow out of the riots?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; it wasn't a part of the riot.

Mr. Cooper: It wasn't a part of the riot-- the ruins were smoking at that time?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Soldiers were patrolling the streets of this city?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Cooper: A dead body lying in the streets and such a reign of terror that nobody dared go near it?

Mr. McGlynn: I have heard that; I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper: A wounded man-- isn't that rather a fine distinction to draw between Monday and Tuesday morning at 7 or 8 o'clock? Isn't that a pretty fine distinction? Wouldn't you consider, if one of your relatives had been shot the next morning by a soldier, accompanied by policemen, ~~some~~ an inoffensive, helpless girl, that the reign of lawlessness was still on and that it was a part of the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You would not? Well, that's all.

Mr. McGlynn: I would like to make an explanation

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as to why I wouldn't, when you asked me that question. Now, if your Honor please, all of this rioting that was done the day before was done by an irresponsible and unorganized mob without any authority at all; without any semblance of authority. They were not pretending to exercising any authority. They were doing it in violation of law. These police officers were sent down to perform a duty, by their superior, the lieutenant of police, Hickey, who sent them down there for the express purpose of examining the place to see whether a colored saloon was open and whether they had any fire-arms, as he tells me, and as the other officers corroborate his statement.

Mr. Cooper: Will you stop right there a moment?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Did they have to shoot this girl's arm off, who was running into the house from the toilet, alone and unaccompanied, when she hadn't been near the saloon?

Mr. McGlynn: My position is the soldiers had no authority to do anything they did at that time at all. They got no authority from the police officers to do it, and they are the ones that ought to be on trial in the case instead of the police officers, according to their own testimony, which I am willing to submit to this Committee, if you dare to see it, which was taken at the Coroner's Inquest, where Corporal Anderson testified that Meeker told him to fire; and he is corroborated by one man

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and denied by another. Corporal Anderson and Proulett are the only two that have testified to that, and there are seven men who swear-- five have already testified and two who have not been called, but who will swear absolutely that that is untrue. Now that is the reason why I make a distinction, if your Honor please. May be I am not making the right kind of a distinction, but I say these police officers were sent down there in the performance of their duty, and they did nothing except in the performance of their duty and fired no shots at all.

Mr. Cooper: The soldiers were under the control of the police officers, it has been testified here, by the military man, Colonel Tripp.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And that they did nothing at all on the 2nd or the 3rd except as they were directed-- the morning of the 3rd-- except as they were directed by the police officers who accompanied them. Now for what purpose did you become a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. McGlynn: To do what I could to restore order in the city.

Mr. Cooper: You were appointed on what day?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know on what day I was appointed a member of the committee. It was some time after-- what day was that meeting held there? If your Honor can give me that, I can probably tell you.

Mr. Baker: It don't show.



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Mr. McGlynn: I don't recall the date. It was after that.

Mr. Baker: It isn't dated.

Mr. Foss: After the riots?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I think three or four days-- maybe five days. I don't remember just exactly-- some few days.

Mr. Johnson: Did the Committee of One Hundred agree, or permit the impression to prevail among its entire membership that the riot ceased with the expiration of the 2nd day of July?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, did the committee let that impression go abroad among the members? Is that your question?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know. The impression that I had-- and I think probably it was shared by a good many others-- was that conditions hadn't been restored to normal next day nor for several days afterwards.

Mr. Cooper: Those were the riot conditions?

Mr. McGlynn: There wasn't any rioting that day, but that feeling of unrest.

Mr. Johnson: When the Committee of One Hundred organized several days after July 2nd, they made no discrimination whatever between violence that occurred on the 2nd and violence that occurred on the 3rd, did they?

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Mr. McGlynn: I don't think there ever was any question of that kind which arose.

Mr. Johnson: In other words, they were dealing with the entire situation during the next two or three days before?

Mr. McGlynn: And as it was developing, whatever that might be, yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And so far as you know, there is no one except yourself who divides the riot into as what took place before 12 o'clock on the night of the 2nd and what took place after 12 o'clock on the same night?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know. I never discussed that with anybody.

Mr. Johnson: But you don't know of anybody except yourself who divides the killings and makes the killings of the 2nd-- classified the killings of the 2nd as a part of the riot, and excludes the killings of the 3rd as a part of the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, to answer your question, no, I don't know of anybody who makes that distinction, and I don't make the distinction quite that you try to draw there, if your Honor will pardon me. I thought I said-- maybe I did not clearly enough-- that there is a distinction to be drawn between officers sent down there to perform a duty and someone who goes along with them, like the soldiers, and shoots somebody without authority, so far as the officers are concerned, and the rabble on the streets who commit murder.

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Mr. Cooper: Let me ask one question right there. Mr. McGlynn, you say that this murder didn't grow out of the riots, between 7 and 8 o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd of July. That murder didn't grow out of the riot? Is that it?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it wasn't apart of the riot that occurred the day before, or a continuing of that riot, so far as that disturbance was concerned. It grew out of the fact that somebody reported a negro saloon open, as I understand it, and the chief of police sent some officers down there to close it.

Mr. Cooper: That wasn't a riot condition at all, was it?

Mr. McGlynn: Not because if the saloon was opened; *because* the saloon was closed by order of the Mayor.

Mr. Cooper: Now if that wasn't a riot condition, how do you account for soldiers going down with rifles and bayonets, and soldiers wearing uniforms, accompanied by the police, to close the saloon? If that wasn't a riot condition, what was it? Do you ordinarily, in normal times, have armed soldiers, with bayonets, go down to close a saloon?

Mr. McGlynn: No, certainly not.

Mr. Cooper: Except for the existence of a riot, the saloon wouldn't have been ordered closed, would it?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Cooper: And they went down to close the saloon, didn't they?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

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Mr. Cooper: Then there must have been a riot going on?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't see it that way.

Mr. Cooper: That's all.

Mr. Raker: Now, Mr. McGlynn--

Mr. McGlynn(interposing:): I would like to make a statement in reply to the gentleman.

Mr. Raker: Go ahead.

Mr. McGlynn: You asked me if I can make that distinction. You say that that is a riot condition. I say that the fact that a saloon is open, such as that one was reported to be, is not a riot.

Mr. Cooper: Wasn't any saloon to be closed that day?

Mr. McGlynn: Were they all to be closed, you mean?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I so considered.

Mr. Cooper: Why?

Mr. McGlynn: Because of the riotous conditions here, to keep liquor away from those who were likely to become intoxicated and create trouble.

Mr. Cooper: That is a demonstration that it was part of the riot.

Mr. McGlynn: You may argue that conclusion.

Mr. Cooper: One report-- the soldiers were in uniform, with rifles and bayonets, accompanying the police officers for the simple purpose of closing a saloon, sent

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here to keep down the riot. Those facts in and of themselves alone would show that the conditions were abnormal and grew out of a riot?

Mr. McGlynn: That is true. I never said anything different but that the conditions all grew out of the riot. But I say there was no riot going on there at that time.

Mr. Cooper: Well, you would have thought there was if it had been your relative that had had her arm shot off.

Mr. McGlynn: It might have been shot off by an irresponsible militiaman, as that woman's was shot off. It was not a riot; it was murder, an assault to murder.

Mr. Cooper: But the militiaman wouldn't be going there with the police, with rifles and bayonets, unless there had been a riot?

Mr. McGlynn: They were called to East St. Louis, but the fact that there was a riot uptown here didn't make this a riot down there. He was sent down there by the police officer?

Mr. Cooper: When it comes to a matter of professional ethics, I don't understand the distinction you make.

Mr. McGlynn: I am certain I want to make myself clear.

Mr. Cooper: Now you went to this meeting of the citizens on Monday, the 2nd of July, for the purpose of devising means or seeing if you couldn't secure--

Mr. McGlynn (Interposing): A restoration of order.

Mr. Cooper: Now it wasn't for the purpose of

punishing so much what had occurred-- I would say preventing what had occurred-- as it was to prevent what might occur in the future? You wanted to stop rioting after that?

Mr. McGlynn: We couldn't prevent what had happened. We were trying to restore order.

Mr. Cooper: So you went to restore order, and you joined these citizens. Now how many were there at the first meeting you attended on the 2nd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: I can't recall. I remember there was a call sent out to the members, first, of the Chamber of Commerce. I happened to be a member, and that is how I was invited to come over.

Mr. Cooper: How long did that meeting of members of the Chamber of Commerce last on the 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: I can't remember. We met two or three times, is my recollection.

Mr. Cooper: On the 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: When did you next meet after the first meeting?

Mr. McGlynn: We met practically every day after that.

Mr. Cooper: You met on the 2nd and 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And then finally the Committee of One Hundred was appointed?

Mr. McGlynn: That was appointed after. There was a mass meeting called at the City Hall, and there was a re-

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solution prepared and presented to that meeting, and that was the authority for the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Cooper: You were appointed on the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And that was a committee to devise means and methods to punish the guilty?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, there was a sub-committee appointed for that. The general Committee of One Hundred never had anything to do with that.

Mr. Cooper: No; but the executive committee was authorized to look into that subject, to devise means and methods of punishing the guilty?

Mr. McGlynn: It might be, but if it did, I can say to you that the executive committee never had anything to do with it at all. The committee-- that matter was left entirely to another committee, and no report of that committee has ever been made, so far as I know.

Mr. Cooper: What did this executive committee do?

Mr. McGlynn: If you will pardon me, I will tell you. About the only thing that they did or tried to do was to try to get a new police board here and some little activities afterwards about having committees appointed to look after the soldiers.

Mr. Cooper: Didn't Mr. Widdlehauff, the assistant attorney general of the State, meet with the executive committee?

Mr. McGlynn: He met with the Committee of One Hund-

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red.

Mr. Cooper: Were you present?

Mr. McGlynn: I was. There were probably fifty or sixty there.

Mr. Cooper: For what purpose was Mr. Middlekauff in consultation with you?

Mr. McGlynn: He wasn't called in consultation. He came there to make a report, and his report, as I remember it, was--

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) How came he to make a report?

Mr. McGlynn: I will tell you.

Mr. Cooper: You started to tell what the report was.

Mr. McGlynn: All I know is what he said, because I had no other information.

Mr. Cooper: Didn't you know about his having been requested to make a report?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What did your executive committee do?

Mr. McGlynn: All they did was to try to get the Mayor to appoint a new police board.

Mr. Cooper: Is that all?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that was the principal activity.

Mr. Cooper: The principal activity? Is that all they did?

Mr. McGlynn: That is about all they accomplished.



I don't know what else they tried to do.

Mr. Cooper: Is that all they did?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, no. They appointed a committee for the purpose of-- that afterward organized the East St. Louis Soldiers' Relief Unit. That was an outside matter, and had no connection with this.

Mr. Cooper: Who was the committee which brought about the employment of the Attorney General's office of this State?

Mr. McGlynn: The Attorney General wasn't employed at all. They asked the Attorney General to come here.

Mr. Cooper: Who asked him to come here?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know who did that. Some of the members of the committee. I had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Johnson: You mean the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I suppose so. I had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Cooper: You didn't know anything about it?

Mr. McGlynn: I knew he was going to be asked to be here, and knew that he came; and I don't recall now, but the records ought to show that.

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Mr. Cooper: Now as a member of the executive committee and a lawyer of experience, a committee of this Committee of One Hundred, organized for the express purpose of securing means, devising methods to have the guilty punished, and prevent a repetition of such awful scenes

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in this city-- as a member of that executive committee didn't you know that the assistance of the Attorney General of this State was to be requested?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and I knew that it was and had been.

Mr. Cooper: Now then, you knew all about the riots; you had heard about the bloodshed; you knew about the terrorism which succeeded; you knew about the anxiety of the prominent citizens here to prevent a repetition of these horrors. As a member of the executive committee of prominent citizens of East St. Louis you knew, you say, that the office of the Attorney General of this state was to be requested <sup>to assist</sup> in the prosecution. You were instrumental, weren't you, to the extent of approving that and having them come here?

Mr. McGlynn: Absolutely, yes.

Mr. Cooper: Then, after that work is done, then you turn around-- as I understand it-- and accept employment for the defense of the very men that the Attorney General's office is prosecuting; men that have been indicted by the grand jury as a result of their investigation of these murders? Now, that is so, isn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: No, it is not so.

Mr. Cooper: Aren't you defending these men?

Mr. McGlynn: It is not so, because of the latter part of your question. You say they are indicted as a result of the investigation of the Attorney General.

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Mr. Cooper: Of the grand jury.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that wasn't what you said. I beg your pardon. They were indicted as a result of the investigation by the Coroner's Jury before the Attorney General ever had anything to do with it.

Mr. Cooper: Well, and the Attorney General you got, and then you assisted in having him come here to assist in the prosecution of indictments already drawn; is that it?

Mr. McGlynn: No, there hadn't been indictments of any kind or character drawn. The Grand Jury, as I remember it, was to be recalled at that term. The Circuit Court hadn't ended; the Grand Jury had been permitted to go home, and they were recalled for the purpose of investigating these cases, and the Attorney General was brought down here long before the Grand Jury-- not long, a few days, something like that. The Grand Jury was recalled and evidence gathered, as I since learned, and as I knew they were going to do-- how I didn't know, except they were going to get investigators. That evidence was to be gathered by the Attorney General and submitted to the Grand Jury, which was done.

Mr. Cooper: Then, to sum it all up, you were on an executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, whose sole function it was to devise means and methods to bring about the punishment of the guilty?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Cooper: And prevent a repetition of these riotous conditions?

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Mr. McGlynn: That was one of their functions.

Mr. Cooper: Well, the principal function, of course, is that?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the principal function was to try to restore the situation to a normal condition here.

Mr. Cooper: Well, one of their functions, then?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I said that. I said the only function.

Mr. Cooper: Well, I should think the punishment of the guilty and the prevention of a repetition of such horrors would be their principal function.

Mr. McGlynn: It was one of them.

Mr. Cooper: Well, call it one of the functions. You will call it an important function?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I will agree with you.

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Mr. Cooper: Then you were a member of the executive committee of the committee of one hundred, whose one important function was to bring about <sup>the</sup> punishment of the guilty and devise means and methods to prevent the commission of such crimes in East St. Louis. You knew that the office of the Attorney General of this State was to be requested <sup>to assist</sup> in the prosecution of offenses that might be indicted by the Grand Jury. You say that the requesting of the Attorney General's office to assist had your approval and then you appear as counsel for three men indicted for murder?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Three, is that it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; three is right.

Mr. Cooper: And you make the distinction-- you say that O'Brien and Mehan and Wilson are charged with an offense on the morning of-- of having committed this offense on the morning of the 3rd, between 7 and 8 o'clock, or approximately that hour, and that you don't think that offense, or the offense of the soldiers who shot and killed a negro, and shot off the arm of that young girl, was part of the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I am not defending the soldier. He is not indicted.

Mr. Cooper: You don't think it was part of the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: No; it wasn't part of the riot.

Mr. Cooper: And that justifies you?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Cooper: In going upon the defense?

Mr. McGlynn: No; I have said several times I didn't do anything of the kind. I have tried to explain to you that there were several reasons why I didn't think there was any inhibition against my accepting employment from these men; and the important thing of all was that the facts connected with their case were a matter of public record and didn't grow out of any investigation that the Attorney-General made at all. That was one reason, and a very prominent reason, I think. I may be wrong about that.

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Mr. Baker: Haven't you learned that these soldiers claimed the policemen did the shooting, too?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I have stated that that is contained in this excerpt of the testimony I got.

Mr. Baker: The soldiers claim that the policemen did the shooting.

Mr. McGlynn: That was the statement of Corporal Anderson, Froulett and a man named Le Gris, those three men, and they are the only three. There were seven soldiers there, and there are only three of them who claim or say that the policemen gave them any instructions at all, and they don't agree, those three even.

Mr. Baker: Well, that don't make it conclusive.

Mr. McGlynn: No, surely not. I don't mean to say so.

Mr. Baker: It don't make a conclusion, and it don't disprove the fact but what the policemen did actually do the shooting.

Mr. McGlynn: There were two policemen and two chauffeurs and three eye witnesses besides them who say that there were no such orders given, and of course that don't make it conclusive either. That makes it a question for a jury still.

Mr. Cooper: How many meetings did you attend when the Attorney General's office was represented?

Mr. McGlynn: I think two is all.

Mr. Cooper: You talked over, then, the importance of getting at this prosecution?

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Mr. McGlynn: I explained to you while ago--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) But did you do that?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I would prefer to answer the question rather than to have you frame the answer for me.

Mr. Cooper: I should prefer to have you answer it.

Mr. McGlynn: I will answer the question if you will ask it so that it is susceptible of a yes or no reply.

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Mr. Cooper: Did you talk over in these interviews with the Assistant Attorney General, or any other representative of the Attorney General's office, the importance of getting at the prosecutions quickly?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know <sup>whether</sup> it was discussed about how quick it ought to be done. The importance of investigating the cause of these riots and ascertaining, if possible, who committed murder and arson was discussed; but no names nor facts or circumstances or anything of that kind were ever mentioned, because at the first meeting it wasn't determined then whether the Attorney General was going to be here or not.

Mr. Cooper: But you were instrumental in bringing about the Attorney General's office coming here?

Mr. McGlynn: I wasn't any more instrumental than any other member.

Mr. Cooper: You weren't any more instrumental, but you were in part-- you were one of those?

Mr. McGlynn: They had my approval as a member of the committee, without any action on my part.

Mr. Cooper: So you helped <sup>to</sup> secure the retention

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of counsel to prosecute the criminal cases?

Mr. McGlynn: So far as being a member of the committee was concerned.

Mr. Cooper: So far as your being a member of the committee was concerned?

Mr. McGlynn: If that did it.

Mr. Cooper: That was all that anybody else did in that executive committee?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir-- I don't know, on the executive committee. I think it was so far as anybody on the executive committee was concerned.

Mr. Cooper: So far as anybody on the executive committee is concerned?

Mr. McGlynn: I guess that is right.

Mr. Cooper: And they got him down here. Now you heard Mr. Pope say the other day in reply to my question that whether or not a lawyer should secure knowledge or obtain knowledge of facts when he is appearing, ostensibly at least, in the interest of the prosecution of offenses, is entirely immaterial; that he ought not to take the defense-- undertake to defend men charged with crimes growing out of the result of an investigation of that sort, because of the effect upon the minds of the public, and because it would be impossible for anybody to demonstrate that he hadn't acquired knowledge of the facts, and therefore, to escape all suspicion, as a matter of professional ethics, and to keep the reputation of



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the profession of the law what it ought to be in this nation, a man should not accept employment to defend under such circumstances, and that he, Mr. Pope, had declined. Did you know Mr. Pope testified to that the other day?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't remember whether I heard him testify to that.

Mr. Cooper: Well, you agree with that view of the ethics of the legal profession?

Mr. McGlynn: As an abstract proposition, but in a concrete case like this, where there is no opportunity for the attorney to get the facts, and he has no association except a nominal one on a public committee, I don't think the rule applies.

Mr. Cooper: Well, now, just a moment. There is a rule which you say you think--

Mr. McGlynn (Interposing:): Even then I don't know that it would be a rule. I am calling it a rule because you do.

Mr. Cooper: But, there was called-- it is getting to be rather attenuated, quite theoretical in some communities, nevertheless it obtains generally throughout the United States-- what is called the "ethics of the legal profession", which prevents lawyers from doing anything or allowing themselves to be put into any position which looks as if they had been upon both sides of the same case. Mr. Pope said whether the lawyer had obtained knowledge of facts or not was immaterial; if he

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was upon the other side of the case, associated with the investigators, though he may not have secured any information himself at all, the very fact that he had occupied that relation would preclude him, Mr. Pope, from appearing as an attorney for the defense of any man indicted as a result of that investigation; and he, Mr. Pope, declined to appear as counsel for the defense. You don't agree with Mr. Pope's view of professional ethics?

Mr. McGlynn: I do, and I agree with your statement there, if the facts make out the case as you have supposed it. You have included in that, that he is associated with the prosecution.

Mr. Cooper: No, with the investigators.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that is the prosecution, I understand.

Mr. Cooper: Well then, I put it to Mr. Pope in this way, "associated".

Mr. McGlynn: And that was the question he put to him, if you will pardon me, and that is what he answered, and I would answer the question the same way if it was asked me.

Mr. Cooper: That is quite adroit. Mr. Pope said that he had occupied the same position you did, and that on the Committee of One Hundred, and because he had been on the Committee of One Hundred he wouldn't accept employment as an attorney for the defense?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I have no quarrel with anything Mr. Pope says about his own business.

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Mr. Cooper: Well now then, Mr. Pope hadn't found out any more than you had. Mr. Pope had been on the Committee of One Hundred just as you and nothing else; and solely because he had been on the Committee of One Hundred, and for no other reason, Mr. Pope said, whether he had obtained any knowledge of facts or not-- and he had not-- he declined a retainer.

Mr. McGlynn: Which he had a right to do, if he wished.

Mr. Cooper: Well, he said that his view of professional ethics wouldn't permit him to do it. Now you on the Committee of One Hundred, just as he was, on the executive committee of seven-- were you chairman of that committee?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I acted as chairman at times, in the absence of Dr. Allison-- he was the regular chairman.

Mr. Cooper: You were acting at times as chairman of the executive committee. That was a more prominent position on the executive committee than Mr. Pope occupied. Mr. Pope said that he wouldn't accept employment to defend men indicted for participation in those riots, for the commission of murder or anything else, and the facts being the same in the two cases, you don't agree with his view of professional ethics? Is that so?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know whether that states his views or not. I heard the answer to the

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question, and I can only repeat that you included in that an association with investigators which I have never had, and which I--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) The only difference that I see in the two cases is this-- and I think the Committee will bear me out in this-- that is my understanding-- is the fact just told by you in reply to the question of the honorable Chairman, that for personal reasons you felt under obligation to defend Mr. Meehan, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Wilson.

Mr. McGlynn: Is that your question? That is one of the reasons.

Mr. Cooper: Well, that's all. That is all of my question.

Mr. Johnson: At how many conferences were you present with Mr. Middlekauff, the State's Attorney?

Mr. McGlynn: Conferences?

Mr. Johnson: Just call them conferences or meetings or whatever you choose to call them.

Mr. McGlynn: I started to say to the gentleman a moment ago that Mr. Middlekauff appeared once before the Committee of One Hundred and made the statement there that he couldn't work with the present, then existing, police board, and that he wouldn't work with them. There was some effort made to retain the old police board, and there was some talk about Mr. Middlekauff seeing them and seeing whether he could work with them. What he was to do or what he was undertaking to do was not discussed

except the relation of his office with the police board and the Mayor.

Mr. Johnson: So then I am given to understand by you--

Mr. McGlynn (Interposing:) He was present also in Judge Framers office when-- as I spoke about and told you awhile ago.

Mr. Johnson: Then you were present with him at two conferences regarding this subject?

Mr. McGlynn: The matter of these prosecutions?

Mr. Johnson: Now do you say you were present at those two occasions that you have just mentioned, or were not present on those two occasions?

Mr. McGlynn: No; those two I am trying to tell you I was present.

Mr. Johnson: Then when I asked you the question as to whether or not I correctly understood you that you were present upon those two occasions, you didn't say yes or no, and went over on something else.

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; you asked me if I was only present at that one meeting, and I told you one at the City Hall and one in Judge Framers office as the only two I was present when this Committee talked, or any others there, that I can remember.

Mr. Johnson: What was Mr. Middlekauff here for?

Mr. McGlynn: He was assistant to the Attorney General.

Mr. Johnson: For the purpose of getting evidence

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for prosecuting these people?

Mr. McGlynn: I so understand. I see he is participating in the trials in Belleville. I don't think he had anything to do with gathering evidence. I understood he was here to prosecute cases.

Mr. Johnson: And your experience in practicing law leads you to believe that he would undertake a prosecution without knowing anything about what the evidence would be?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I didn't say so.

Mr. Johnson: Not in so many words.

Mr. McGlynn: No, and I don't think you can fairly infer that from what I said. I said he wanted to gather evidence-- for others to gather it and submit it to him.

Mr. Johnson: But wasn't he directing, though, the detectives who were gathering it?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know a thing about that. I couldn't answer that question. I have absolutely no information upon that subject. I never did have.

Mr. Baker: How long do you say you have lived in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Thirty-three years.

Mr. Baker: What is your age?

Mr. McGlynn: 52 the 11th of last September.

Mr. Baker: You are quite familiar with business conditions in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, in a general way, yes.

Mr. Baker: You are fairly familiar with the political conditions also?

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Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. Baker: You are alike familiar with the City Government, the general conditions relating to the City Government of East St. Louis, and have been for a number of years?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Also with the condition of county affairs in St. Clair County?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, not so much, except as I see those items in the newspapers.

Mr. Baker: Well, you practice law at Belleville?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you practice law here?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: In East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Before the city courts?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh yes.

Mr. Baker: And you have been practicing law during that time?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir-- well, I have been practicing law for over 20 years.

Mr. Baker: You have quite an extensive practice?

Mr. McGlynn: I have got all I can do.

Mr. Baker: You try criminal cases and civil cases also?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you prosecute at all?

Mr. McGlynn: No-- I have, yes.

Mr. Baker: You have assisted in prosecuting cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Some time ago; not recently.

Mr. Baker: How long since?

Mr. McGlynn: It has been 10 or 12 years ago, I guess.

Mr. Baker: Special prosecution?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Specially important cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the only time that I recall that I tried a case for the State's Attorney in which he had to appear as a witness, as a matter of accommodation-- the prosecution of a burglary case.

Mr. Baker: Well, are you opposed to the trial or to appearing for the prosecution of a case?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Baker: What I am trying to get at is that you have had actual experience in the trial of cases in which you appeared for the People?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that is the only one that I recall. I was city attorney here for six years and prosecuted misdemeanors, not criminal cases.

Mr. Baker: Well, that would give you quite an extensive acquaintance with the criminal law?

Mr. McGlynn: Only violations of ordinances.

Mr. Baker: Well, that is criminal law.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it is when a warrant is issued. You could proceed by summons just as well.



Mr. Baker: Well, all those that were tried for violating the law upon which the charge is criminal it would be a criminal case, wouldn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I think except in a very few cases they were all tried as criminal cases, by warrant-- prosecution by warrant.

Mr. Baker: And you had that experience?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: In other words, you know what it requires to commence with the trial of a criminal case, from the investigation before the Grand Jury meets to the meeting of the Grand Jury; the preliminaries leading up to the trial of the case and the actual trial of the case, of the criminal case, on the side of the people or for the State?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: You were familiar-- are you familiar with the law of riot in the State of Illinois, what constitutes rioting in this State, and the evidence necessary to prove a man guilty of participating in a riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I think in a general way I am. I never tried a riot case; never prosecuted or defended one, and I have never had occasion to examine the statute.

Mr. Baker: But you feel fairly well satisfied in your own mind that you understand what constitutes the crime of rioting and the general evidence necessary to

convict one of participating in a riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I remember what the statute is in a general way. I read it at the time, but I haven't read it since.

Mr. Baker: You understand generally the crime of murder in its various degrees?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

885 Mr. Baker: You have the first degree here, have you?

Mr. McGlynn: Murder and manslaughter. No degrees.

Mr. Baker: No degrees in murder at all, first, second and third degree?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: Simply murder and manslaughter?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The jury fixes the penalty?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; except in manslaughter.

Mr. Baker: In other words, instead of first, second, and third degree, the case is submitted to the jury and then the jury fixes the penalty?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; and manslaughter, indeterminate sentence.

Mr. Baker: Death or imprisonment?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, anything more than 14 years may be death or not less than 14 years for murder.

Mr. Baker: I say, it is all left to the jury entirely.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

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Mr. Raker: Now you have a very clear conception of what it requires to prove a man guilty of murder?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; he has got to be proven beyond a reasonable doubt to be guilty.

Mr. Raker: You also realize that a man may have conducted himself and his machinations may have been in operation a week before the actual murder has been committed, don't you?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker: And that these prior circumstances are vitally important in many murder cases, to prove that the man actually participated in the murder; and further, that he had an intent to commit the crime at the time, to make it murder for which he would be hung?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, if I understand the criminal law of this State, in order to connect prior transactions, they must have some bearing on the commission of the offense, and they must be connected together and they must show motive or purpose. You can't prove separate and distinct transactions to prove combination.

Mr. Raker: In other words, I want to know if you understand from the law that you can run back for days?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, in proper cases.

Mr. Raker: In proper cases, days, weeks, months, to show a state of facts, one dovetailing and fitting in with the other, up to the actual commission of the crime?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, like conspiracy.

Mr. Raker: To show that the man actually was doing

these things leading up to the final consummation of the act?

Mr. McGlynn: With proper connection.

Mr. Raker: You understand that principle?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And I take it for granted--

Mr. McGlynn (Interposing:) I don't want to say that I understand it very fully. I understand that principle.

Mr. Raker: You understand also-- and I am doing this to give you an opportunity to explain the connection that may follow-- you understand the rules of evidence also necessary to get this evidence before the court, generally speaking?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, you would have to be specific in the evidence. I don't quite understand you.

Mr. Raker: In other words, you feel satisfied that you are fairly well familiar as a lawyer with the rules of evidence in the trial of criminal cases? Now I will simplify it in that way.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know how familiar I am.

Mr. Raker: You feel sufficiently familiar to try a case, a murder case?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; if I didn't I would prepare myself when I went into it.

Mr. Raker: All right, then, I will ask you the question again directly. Do you feel now that you are familiar-- sufficiently familiar-- with the law of evidence for

the purpose of trying criminal cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Raker: That answers it. Now you are acquainted with the Attorney General of this State, Mr. Brundage?

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Mr. McGlynn: I know him now.

Mr. Raker: Are you acquainted with him personally?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I have met him. Let me explain that--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:): I didn't ask for any explanation of that at this time. If you met him-- I will get that all out later-- you will save us time. You know Mr. Middlekauff?

Mr. McGlynn: Since this occurrence.

Mr. Raker: And you are also personally acquainted with the assistant, Mr. Hamlin?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker: You have known him for a good many years?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, about fifteen years, I suppose-- ten or twelve.

Mr. Raker: Mr. Hamlin is one of the Committee of One Hundred, is he not?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know whether he is on the committee or not. I don't think he is.

Mr. Raker: The man I want to get at is Mr. Wilkinson.

Mr. McGlynn: Wilkinson?

Mr. Raker: Do you know him?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know that I do. I don't remember whether I met him. I think I did meet him.

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Mr. Raker: What is his official position in the State of Illinois?

Mr. McGlynn: I understand he is assistant Attorney General.

Mr. Raker: Assistant Attorney General. Now Mr. Brundage is the Attorney General. Mr. Wilkinson is the Assistant Attorney General?

Mr. McGlynn: One of them.

Mr. Raker: And Mr. Middlekauff is another assistant to the Attorney General?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now when did you first meet Mr. Middlekauff personally to know who he was?

Mr. McGlynn: In a meeting held in Judge Kramer's office.

Mr. Raker: Now this is Mr. Middlekauff?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; that is my recollection.

Mr. Raker: Now when was it?

Mr. McGlynn: I am not sure about that.

Mr. Raker: I would like you to be specific on that meeting no , if you can, as to the date?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that is my recollection. I feel sure that is right. That is my recollection of it.

Mr. Raker: Now you met him in Judge Kramer's office where?

Mr. McGlynn: In the Murphy Building here in East St. Louis/.

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Mr. Raker: What floor is it on?

Mr. McGlynn: I believe it is the sixth floor-- fifth or sixth. I think the sixth.

Mr. Raker: What time of the day?

Mr. McGlynn: I think it was right after lunch. I am not sure about that, either.

Mr. Raker: How long after the July riots?

Mr. McGlynn: I can't give you that now, except may be two or three days.

Mr. Raker: Who was present?

Mr. McGlynn: There was-- well, I do know Mr. Goedde was there, Mr. Parsons, and I think Mr. Pope was there. I am not sure about that.

Mr. Raker: Was Mr. Middlekauff there?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh yes, Mr. Middlekauff, Mr. Brundage and Mr. Wilkinson. And I think Mr. Trauttman was there. He was another Assistant Attorney General.

Mr. Raker: Who else?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't recall now. There was quite a crowd there, but I don't recall from memory.

Mr. Raker: That is all you can remember, is it?

Mr. McGlynn: That is all I can recall now. I think there were probably fifteen or twenty.

887 Mr. Raker: Mr. Goedde, Parsons, Pope, Middlekauff, Assistant Attorney General; Mr. Brundage, Attorney General; Mr. Wilkinson, another Assistant Attorney General, and Mr. Trauttman, another assistant Attorney General. Now how many of the committee were present? Now this was on the sixth

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floor of the Murphy Building in Judge Kramer's office, but you can't remember the time?

Mr. McGlynn: It was a few days after-- may be two or three days; I don't remember.

Mr. Raker: After the rioting?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. I think there is some record somewhere that will fix that. I am not sure, but may be I can get it for you. If I can I will be glad to do it.

Mr. Raker: Now how many of the committee-- I have that executive committee of five and their names.

Mr. McGlynn: What are they?

Mr. Raker: Clarence E. Pope, M. V. Joyce, Dan McGlynn, Ed. Goedde, Robert Johns, and Reverend Allison.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, Fred Kraft ought to be on there.

Mr. Raker: Well, we will get that. How many of this executive committee were present?

Mr. McGlynn: I am afraid I won't be able to tell you. I don't remember, other than I think Mr. McLean, who is also a member of that executive committee, whose name you haven't got there. My recollection is that he was there.

Mr. Raker: All right. He was secretary of the committee?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. That is the best I can give you.

Mr. Raker: You think he was there?

Mr. McGlynn: And I think all of those whose names I mentioned were there.



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Mr. Raker: Was Mr. Joyce there?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't recall.

Mr. Raker: Mr. Goedde?

Mr. McGlynn: My recollection is he was there. I may be mistaken.

Mr. Raker: Mr. Johns?

Mr. McGlynn: I am not sure about that, either.

Mr. Raker: Now aren't you mistaken? So as to correct the record, wasn't this the second meeting you attended instead of the first? Didn't you meet Mr. Middlekauff before you met h'm at this particular meeting we are talking about?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that may be possible, but that is my recollection. If you have any testimony here and can suggest where it was, I might be able to remember, but my recollection now is that that was the first meeting.

Mr. Raker: All right; this was the first meeting after the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: I may have met him somewhere else.

Mr. Raker: Now the executive committee of the Committee of One Hundred, immediately after the riot and after their organization, took this matter up with the Attorney General of the State of Illinois?

Mr. McGlynn: I think so; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And under the request of the Committee, this executive committee, the Attorney General and his assistants came to East St. Louis?

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Mr. McGlynn: The matter was discussed in the committee, and I don't know at whose request he came. Some one undertook to see him or get in touch with him. I don't recall now who it was or who invited him here.

Mr. Raker: Now aren't you quite certain that he was brought here at the solicitation of the Committee of One Hundred, and particularly of the executive committee?

Mr. McGlynn: Not particularly the executive committee. I think he came at the solicitation of the Committee  
888 of One Hundred. Everybody/on that, I think.

Mr. Raker: Well, you met and determined at that meeting of the Committee of 100 to invite him to be present?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't remember where that was determined on. It was discussed. Whether there was any formal action of that kind, unless somebody said-- unless somebody would undertake to see him. I don't remember how that was arranged, but I remember it was discussed, and I remember he came here at the invitation of someone of the committee.

Mr. Raker: And he came here through the invitation of the committee now, as you understand it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I think that is true.

Mr. Raker: And, second, he came here for the purpose of investigating the conditions of the riot; to ascertain evidence and prosecute the guilty, as far as he could ascertain the evidence?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That was discussed in this meeting at Judge Kramer's office, that you have spoken about?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, at that office it is my recollection, as I told you awhile ago, that the thing that was discussed there was whether or not the Attorney-General would come here and take charge or whether he should work with the State's Attorney. There was some little friction about it.

Mr. Raker: Then it was discussed that he should come here anyhow, but whether he should come and handle it alone or with the State's Attorney was also discussed?

Mr. McGlynn: There was some reference made to that.

Mr. Raker: You considered both of them?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now it was deemed advisable to have the Attorney-General come because your committee felt that the State's Attorney was not able, by reason of the magnitude of the situation, to handle it?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I might be doing the State's Attorney an injustice, or somebody who made the statement. The matter was discussed, and there had been some feeling, I believe, between the State's Attorney and the Attorney General on account of the liquor cases out in the county, and suits that had been brought to cancel licenses; and that matter was discussed, as to whether he should come here, and for the purpose of assisting the State's Attorney or taking charge of it himself.

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Mr. Raker: Well, this other matter-- the State's Attorney had been down here, or his assistants, and closed up a great many of these resorts and saloons?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the State's Attorney didn't like that? Is that it?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that was common talk on the street.

Mr. Raker: Well, was it talked in this meeting at that time? The same subject?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't think that was referred to, but that was the feeling everybody had here.

Mr. Raker: Well, I am trying to get at what occurred in that meeting, if I can.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I am trying to tell you now just as nearly as I can recollect, but I can't remember-- there were a lot of these meetings.

Mr. Raker: Well, it was also discussed at this meeting that the finances of this county were low? I mean St. Clair County.

Mr. McGlynn: And the finances of the Attorney General's office were low.

Mr. Raker: It was also discussed in this meeting that you people of the Committee of 100 would raise a certain amount of money to assist in the prosecution of these riot cases?

Mr. McGlynn: In that meeting there was, I think, a

committee appointed for the purpose of ascertaining what could be done towards obtaining money.

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Mr. Raker: Now let's go back and see about that.

Mr. McGlynn: I think that was discussed. I don't think any arrangements were made.

Mr. Raker: I know, but let's get the other thing clear. It was discussed, that by reason of the finances being low, as we have referred to, that it was advisable for the committee of 100 to make arrangements to see if they couldn't raise \$25,000, or thereabouts, to assist in the prosecution of the riot cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; that was discussed.

Mr. Raker: And a committee was agreed upon to be appointed, and which was appointed by the Committee of 100, to raise this money?

Mr. McGlynn: I think so.

Mr. Raker: And the money was actually raised?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know about that.

Mr. Raker: You paid no further attention to whether or not this money was raised?

Mr. McGlynn: I didn't do anything further.

Mr. Raker: You didn't make an investigation?

Mr. McGlynn: I wasn't on that committee at all. I had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Raker: I know, but let's hang on to the question. You made no investigation to see whether the money was

actually raised or not?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I made no personal investigation. I heard some of it had been raised.

Mr. Raker: How much?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't remember.

Mr. Raker: Not through the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; through this committee that went out for that purpose.

Mr. Raker: Now what do you mean by that? It was a committee of the Committee of One Hundred, wasn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know who appointed that committee, to be honest with you; and I don't want to say anything else. I don't know who appointed that committee, and I can't tell you now who comprised that committee, other than Mr. Parsons was chairman.

Mr. Raker: well, they were members of the Committee of 100?

Mr. McGlynn: I suppose they all were, but I don't know who they were.

Mr. Raker: Now at this same meeting, when these two assistants-- three Assistant Attorneys General were present, and the Attorney-General, you discussed the question of bringing the Grand Jury together or getting a new Grand Jury, for the purpose of making an investigation?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, there couldn't be any new grand jury. The question was to recall the old one.

Mr. Raker: Well, but if you knew they couldn't-- I am trying to find out.

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Mr. McGlynn: I said that.

Mr. Raker: You discussed the question, then, of the Grand Jury investigation?

Mr. McGlynn: I think that was discussed there. I think it certainly was. That is my recollection.

Mr. Raker: Well, you discussed the further fact-- did you or not-- as to the advisability of an immediate investigation <sup>before a</sup> ~~by the~~ Grand jury?

Mr. McGlynn: well, I think the immediate work was to get some men at work to ascertain the identity of those who were guilty of rioting.

Mr. Raker: That just brings out the question exactly.

Mr. McGlynn: That was the immediate work, and then later the Grand Jury was to be called-- I think this was early in the week, and the following Monday--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) Then you took the two questions; first, we will have to have a Grand Jury at as reasonable a time as we can get it to convene? Is that right?

Mr. McGlynn: The first investigation of the Grand Jury--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) I know, but in the meantime you were preparing your evidence; but you had to have the Grand jury, so that when you did get it ready you would have the Grand Jury there in session to present <sup>the evidence</sup> ~~it~~ to them?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh yes.

Mr. Raker: Then while you were getting ready for the Grand Jury and having it recalled-- I don't know what you would call it here-- ~~perhaps~~ resurreoned-- the question was

discussed then that you should get the Grand Jury immediately and ferret out the parties who were the perpetrators of this rioting?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. That was the purpose.

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Mr. Raker: Did you discuss at that meeting the question of the men actually killed here in East St. Louis during the riot-- that there were men killed?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't think it was discussed. Everybody knew it, I don't think there was any discussion about it.

Mr. Raker: Was anything said, now, before the Attorney General and his two or three assistants, that men were actually killed in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Now there might have been, but my recollection is that there was no time wasted on that subject. The time was occupied by the conditions-- everybody knew what had happened, with reference to the killings.

Mr. Raker: Now what were you going to investigate? What were you going to call the Grand Jury for? What were you going to get evidence for, if it wasn't for the purpose of identifying the men who were guilty of murders?

Mr. McGlynn: That is exactly what I have said.

Mr. Raker: Then you discussed, as of necessity, that men had been killed here in the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Why no, not of necessity. You wouldn't have to discuss something that we already knew. Everybody knew it, and we were discussing-- they were discussing there the method of getting an investigation and getting the Attor-



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ney-General to take hold. That was what was being discussed.

Mr. Raker: Then you mean to tell this Committee now, do you, Mr. McGlynn, in the presence of the Attorney General and his three deputies that you discussed the question of calling the Grand Jury together; discussed the question of getting the evidence, but you never referred to the fact for what you were going to get the Grand Jury together or for what you were going to get evidence?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I say it is my recollection that these murders and cases of arson and beatings and things of that kind-- my recollection is that they weren't discussed. Everybody knew about them. They didn't go over it again. They may have, but not of necessity. That may have been done, but I don't think it was. I think the time was occupied--

Mr. Raker {Interposing:} Well, what were you going to get evidence for?

Mr. McGlynn: For the very thing everybody knew all about, as I have already told you.

Mr. Raker: what was it?

Mr. McGlynn: The riot on the 2nd of July.

Mr. Raker: What else besides the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: That was all.

Mr. Raker: Just the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: That was all we were concerned with then.

Mr. Raker: You weren't concerned before the Attorney

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General's office or the parties present as to whether or not there had been men killed?

Mr. McGlynn: That was to prosecute those who were guilty of rioting, killing and everything.

Mr. Raker: Exactly; the killing.

Mr. McGlynn: I meant to be understood as including everything that occurred in the riot. I don't mean just the noise.

Mr. Raker: It was firmly in your mind, and you knew of the murders that had been committed, the arsons that had been committed, the beatings that had been committed, and other things that had been talked of generally in and about East St. Louis. That is right, isn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I think we understood it, yes.

Mr. Raker: And you believe that everybody else present knew of that fact, at this meeting?

Mr. McGlynn: I think so.

Mr. Raker: And that you were there for the purpose of laying plans, preparing for the proper investigation <sup>and indictment</sup> and ~~proper~~ <sup>proper</sup> and proper punishment of all parties who participated in that rioting?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, we were there-- if you will permit me to answer that question, you have assumed something that I don't care to have included in my answer.

Mr. Raker: What did I include? Tell me, so that I can cut it out.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that we were there for the purpose of laying plans to prosecute these cases. We weren't

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there for the purpose of laying plans for the prosecution of these cases, because we had no plans further than to get the Attorney General into the prosecution.

Mr. Raker: All right; I will change that then.

Mr. McGlynn: If you change that, I will say yes.

Mr. Raker: You were there for the purpose of seeing about the Grand Jury being called?

Mr. McGlynn: We were there for the purpose of getting the Attorney General to take charge of the situation, and he was to do whatever else was necessary. We didn't have-- we were not to have anything to do with calling the Grand Jury or anything to do with the investigation. He was the man to do that.

Mr. Raker: Do you intend to tell the Committee now that you were there for the purpose of having the Attorney-General take full charge of that entire situation?

Mr. McGlynn: For that absolutely. That is what I want to be understood as saying here under oath.

Mr. Raker: And you wanted him to take charge of the situation?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You intended that he should prosecute the guilty culprits to a finish?

Mr. McGlynn: We intended he should take whatever course in his judgment he saw fit.

Mr. Raker: Did you believe, and did you intend that in your conversation and meetings, that it was the purpose

of having the Attorney General-- I will put it that way--  
proceed with the prosecution to a finish?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, surely.

Mr. Raker: ~~And~~ Exactly: But in that same meet-  
ing you discussed the Grand Jury proposition?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You discussed the fact of gathering  
the evidence?

Mr. McGlynn: No, there wasn't any discussion of  
that. That was left to him, and he was ~~in~~ discussing  
about not having means with which to do that.

Mr. Raker: He discussed it in your presence?

Mr. McGlynn: He discussed the necessity of that.

Mr. Raker: You listened to ~~the~~ this discussion?

Mr. McGlynn: All the discussion that was, as I  
remember, he said that he had no men-- he had men here  
doing other work, but he had no means. He had some men  
that he could use, but he had no means with which to  
employ them.

Mr. Raker: You discussed then the question of rais-  
ing funds to make it possible that he could proceed, didn't  
you?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the statement was made that it  
would be necessary to do it before he could proceed.

Mr. Raker: Did you discuss the question at all?

Mr. McGlynn: The details were not discussed.

Mr. Raker: Were they referred to?

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Mr. McGlynn: Yes; it was referred to.

Mr. Raker: That is what I wanted to know. Then the purpose was, as you understood it, the purpose of that meeting was to get the general conditions so arranged with the Attorney General's office that, and to the end and for the purpose and with the object, of prosecuting those who were participants in the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And guilty of the murders incident to and growing out of the riot?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now with that statement, how long have you known these policemen?

Mr. McGlynn: I have known Keshan for 25 or 28 years.

Mr. Raker: How long have you known O'Brien?

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Mr. McGlynn: Eighteen or twenty years.

Mr. Raker: It was discussed that the police force was inefficient?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That they had been lax in the enforcement of the law?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; they had some departments-- that is, the officers in charge of the police department--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) Now let's get right down to my question. It was discussed that the police officers, without any designation, were responsible for much of the crime and want of enforcement of the law that had been going on in East St. Louis, wasn't it?

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Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You knew that the militia were here on the 2nd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Raker: You knew they were here on the 3rd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: They continued to remain here in East St. Louis for the purpose of maintaining law and order and to suppress rioting for at least how many weeks?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't remember-- some time; a couple of months may be.

Mr. Raker: The conditions required their being present on the 3rd of July, didn't they?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: It was necessary?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Raker: The police force was inefficient?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: The police force had failed to do their duty?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Raker: You understood that the police force broke down on the 2nd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you ever make any inquiry at any time as to where Meehan-- now outside of your employment since-- as to where Meehan and O'Brien were on the 2nd of

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July?

Mr. McGlynn: No, nor I don't know now.

Mr. Raker: You don't know how much they instigated or incited or encouraged the mob to continue their work on the 2nd of July, do you?

Mr. McGlynn: No; I don't know that they did anything of the kind.

Mr. Raker: I am just putting it for that very purpose.

Mr. McGlynn: I am answering your question the way you are putting it.

Mr. Raker: And you don't know how they advised <sup>and</sup> encouraged, relative to the continuing of the mob on the 3rd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: No; if your question assumes that they did, I don't know.

Mr. Raker: I haven't made any assumption.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, you said-- I don't know how they advised or encouraged the continuation of the mob.

Mr. Raker: Whether they did or not, you don't know whether they did or not?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I do not.

Mr. Raker: You don't know whether or not?

Mr. McGlynn: I didn't see them. I don't know anything about them on the 2nd day of July, and I have no information about it.

Mr. Raker: Now then, to show you-- you signed this resolution adopted by the Committee of One Hundred? That is your signature (showing paper to witness)?

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Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I identified that the other day.

Mr. Raker: You remember this statement in that: "We believe that the principal cause of this riotous conduct is the laxity in the punishment of the crime that has prevailed for some time past. On account of <sup>this</sup> indisposition to punish crime there has grown up in our midst an disrespect and irreverence for the law that has brought about the harvest that we have just reaped."

Mr. McGlynn: That is "disrespect", isn't it?

Mr. Raker: No, it is disrespect. It should be "disrespect", but it is "irrespect", here. (Reading): "Many criminals, both black and white, have found a congenial home in our city and have carried on their criminal acts without the slightest fear of the pains and penalties of the law."

You helped to draw this, didn't you?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I did not.

Mr. Raker: You signed it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and I approved of it, everything that it says.

Mr. Raker: It is true?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now let's read the following: "For all of this, the police department of our city and those officials charged with the conservation of the law, are the most to blame."

Mr. McGlynn: Absolutely.



Mr. Raker: That is true?

Mr. McGlynn: Absolutely true.

Mr. Raker: Then ~~the~~ following the riot, when a man was killed and a girl was shot, in which it is charged and sworn that the police officers participated, you <sup>now</sup>, from your testimony, are defending those two policemen?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker (Reading): "They have not taken the steps that should ~~be~~ <sup>have been</sup> taken to rid our city of this lawless element, and they are to be condemned in theseverest terms for the helpless and inefficient manner in which they permitted these disgraceful riots to take place in our city."

Is that true?

Mr. McGlynn: That is true, yes sir; that is absolutely true.

Mr. Raker: And you still now want to distinguish between the second and the third of July in your answers to Chairman Johnson?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I distinguish the way I did before, if you want me to repeat that.

Mr. Raker: No; you can just say you do or do not.

Mr. McGlynn: I do distinguish in the manner in which I answered the questions which every one of these gentlemen asked me.

Mr. Raker: You still want to distinguish between, the hour of midnight, 12 o'clock on the 2nd of July, and the beginning of the day of the 3rd?

Mr. McGlynn: I have already stated to this board that I am not distinguishing between hours at all. I have tried to point out the difference between the offense with which these police officers are charged and the indictments for riot. There is a vast distinction, in my mind, and I think you will agree with me, or any other lawyer will, that there is a distinction between being charged with having told somebody to shoot, and when it is denied by six or seven witnesses, and only two of them, *who* are trying to escape punishment themselves, say that it is true, that those men are entitled to a defense; and when all of the testimony concerning this matter is made a matter of public record in the Coroner's office and filed with the circuit clerk of this County, then the imputation that is sought to be cast on my character as a lawyer and my integrity in the profession fails, in my judgment, because it could only be if I had a connection of some kind that would give me inside information or give me an opportunity which I have shown you never existed, not even in the imagination.

Mr. Raker: Are you through?

Mr. McGlynn: I am through with that statement, and ready to answer any question you care to ask me.

Mr. Raker: Now you also participated with the Committee of One Hundred in formulating a resolution to be sent to Congress, didn't you?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And you believed in that resolution?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and I do now. As a citizen of East St. Louis I welcome the fullest investigation that this board can make.

Mr. Raker: How can we investigate and find out, and when we come here we find a member of the executive committee, a member of the Committee of One Hundred, defending a man or men who participated in the rioting? Don't you see?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't see. I don't see, and I don't think anybody else can see-- now, pardon me, you are assuming that I am defending somebody that participated in this riot for rioting; and there is not a syllable of evidence in this record to justify that assumption. Now I have a right to protect myself against these imputations here, and I don't want to go any further than that. I don't care to be heard beyond that.

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Mr. Raker: How is that?

Mr. McGlynn: I want to protect myself against imputations against my integrity, and I don't care to go beyond that.

Mr. Raker: What do you mean by that?

Mr. McGlynn: When you say that I participated in defending-- that I am defending men who participated in the riot, I say they did not participate in the riot, so far as my defense is concerned. I am defending these men for what they are charged with, murder, that they no more committed than you did, and it is not pretended that they did.

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Mr. Raker: Three men, you say yourself, three men have testified that they did the shooting?

Mr. McGlynn: I told you a moment ago three testified concerning the orders given by Meehan, the sergeant of police. Anderson, the corporal, testified before the Coroner's Jury that he told them to fire as they ran. Broulett corroborates that statement, but Le Gris, if I get the names correct-- they are all strangers to me-- Le Gris testified that he only told them to fire if the niggers fired on them.

Mr. Raker: Now let me put this question--

Mr. McGlynn: (Interposing:) Now will you be good enough to let me finish my statement? Then I will not have to repeat it again.

Mr. Raker: Certainly, Mr. McGlynn. I want you to.

Mr. McGlynn: I am obliged to you. Now against those two, which is the only direct evidence there is against these men, no matter what they may have been guilty of before that, or indifferent to the conditions the day before, about which I told you I knew nothing, not even now-- those men have got three police officers, two chauffeurs and three other men, which makes <sup>eight</sup> and wouldn't you say as a lawyer that those men aren't guilty, with that kind of testimony? I think you would.

Mr. Cooper: It depends altogether on the witnesses.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and, Judge, let me say something else to you. From the character of the soldiers here that day, from my own personal observation and the observation of every other citizen who saw them, they were the worst ele-

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ment of rioters that we had,<sup>11</sup> and I am putting the word of these policemen against that class of men.

Mr. Cooper: Now you have hit the bull's-eye with that answer. You believe that the soldiers were rioters?

Mr. McGlynn: I say they were the worst class of rioters we had here on the day of the riot.

Mr. Cooper: You believe they were rioters, don't you?

Mr. McGlynn: I say they were the worst ones.

Mr. Cooper: Having participated on the 2nd in the rioting, their character wouldn't change between the 1st and the 2nd, would it?

Mr. McGlynn: No, and it did not.

Mr. Cooper: I mean the 2nd and 3rd.

Mr. McGlynn: No; it did not.

Mr. Cooper: Now here is a written statement signed by yourself in which you say: "For much of this the police department of our city and those officials charged with the conservation of law are the most to blame."

Mr. McGlynn: Doesn't that go ahead of what occurred on the 2nd of July and what occurred on that day?

Mr. Cooper: It don't say so here.

Mr. McGlynn: If you will read the text of it.

Mr. Cooper: I am just reading it. You throw it right in here as a good, clean-cut, bald statement, that they were the most to blame. Having been to blame on the 2nd, there is nothing yet to show that their character had changed

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for what they would do on the 3rd, is there?

Mr. McGlynn: I am saying as a lawyer, and I assert that I am right, that there was no riot on the Island on the 3rd. There was a murder committed down there by these soldiers who were sent down there not for the purpose of suppressing a riot, but for the purpose of closing a saloon which was reported was open.

Mr. Raker: Now, Mr. McGlynn, supposing it became necessary to prove against these two policemen, that they were in the riot on July 2nd, advising and ~~was~~ encouraging it, and participating in it; and they are the same men that went down there to this saloon on the 3rd, and your position is that of defending those men for the particular murder on the 3rd; you wouldn't, as their attorney, let the evidence come out, if you could keep it from coming out, as to their connection with the riot on the 2nd, would you, in the trial of their cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Can you conceive of a lawyer--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) Now answer my question. You can read that.

Mr. Cooper: Let him think about it while he is reading it.

(The witness reads the paper.)

Mr. Raker: What I am trying to do is to get the evidence as near as I can.

Mr. McGlynn: I am trying to be courteous and I hope I will be.

Mr. Raker: Well, I want to change that question. If

it became necessary on the trial of these two policemen to prove that they were participants, aiding and abetting in the riot on the 2nd of July, if you could keep that evidence out on the trial of their case for murder, although the Attorney-General believed that by showing it, it would show the disposition of the men and would really connect them with the killing, you would be-- you would feel like excluding it, wouldn't you?

Mr. McGlynn: I would exclude that on your statement alone, without going any further, because it wouldn't be competent under the rules of evidence in a criminal case. Under your own statement, as you make it, it wouldn't be competent.

Mr. Raker: You would make the objection?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; and I think I would keep it out.

Mr. Raker: And irrespective of what the Court might hold?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes. You have no guarantee in advance what the Court is going to hold when you make an objection. He fools you sometimes. You think you are right, and you are wrong.

Mr. Raker: Then, in other words, I take it for granted that up to the present time you haven't assisted the Committee of One Hundred in ferreting out who were guilty of participating in these crimes on the 2nd of July, Mr. McGlynn?

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Mr. McGlynn: Not a thing on earth, except what I have told you. If my connection with the Committee in other activities is assistance, yes; if not, then no. I have had nothing to do, if I can emphasize that point.

Mr. Raker: Well, can you explain to the Committee why you were appointed on the committee of five of the Committee of One Hundred, if you didn't do anything or weren't expected to do anything?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I can't explain why I was appointed. I wouldn't undertake to do that. It might have been a mistake. May be it was.

Mr. Cooper: You never declined the appointment?

Mr. McGlynn: As I recollect, there was quite a lot of discussion about the appointment of the executive committee. Conditions were such that there wasn't anybody eager for the job.

Mr. Cooper: They might not have been eager, but you never declined it?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't think I did.

Mr. Cooper: Your name was published as a member, and you signed the resolution?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: You met with them?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; and am still willing to do anything I can to carry out the purposes of that committee.

Mr. Raker: I want to ask this question: Wouldn't these policemen, all of them, including these two men, be guilty of rioting on the 2nd of July if they stood by and



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aided and advised.. the rioting?

Mr. McGlynn: If they aided and advised it, yes, sure.

Mr. Raker: Or if they encouraged it.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, they would be guilty as principals if they stood by, aided and encouraged it-- that is, ~~xxxx~~ acted affirmatively.

Mr. Raker: If they advised and encouraged, not being present, they would still be guilty of participating in the riot; guilty under the law?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, we have another section of the criminal code which makes them accessories. There is a separate punishment for that.

Mr. Raker: I wasn't making the distinction between principals and accessories.

Mr. McGlynn: They wouldn't be guilty for violating the riot statute if they were off some place else and encouraged it. They would be guilty as accessories.

Mr. Raker: If they stood over in the City Hall, in their room, and told those men to "get out there and kill a nigger if you want to and go on with this rioting, because it is a good thing; we have got to get rid of these niggers", wouldn't they be guilty under the law?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, if they got that close to it, yes, I think so. An accessory would have to be a little bit more removed from the actual transaction than that. If that was carried out; if those police officers said "Go out and kill a couple of niggers; it's all right; or

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a dozen of them", and then they went out and did it, I think they would be principals, and they would be principals under the other statute too-- accessories.

Mr. Foss: You said that you were a member of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. McGlynn?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: When was that organized? How long ago?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it has been in existence for nine or ten years, under different names. It has been re-organized. The Chamber of Commerce succeeded the East St. Louis Commercial Club, and the Industrial League-- I have forgotten the name of that. I wasn't a member of it. It was a consolidation of two clubs.

Mr. Foss: When did it assume its present name, do you remember?

Mr. McGlynn: I think that is about-- I don't know-- a year and a half or two years-- about that.

Mr. Foss: Do you know how many members there are in it?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't.

Mr. Foss: Well, how many would you say?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that would be a guess. I never ~~attended~~ *knew*

have  
Mr. Foss: You attended the meetings, have you, of the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. McGlynn: Not regularly. They meet in the afternoon generally, and except when they have a dinner, about

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two or three times a year, I attend those. The afternoon meetings it is impossible for me to go often. I go sometimes if I can.

Mr. Foss: well, they have been active in matters here connected with the City, haven't they?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, they have been active in the matter of endeavoring to secure the location of factories and investments of that character, and deep waterways, hard roads and mail service to St. Louis, and things of that character.

Mr. Foss: well, how many members, do you know, constitute the membership-- do you suppose?

Mr. McGlynn: How many of the members do I know personally?

Mr. Foss: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: I know practically all of them. There may be half a dozen that I wouldn't know.

Mr. Foss: well, are there a hundred members there, do you think, or 200?

Mr. McGlynn: I think there is more than one hundred. I don't know whether there is 200 or not.

Mr. Foss: what I was trying to get at, the statement was made here on the stand the other day that the Chamber of Commerce consists largely of the heads of big business, so-called, or the heads of the large industries, and they are attorneys. What is the truth of that statement?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I never thought of it in that light. I would have to see the list of members before I could answer that question. If I had an opportunity to go

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over the list, I could tell you.

Mr. Foss: Well, do you believe that statement?

Mr. McGlynn: No; I think there are a lot of members of the Commercial Club that have nothing to do with the industries. I think there are some, I don't know how many.

Mr. Foss: Some of the merchants are members of it?

Mr. McGlynn: I think so.

Mr. Foss: Some of the lawyers that might not be called "corporation lawyers" are members of it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Foss: Some of them are doctors?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Foss: Some of the dentists, and preachers?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know of any preachers. I don't know of any dentist. Now we may have some members of those professions. I don't remember of any now. If I had a list I could tell you correctly.

Mr. Foss: Now this is practically your important civic organization here, has been, hasn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: The Commercial Club, or the Chamber of Commerce now?

Mr. Foss: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, the only one.

Mr. Foss: Now what did you do from the first riot, if you know, from the first riot, May 28th, to the 2nd of July? What did that association do towards the enforcement of law and order, and the betterment of conditions here

in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, if it did anything, I don't know of it, because I am almost certain, when I say that I didn't attend the meetings during that time. I don't think I attended a meeting during that time, or for some time before.

Mr. Foss: Who is the president of the association, do you know?

Mr. McGlynn: Mr. C. H. Heeb is, president of the Southern Illinois National Bank.

Mr. Foss: You said that one of the purposes or objects of the association was to encourage business to come here to East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; to locate factories here.

Mr. Foss: To locate factories and induce labor to come here?

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Mr. McGlynn: Yes. And they had recreation playgrounds-- there were several things of that kind, playgrounds established, and last spring there were thrift clubs, planting gardens, and things of that kind.

Mr. Foss: Did they get out a circular or a pamphlet booming the town, so to speak, do you know?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, we all tried to do that as much as possible.

Mr. Foss: Did they advertise for plants?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Foss: Did they set out the conditions here in

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East St. Louis in an attractive way, so as to induce labor to come here?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did they advertise, do you know?

Mr. McGlynn: For labor?

Mr. Foss: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: I have never seen an advertisement of that kind, further than an advertisement that appeared several times for the real estate people, booming the advantages of East St. Louis as a place to invest money, citing the number of plants there were, the number of people employed here, and I think at times the average wage paid; and that is about all I recollect about that.

Mr. Foss: Were those advertisements put in by the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I think those were by real estate men. That is my understanding.

Mr. Foss: And you saw those in what papers?

Mr. McGlynn: In the East St. Louis Journal, in the Daily Journal.

Mr. Foss: In the St. Louis papers?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't recall having <sup>seen</sup> them in the St. Louis papers.

Mr. Foss: Do you know of any advertisements put in papers ~~from~~ on the part of anyone throughout the South, for the purpose of encouraging labor to come here to East. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: I do not. I don't know anything about that at all.

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Mr. Foss: I want to ask you about another question. You have a levee district here, haven't you, in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: How long has that been established, do you know?

Mr. McGlynn: I think about nine years.

Mr. Foss: How is that run? By a board of trustees?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: How many?

Mr. McGlynn: Five.

Mr. Foss: Who appointed them, or how are they chosen?

Mr. McGlynn: They are elected.

Mr. Foss: By the voters in the district?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Foss:

Mr. McGlynn: And their revenues are derived from taxation, are they?

Mr. McGlynn: From general taxation of all property in the district.

Mr. Foss: Do you know how much that amounts to a year?

Mr. McGlynn: I do not.

Mr. Foss: It is a large sum, isn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; but I can't give you the figures for it. I had a retainer for it when it was organized.

Mr. Foss: Half a million dollars a year?

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Mr. McGlynn: I can't recall-- no, I don't think it is that much. I did know the exact figures, but I don't remember now.

Mr. Foss: Well, what does their work consist of, in protecting the banks here?

Mr. McGlynn: The first work that was done was a general survey of the District. Then Cahokia Creek, which runs through the city of East St. Louis, was diverted about seven miles above here and a canal built carrying the creek into the river seven or eight miles above here. Then a levee was built along from the bank of the canal down to the lower end of the District, which is now completed, as I understand it.

Mr. Foss: Do they employ a great deal of labor?

Mr. McGlynn: The district?

Mr. Foss: Yes.

Mr. McGlynn: No; they don't have a great many employees. I don't know just how many. The work was left-- the principal part of the work was let by contract. The contractors employ the men.

Mr. Foss: You don't know how many men they employ?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I do not.

Mr. Foss: Would you say they would run up into the hundreds?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't think so.

Mr. Foss: Did you ever hear the charge made that a great many were brought in, negroes, brought in to work just before election?



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Mr. McGlynn: I did.

Mr. Foss: Last year?

Mr. McGlynn: I did-- well, I don't know as the charge was made that they were brought in to work. When politics got pretty hot the charge was made back and forth that they were being colonized for voting purposes, and it was denied by the others.

Mr. Foss: Brought in from other towns outside?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I think the claim was that they were brought here from the South.

Mr. Foss: The statements were made in the paper here, the local paper, were they, or in the St. Louis papers?

Mr. McGlynn: I think the statements were made in both papers. During the campaign, every once in a while, an article would appear-- a news item-- I don't know whether there was any editorials on the subject, but I remember seeing news items in the local paper and the St. Louis papers too.

Mr. Foss: Of your personal knowledge you know nothing about their bringing in?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know of one that was ever brought here. I saw them coming, as I explained awhile ago, but who brought them here, why they came here, I have no information.

Mr. Foss: That was during the campaign of last fall?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir. Well, I saw them-- oh, it

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might have been a year before, but my recollection is it was along about June or July of last year-- August or September-- along in there.

Mr. Foss: But you believe that there are a great many negroes come in here for one purpose or another during the last year?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, there is no doubt about that. They came here in large numbers. Where from, what for, I don't know. I assume that they came here because-- to get employment, but I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper: When did you sign that particular paper?

Mr. McGlynn: The resolution?

Mr. Cooper: Yes. (Showing paper to witness).

Mr. McGlynn: My recollection is I signed it in the City Hall when we met up there. I can't recall now definitely.

Mr. Cooper: You don't remember the date?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Cooper: There are only two signatures to this particular paper, and both are in lead-pencil. They look freshly made. When did you write that?

Mr. McGlynn: I wrote that the day the resolution was presented in the City Hall.

Mr. Cooper: And only you and Mr. Kramer were present?

Mr. McGlynn: The resolution was prepared by Judge Kramer, and the balance of the committee examined the resolution before it was presented. It was presented by Dr.

Allison, I recall.

Mr. Cooper: Is that the particular paper that was presented?

Mr. McGlynn: I assume it is, from Mr. Pope's testimony. They look like the originals. The yellow sheets, the paper attached thereto, is supposed to be signed by those who were present at that mass meeting.

Mr. Cooper: They are much more worn and handled looking than these particular papers.

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know. I didn't introduce them and never saw them after that.

Mr. Cooper: This particular paper, undated-- has no date on it-- and only bears your signature and the signature of Mr. Framar.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: How many men were on that committee?

Mr. McGlynn: There were seven.

Mr. Cooper: Where are the other five signatures?

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Mr. McGlynn: I don't know. They never signed it.

Mr. Cooper: That is a minority of the committee, and didn't represent anything, technically speaking. The committee consisted of seven, and five out of the seven didn't sign it.

Mr. McGlynn: But that resolution was the resolution that the committee approved before it was presented to the mass meeting in the City Hall, whether they signed it or not.

Mr. Cooper: Is this the paper which was handed to the

City Hall people?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, no doubt about that.

Mr. Cooper: It is signed in lead pencil by only two out of seven, and undated.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, if it undated--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing): And you now can't testify when it was signed?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it was signed at that meeting in the City Hall. I can testify to that.

Mr. Cooper: Signed at that meeting?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: So you took the paper up there unsigned and handed it out?

Mr. McGlynn: Judge Fraxer took it up there and we had the conference there, and I don't-- I wouldn't want to be mistaken about this, but that is my recollection. It might have been presented to the committee over across the street.

Mr. Cooper: Well, which place was it presented?

Mr. McGlynn: I am saying, I am not certain, but my recollection is it was in the City Hall. I know that the resolution was presented by Dr. Allison after Judge Fraxer had prepared it.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember to whom it was personally presented?

Mr. McGlynn: Do you mean to whom the paper was handed?

Mr. Cooper: Yes, sir.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, it was handed to Mr. Allison when

he presented it.

Mr. Cooper: This was the paper that was handed to Mr. Allison?

Mr. McGlynn: I think so.

Mr. Cooper: Was Mr. Allison on that committee?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: He didn't sign the paper?

Mr. McGlynn: He don't seem to have.

Mr. Cooper: Are you sure it was handed to him?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, that is my recollection, as I have told you. He was the gentleman who read it and presented it to the meeting.

Mr. Cooper: well, that is a most extraordinary thing, that a specially appointed committee of seven should have presented as their act a paper signed by only two out of seven, and handed to a member of the committee who himself didn't sign it.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, here is where I think you mistake what I am trying to get at.

Mr. Cooper: I am not mistaken at all. That is your testimony and here is the record.

Mr. McGlynn: well, let's see whether it is or not. It was after this resolution was adopted that the Committee of One Hundred found its existence, and the executive committee found its existence. So I am only speaking of the executive committee as men. There they were practically the same men. Judge Kramer is not on that executive commit-

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tee. The executive committee, as I understand the executive committee-- that was a different committee altogether. Judge Frayer is not a member of the executive committee.

Mr. Cooper: well, but then, out of this committee of seven there was only two signed it.

Mr. McGlynn: That is where you are mistaken, Judge. The committee of seven wasn't in existence at that time, at the time the resolution was prepared.

Mr. Cooper: Then you got this up as your own personal matter?

Mr. McGlynn: No; there was a committee meeting in the Chamber of Commerce, and it was deemed advisable to call a mass meeting; and the mass meeting was called; and it was deemed also advisable to prepare a resolution, and Judge Frayer was selected at this meeting in the Chamber of Commerce to prepare this resolution. He did prepare it, but I can't say, as I told you while ago-- be certain-- whether he presented that resolution back to the committee who met; but that wasn't the executive committee, although some of them were the same individuals, but it was presented at this mass meeting, and Dr. Allison, who was afterwards chairman of the executive committee, presented that, but not as a member of this executive committee, because that committee didn't come into existence until after the adoption of that resolution.

Mr. Cooper: How did you draw this?

Mr. McGlynn: I told you that Judge Frayer drew it.

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Mr. Cooper: I notice that the last clause reads in this way, "We demand". Did you consult with him when it was being drawn?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper (Reading:) "We demand every effort possible be put forth to punish the persons who murdered the officers Sunday night, July 1st, and to punish <sup>out of</sup> the persons guilty of murder, arson and assaults on Monday, July 2nd; and we pledge to the officers of the law charged with the prosecution of these offenses all the assistance in our power to render."

So you limited your offer of power to the crimes committed on July 1st and July 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: I had forgotten what the resolution contained. I didn't know what the language was until you read it. I haven't seen it since. It seems to be that.

Mr. Cooper: Why didn't it include murders on the next day?

Mr. McGlynn: You will have to ask Judge Kramer about that. I have no means of answering your question.

Mr. Cooper: You have made a distinction yourself between murders on the 3rd and 2nd.

Mr. McGlynn: That wouldn't answer your question.

Mr. Cooper: But do you know why that was done?

Mr. McGlynn: I have said no. I don't think there was any intention to--

Mr. Cooper: Was there anybody else indicted for murder committed on the 3rd except those whom you are now

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defending?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: What is your opinion?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, my opinion is that there wasn't ~~it~~. If there was, I don't know of them.

Mr. Cooper: It is your best judgment now that the only people indicted for murder on the 3rd of July are your clients now, and this resolution specifically limits the offer of aid to the prosecution of offenses on July 1st and July 2nd, just before your clients are charged with having committed murder.

Now here is a "whereas" in this resolution:

"Whereas, there is a feeling among our own citizens that there may be a recurrence of these tragedies that is greatly alarming them and retarding the resumption of normal conditions".

Don't you think it rather strange that there wasn't any demand made in that resolution for the punishment of all who had committed murder in this city, during the riot or since?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't think it is strange. I think the intention was to cover the riot on the 2nd of July. That was about the only thing that anybody had in mind at the time of these various discussions.

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Mr. Cooper: But you say there is a feeling-- in the resolution-- "whereas, that there is a feeling among our ~~our~~ citizens that there may be a recurrence of these tragedies." I should have thought you would want subsequent



murders punished, inasmuch as you could feel it in the atmosphere that day. Isn't it strange that you should have omitted to state that in your resolution, in view of the fact that you feared a recurrence of murder, and that you wanted all subsequent murders and all offenses against law punished, and not specifically limited it by date to such a day as would exclude the men you were defending?

Mr. McGlynn: I didn't have anything to do with preparing that resolution.

Mr. Cooper: I know, but you signed it?

Mr. McGlynn: I just wanted to answer your question.

Mr. Cooper: That's all. You have stated the exact facts. The resolution was adopted here by the Committee of One Hundred, and sent to Washington, asking that a committee of Congress come out here and investigate the causes for these riots, and the riots themselves, the crimes that were committed, the interference with interstate traffic, and so forth and so forth, with a view, if possible, to ascertaining those who were culpable, and it might be suggest a remedy and otherwise. And then we get out here-- suppose that Mr. Pope had accepted a retainer to defend ten or twelve of these men charged with murder and other crimes, and you had accepted a retainer to defend ten or twelve of them, and Mr. Joyce had, and the other lawyers in the city who were on the Committee of One Hundred prior to the arrival of this Committee of Congress in this city, and with a view successfully to defend your clients-- as ~~last~~

would ordinarily be the case-- you had found out the witnesses who could possibly testify against your clients and those who could testify for them-- in other words, arrange to defeat everything that the State might have to offer, and to advise witnesses what they were obliged to answer-- the questions they were obliged to answer, and what questions they were not obliged to answer-- wouldn't it have been possible for those men, not themselves knowing anything about the facts personally, or having ever ascertained them from the Attorney General's investigation or the Grand jury's investigation, absolutely to have thwarted anything like an investigation such as we are authorized to conduct under this resolution of Congress, of the House of Representatives?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, if the facts assumed by your question are true, but they are not.

Mr. Cooper: But if the lawyer, Mr. Pope, had looked upon this subject as you look upon it, that he had a right to accept a retainer and to conduct the defense, he could have conducted a defense and accepted a retainer from twenty men, couldn't he?

Mr. McGlynn: So could I.

Mr. Cooper: And Mr. Pope ~~xxx~~ wouldn't have any more knowledge of the facts than you have?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know whether he would or not.

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Mr. Cooper: Nor <sup>have been</sup> any more entitled to accept those generous offers than you have been?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know anything about his connection with the Attorney General's office.

Mr. Cooper: In other words, it is your view of the ethics of the profession that there is nothing to prevent a lawyer in the one hundred committee, or executive committee, not familiar with the facts and not having acquired a knowledge of any facts at all from personal observation or otherwise, to have induced the Attorney General's office to send its representatives here, consulted with them about inaugurating a Grand Jury investigation at least, and then turn around and take the defense of as many of the indicted people as he saw fit to take, is it?

Mr. McGlynn: You ask me if that is my view of the ethics of the legal profession? It is not, and it is not the situation here with reference to me, as I have tried to point out in repeated answers to your questions.

Mr. Cooper: You believe that a lawyer is in a profession, one of the most important and which ought to be at all times considered one of the most honorable in the nation?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Cooper: And a lawyer's reputation, you believe, like that of Caesar's wife, ought always to be above suspicion?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Now, Mr. Pope said that there inevitably would, in the public mind, attach suspicion to any lawyer instrumental in bringing about an investigation of crime,

whether directly by himself or through public officials, if he should be associated with the defense of the people indicted as the result of that investigation, even though the lawyer secured no personal knowledge of the facts as a result of the investigation. You don't agree with that? He declined a retainer.

Mr. McGlynn: I know I have answered that question four or five times the same way.

Mr. Cooper: You draw the distinction because these murders, if they were murders, were committed on the morning of the 3rd, between seven and eight in the morning, instead of on the 2nd, even though on the 3rd and for weeks afterwards this city had to be patrolled by armed militiamen; even though at the time this murder was committed they sent soldiers down there with rifles and bayonets to see if a saloon was closed, and if necessary to close it; while the body of a wounded man was lying in the street here with nobody caring, apparently, to go and give him succor; and while the smoke of the burning buildings was still ascending-- you draw the distinction between the murder, if there was a murder committed at that time under those circumstances, from the murders committed the night before?

Mr. McGlynn: I have answered that question several times too, and I thought I was trying to answer them fairly.

Mr. Cooper: well, you <sup>do</sup> draw a distinction?

Mr. McGlynn: I have explained the distinction, and you may draw any distinction you please from what I have said. I can only tell you what the facts were as I understand them, and my

and my view of them. If I am wrong about it, of course that is for somebody else to determine. I am giving you my honest opinion, and answering your questions as honestly as I know how.

Mr. Cooper: I know it. Now you signed the resolution?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I have told you that.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, certainly, I only want to recapitulate, because the evidence secures prohibitive effect sometimes from the order in which it is submitted. Now you drew the resolution?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Cooper: I would say you signed the resolution which Judge Frazer drew, which in its last clause pledged the prosecution-- or the aid in the prosecution-- of citizens here for crimes committed on the 1st and 2nd of July, and did not in express terms pledge the aid of the people here to the prosecution of murders committed on the 3rd, which by the mention of the dates expressly excluded the men you are now defending?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; and I want to again refute the imputation that you are trying to draw.

Mr. Cooper: No imputation.

Mr. McGlynn: You are trying to draw the imputation that I had something to do with that resolution, and that this

date was purposely made and that I had something to do with it; and there is not a syllable of evidence in this record that justified you in drawing that assumption.

Mr. Cooper: I didn't draw any assumption at all. I simply stated the evidence and facts as they appear in the record.

Mr. McGlynn: You are trying to make it prominent that I signed a resolution that limited the activities of the Committee of One Hundred to what occurred on the 1st and 2nd of July. I have stated to you that I didn't draw the resolution; didn't notice that, and didn't know until you read it that that was the date in there, and probably wouldn't have paid any attention to it at the time if I had read it carefully.

Mr. Cooper: I didn't say that you drew the resolution. I said you signed it. Are you accustomed as a lawyer of experience and evidently of great ~~shining~~ intelligence, to sign resolutions of that transcendent importance without knowing what they contain?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; and I knew what that contained when I signed it, and I have never said anything else.

Mr. Cooper: You just said you didn't know about that date.

Mr. McGlynn: I said I didn't know until now about it, and I said I didn't pay attention to it at the time I read it. I read the resolution and I heard it read as well, but I wouldn't have paid any attention to that at the time if I had noticed it.

Mr. Cooper: But you made the distinction in your testimony here repeatedly.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, and I do insist on it that there was a distinction.

Mr. Cooper: You talk about me drawing unfair inferences. I have simply stated the facts. You yourself made the distinction between the 2nd and the 3rd of July.

Mr. McGlynn: I do now.

Mr. Cooper: Then I am not drawing an inference. I am simply showing that this resolution, strangely to me at least, bears out the contention that you now make, that there is a distinction between murders committed at 7 o'clock or 8 o'clock on ~~Monday~~<sup>the</sup> morning of the 3rd, and those committed on the previous day; and you yourself distinguish between them, and if there is any imputation on you or any inference to be drawn, the inference and the imputation attaches as much to your own direct testimony in reply to Chairman Johnson as it does to my reading this resolution, which you and Judge Frammer signed. I didn't make any imputation; I simply stated the facts and presented the resolution to show that in express terms the proffer of aid was excluded in the prosecution of murders on the 3rd and limited only to those on the 2nd, and that wouldn't include murders on the 3rd, of which your clients are charged.

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Mr. McGlynn. If I have said anything here that the record doesn't justify, I want to apologize. I want to be courteous, and there is nothing further from my mind than trying to say something that would carry a reflection on any-

body here, but I say it is fairly inferable from your question that I knew something about the 2nd of July being put into the resolution at the time, and it was put there for some specific purpose. Now I beg to assure you that that is not true; that I did not. That is all I can say.

Mr. Cooper: Now I will tell you something that we have observed sometimes in Congress and elsewhere, when resolutions are presented of any length and importance, in a time of excitement, that the "joker", as it is called, comes in towards the tail-piece, towards the end. Now if there was any "joker" in this resolution, it was in limiting this proffer of aid to murders committed on the 2nd and murders not committed on the 3rd, wasn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, so far as your experience about "jokers" is concerned, I shan't dispute that. I have none. I never was instrumental in putting a joker in anything.

Mr. Cooper: You didn't put this in?

Mr. McGlynn: And if you have any kind of experience like that, of course you can speak from it. I don't know. (laughter).

Mr. Cooper: Well, I might get somewhat wrathful and indignant, and swell up with simulated indignation, as I have seen people do, but I will simply say, thank you.

Mr. McGlynn: You intimated that there was a joker in there, and that I knew something about it.

Mr. Cooper: Oh, no.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I didn't understand you then.

Mr. Cooper: Oh no.



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Mr. McGlynn: It is not a joker at all.

Mr. Cooper: I say, it surprised me to find that this very last clause in the resolution limited the proffer of aid to the 2nd of July.

Mr. McGlynn: It surprised me when you read it, because I had forgotten all about what the resolution contained, and I am sure there was no purpose in that except to refer to it as we all did at that time, about the troubles of July 2nd. We have always referred to it ever since that time as the riot of July 2nd.

Mr. Cooper: Well, it was rather troublesome to the girl the next morning, that had her arm shot off, and the colored man who was murdered on the morning of the 3rd.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: That looked rather bad.

Mr. McGlynn: That is true, and it looks worse, in my judgment, that the men who committed the offense aren't on trial.

Mr. Cooper: When did the Coroner hold his inquest?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: Was it before or after you presented this resolution?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I couldn't answer that accurately. The Coroner was in session for some time, I think probably-- I don't remember-- four or five days; maybe longer; and the matters were being heard before him and there was some controversy about newspaper reporters being admitted, and I don't know whether this resolution-- that meeting was held

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before, while he was in session-- no, it couldn't have been held before; it must have been held while he was in session or after. I don't know which.

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Mr. Foster: I don't remember whether it is stated or not-- what corporations are you attorney for?

Mr. McGlynn: I represent the St. Louis National Stockyards, Morris & Company.

Mr. Foster: That is in National City? That is in this anomalous corporation out here by the name of National City, and not in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You appear before the county board of review to secure the lowering of assessments of these corporations?

Mr. McGlynn: I have, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: At the request of the company?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sure.

Mr. Foster: And you get them lowered?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir; I never succeeded in getting them lowered.

Mr. Foster: They have kept them at what the assessment was made? The assessor out there is an employe of Morris & Company, isn't he?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: One of the corporations of which you are attorney?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Mayor of the city?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Where does he live, inside the city?

Mr. McGlynn: I understand he lives at Brooklyn. I only know that from hearsay.

Mr. Foster: So there is an unusual condition of an assessor who assessed the corporations of National City, which is a little organization outside of East St. Louis, adjoining it, depending on East St. Louis for water, for fire protection, police protection; having a mayor who is an employe of Morris & Company, one of the corporations inside there; an assessor who assessed all the property of those corporations, amounting to many millions, the mayor of the city, and lives in another corporation. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. McGlynn: That is true.

Mr. Foster: And you are attorney for two of those large corporations?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, I represent them.

Mr. Foster: That's all.

Mr. Foster: Does the city here furnish fire protection to National City?

Mr. McGlynn: There is a fire-house just outside the city limits. It is on First Street, First and St. Clair Avenue, down a little bit from St. Louis, across the street from the rule barn and the National Hotel in National City. The packing houses have, as I understand it, an independent system for extinguishing fires, and have a lot of firemen on duty, with a fire marshal, and when a fire breaks out

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up there, of course it is usually of some magnitude, and this company usually assists in the fire. The other day there was a fire up there and companies came from St. Louis. That is not an infrequent occurrence.

Mr. Foss: But they have their own fire protection for local, small fires, ordinary cases?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: How is it about police protection? Does the city of East St. Louis furnish the packing houses up there police protection?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir, they never did.

Mr. Foss: They never did?

Mr. McGlynn: No.

Mr. Foss: They maintain their own police force out there?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes. They have a chief watchman, as I understand it, at the different packing houses, and he has a number of watchmen under him. I don't know just how that is arranged, whether they are commissioned as officers of the village or not. I am inclined to think they are, though.

Mr. Foss: All the officers of the city there are the employes, are they, of the packing houses?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know who the others are.

Mr. Foss: Are they made up generally of the employes, the city itself, the residents of the city? Are they almost entirely employes of the packing houses?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, of the stockyards.

Mr. Foss: How long ago was that town organized?

Mr. McGlynn: Eight or nine years-- may be ten years ago.

Mr. Raker: Do you own any property in East St. Louis that you rent?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; I own two double houses that I rent.

Mr. Raker: For what purpose?

Mr. McGlynn: Dwellings, dwelling houses.

Mr. Raker: Where are they situated?

Mr. McGlynn: On Circle Avenue, in the northern part of the city.

Mr. Raker: Are you attorney for any of the corporations in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I do work for some of them, off and on. I don't represent any of them regularly.

Mr. Raker: Which ones have you done work for in the last two years?

Mr. McGlynn: In the last two years? Well, I have represented a good many of them.

Mr. Raker: Just tell us who.

Mr. McGlynn: The Railway Steel Springs Company, Elliot Frog and Switch Company, Missouri Malleable Iron Company.

Mr. Raker: The Aluminum Ore Company?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: The Chemical Company?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir-- well, I represent the J. C.

Grant Chemical Company; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Is that all?

Mr. McGlynn: I think that's all.

Mr. Foster: Did you appear before the county board of review to get the assessments reduced of any of these corporations in East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: You never had anything to do with that?

Mr. McGlynn: No, I don't believe I ever represented any East St. Louis parties before the board.

Mr. Foster: When a fire occurs out there in National City, the fire company that is located close there responds to the call, don't it?

Mr. McGlynn: I so understand it, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And the place along what is commonly known as "Whiskey Chute" is policed by the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the city line runs to the center of St. Clair Avenue, and they patrol that street as one of the beats.

Mr. Foster: And the corporation of National City doesn't do the policing out there, does it, along there?

Mr. McGlynn: Not on St. Clair Avenue. They have nothing but the buildings of the Morris & Company Packing House on St. Clair Avenue.

Mr. Foster: So that really the policing where the trouble is likely to occur, immediately adjoining at least, from National City, is done by the city of East St. Louis?

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Mr. McGlynn: Well, anything that occurs outside of the city limits, you know.

Mr. Foster: Let me ask it in another way. You have got all these saloons out there on St. Clair Avenue?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes-- not as many as there were. I don't know how many there are out there.

Mr. Foster: There is enough out there, though, I should think, to supply the thirst?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; I think there are enough to supply the neighborhood.

Mr. Foster: And still that is located out there on that avenue, and there are no saloons except one in National City, where it is kept away from the employes largely?

Mr. McGlynn: The one inside?

Mr. Foster: Yes.

908 Mr. McGlynn: I am sure I couldn't state that. I supposed it was open to anybody who wanted to go there.

Mr. Foster: But they don't usually go there, do they, if they want to drink?

Mr. McGlynn: It has been so long since I have been there that I don't know. I am very seldom up there.

Mr. Foster: Well, I never was there myself, so I don't know what that arrangement is.

Mr. McGlynn: There is one in the basement of the National Hotel. It is right on the corner, and I think there is another one up at the Exchange.

Mr. Raker: That is the only one there, the one in the hotel?

Mr. McGlynn: There was another one in the Exchange.

Mr. Baker: A man who lived there, and is the manager of a plant, says there is one place where they can get liquor in National City, at the hotel, and none other.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, then that other one is closed up. He knows about it.

Mr. Foster: It was our information that there was one in the hotel.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, there was another one there at one time.

Mr. Foster: Who runs the hotel?

Mr. McGlynn: Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. Foster: Is he connected with the company, with those companies out there?

Mr. McGlynn: It belongs to the stockyards. He is manager for the stockyards.

Mr. Foster: He is manager for the stockyards and runs the hotel?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And it is suggested here that the only place to get a drink in the stockyards is this hotel?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the Judge says that is true. I thought there was another place.

Mr. Foster: Do you know whether these companies have any interest in the saloon? Or do they permit somebody else to get a profit that may come from it?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know anything about that.

Mr. Foster: The license is how much out there?



Mr. McGlynn: I couldn't answer that either. I think it is \$500.

Mr. Foster: That is the state law. It couldn't be less.

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; I think that is <sup>way</sup> ~~that~~ it is.

Mr. Foster: National City would make it less if they had the power?

Mr. McGlynn: No, they couldn't make it less.

Mr. Foster: I say if they had the power.

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, I don't know what they would do.

Mr. Foster: So the city council fixes it at the very lowest level that it can be fixed in the State?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know about that.

Mr. Foster: They fix it at \$500, and that is the lowest they could fix it.

Mr. McGlynn: That is the minimum; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They couldn't fix it lower than that?

Mr. McGlynn: I am not certain that is the amount. It may be, but I may be wrong about that. I never have anything to do with that part of it.

Mr. Foster: I just thought maybe you had some information.

Mr. McGlynn: No. If you care to have it, I will get it for you.

Mr. Foster: No, that is not necessary. That is with the city council of National City?

Mr. McGlynn: The board of trustees.

Mr. Raker: Mr. Chairman, may I just revert before you proceed, to the riots. Where were you on the 2nd of July?

Mr. McGlynn: As I stated while ago, I was in my office most of the time, after we had made two or three ineffectual efforts to do something to stop the rioting or to stop the gathering storm, as we thought we saw it coming, and were assured that Colonel Tripp was on the ground with soldiers and would take charge of it. Then I went back to my office except for one trip I made around the block, and stayed there until I went home.

Mr. Raker: That is, after you went around the block you stayed where?

Mr. McGlynn: In my office.

Mr. Raker: Where is your office located, or was that?

Mr. McGlynn: At 120 North Main, right across from the City Hall. The City Hall is across the street, the fire department next to the City Hall, and the police department next to the fire department.

Mr. Raker: And your office is right opposite?

Mr. McGlynn: Right opposite the end of the City Hall, upstairs, front rooms, second floor; and the Chamber of Commerce offices are next south of mine, directly opposite the Fire Department.

Mr. Raker: When did you first learn that rioting had started in East St. Louis on that day?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the first information I had was

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when I got up in the morning, got the paper and saw these officers had been killed, and as I came down I saw what appeared to me to be more than the ordinary number of persons on the street at different corners. I walk from my house to the office every morning, about twelve or fifteen blocks, I suppose, and when I got downtown on Collinsville Avenue, in crossing these principal streets, I saw more people assembled there than usual, and I went to the office-- I think it was about 10 o'clock or half past nine, and the crowds were gathering then on Main Street, the street my office is on.

Mr. Raker: Did you meet anybody that morning after you left your home and before you got to your office, that you knew?

Mr. McGlynn: I probably did, but I don't recall now.

Mr. Raker: You can't remember anybody that you met that morning between your house and your office?

Mr. McGlynn: Not now, I don't recall anybody. I usually meet a number of persons in the morning.

Mr. Raker: Well, did the general class of people on the streets appear to be that as usually belonging to East St. Louis?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know. Some of them I didn't know. I didn't know where they belonged, but I thought they were men who lived here. That was the impression that I got. They had ordinary clothes on, just like they came from their houses-- from their homes.

Mr. Raker: When did you really learn now of the

real participation, of the beginning of the riot on the 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the first real occurrence on Main Street that I saw, other than groups of fellows talking and saying something ought to be done to prevent a riot and arson, that they thought would follow that night, was when a detachment of soldiers, I think three or four soldiers, brought a couple of colored men, one whose head was bandaged up and bleeding, and there was, I think, two or three colored fellows in that crowd that the soldiers had; and there was probably a mob of 150 or 200-- 300 persons following them up. They brought them into the station, and then there was a lot of women, prostitutes I took them to be from the way they were carrying on on the street, went by on the East Side of Main Street going north, shouting and hollering.

Mr. Raker: What were they hollering, do you remember?

Mr. McGlynn: Oh, just yelling; not saying anything in particular.

Mr. Raker: What was the particular sound of that yell?

Mr. McGlynn: "Aye-yai, Aye-yai", and the like of that.

Mr. Raker: Nothing about saying "Let every fellow get his nigger today", or anything like that?

Mr. McGlynn: No; I didn't hear anything of that kind. Then later on--

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Mr. Raker (Interposing): Let's hold right there for a moment. Now this was along about ten o'clock?

910 Mr. McGlynn: No, I think it was later than that. I think that was after dinner.

Mr. Raker: Well now, the mob surged right up to the City Hall?

Mr. McGlynn: Right up to the police station.

Mr. Raker: Can you tell me why the police officials didn't open the door and just run them right in and shut the door on them?

Mr. McGlynn: No, except to give you the Mayor as authority, when he told the committee-- had told us before, that he couldn't do anything with them; that the police wouldn't cooperate with him. I think those were his words, that he couldn't get the police department's cooperation, or they wouldn't cooperate with him.

Mr. Raker: Well, did you talk to the Mayor on the 2nd of July about the police not cooperating with the Mayor?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes; we all talked with him. I think I did-- I know I did.

Mr. Raker: Well, what I wanted to find from you-- or have you told us about that-- is whether or not you did anything personally to stop this rioting that day?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, the only thing I did was to meet with the committee and see what we could do, and discuss the advisability of taking some steps, seeing what it was we could do, if anything, to stop the rioting.

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We were convinced that two or three determined men would have broken the riot up <sup>anytime</sup> before four o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Baker: That is what I wanted to know. You seem like a pretty scrappy sort of a fellow.

Mr. McGlynn: No, you have got me wrong. I am the most docile fellow you ever saw, nothing scrappy about me. I am too old. At 52 years of age no man has got any business with any scrappy notions.

Mr. Baker: In other words, you didn't head any crowd, or ask to head any, to stop them? I ask that so as to give you a chance to explain why you didn't.

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I will tell you. I remember there were four or five of us there that said if we didn't get proper assurance from the Mayor that he would do something with the police department, we could go over to a hardware store and get some shot-guns and rifles, and we could get out and undertake to save the town from being burned up. We met a few minutes later and the Mayor assured us that Colonel Tripp was here and that everything would be all right in a little while, and to just wait now, and everything would be all right, and we were just lulled into a feeling of false security, and our belligerent attitude soon waned, because we thought that what he said was true, that the soldiers were here and they would do it.

Mr. Baker: Well, you had some sort of an investigation in your own mind and from newspaper reports, personal

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conversations with the people of East St. Louis, and heard more or less about it. Could you give to the Committee your version, from what you have gathered, as to the cause of the riot on July 2nd?

Mr. McGlynn: Surely, yes. The way I view this situation is this: There was a large number of negroes came here from the South. There were a large number of robberies and hold-ups and things of that kind reported. The report was current on the streets that they were getting favors that the white men in the saloon business and other kinds of business of that character were not getting; and there was a feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent. The white people were discussing it, thinking it wasn't right. They didn't know why so many were here; they thought they were coming here to get the white men's jobs. That was talked generally, wherever you would go you would hear that they were being brought here to get the white men's jobs, and that they were getting the white men's jobs, and they were getting the white men's jobs.

911

Now I am only telling you about the rumors and things you would hear. I am not saying they were true, because I know nothing personally about that, except what I heard on the streets. And the night of the 28th of May there was a strike out here at the Aluminum Ore, and they had a meeting of some kind up in the City Hall, which has all been told you, I suppose, and as I am told they came out on the street and stood in front of the City Hall. The men who were upstairs came down there, and the Mayor came

out and told them to move on, to go away, and they began to curse and abuse him, and said that they didn't elect him for the purpose of bringing these niggers here to take their jobs. There was trouble followed that night, and then when the police officers were killed, the condition was just ripe for an outbreak, and the inactivity of the police and the indifference, if not positive encouragement, of the soldiers when they came here, gave the mob that assembled on the streets absolutely free reign, and they went the limit. Now that is the way I see it.

Mr. Raker: Well, you say that there had been so much favoritism shown that even the saloon men felt that the negro saloon man was getting the best of him?

Mr. McGlynn: I say that is the rumors you would hear. I don't know personally anything about that, except I heard those matters discussed.

Mr. Raker: Who owns this saloon, or double-jointed saloon here, that has an entrance for the white men and an entrance for the black men, but they can all get in together when they get in there?

Mr. McGlynn: I don't know of such a place.

Mr. Raker: They have been trying to shut it up for some time, and they have had sufficient power and influence that they have never been able to shut it up.

Mr. McGlynn: I never even heard that there was such a place in town. I don't know it.

Mr. Raker: What do you know about this sign maintained by the saloon men over their places of business,



it will be marked "saloon", and then "The ~~managers~~ will pay the checks of the <sup>Employees of</sup> City Government"?

Mr. McGlynn: I never saw that. It might be interesting for you to know-- it might be proper for me to say-- that there is only one saloon in town that I go into as a regular place, and I don't know--

Mr. Raker: But if I am right as to where you told me your place of business was, it must be the next door to your place of business, right where you go up to your place of business. I know we drove past there the other night.

Mr. McGlynn: My place of business is two doors this side of that saloon you have in mind.

Mr. Raker: I saw a saloon there, and negroes and white men both-- that is only a night and a half ago, and on the sign was an invitation to all these laboring men that work for the city, that work on the streets, that work for this levee board, to go in there and get their checks paid in this saloon, and they will take them.

Mr. McGlynn: I haven't been in that saloon for more than two years.

Mr. Raker: I never assumed for an instant that you went in the saloon, but you can't shut your eyes to the conditions.

Mr. McGlynn: I never saw it. You might see it if you are riding in a vehicle outside and look over the painted window, but I don't think you can see it walking

along the sidewalk. Now I might be mistaken.

Mr. Cooper: The witness might be confused on that. The sign doesn't specify employes of the levee <sup>district</sup> board and employes of the city government, but it means that.

Mr. McGlynn: I never saw any kind of a sign.

Mr. Cooper: Oh, it is right there in large letters.

Mr. McGlynn: Where is it, inside?

Mr. Cooper: Right down a little ways from the City Hall.

Mr. Baker: Right square across from the City Hall.

Mr. Cooper: The Sergeant at Arms was with Judge Baker and myself when we drove back from Belleville last night, and the chauffeur went in there, into that saloon, to get some water for the machine (laughter). I thought I had better put that in fast, because you might misinterpret our reason for stopping (laughter), and the Sergeant at Arms and I stayed in the machine, and the chauffeur went in, and we saw colored people and white people at the bar.

Mr. McGlynn: What street was that?

Mr. Cooper: It is right close to the City Hall, and there is a finely printed sign which says "Jury claims and city warrants cashed", or bought, or something of the kind; showing that they can come there and get them discounted, unquestionably.

Mr. McGlynn: Now there are only two saloons, one is Watson's and the other is Geary's. Geary's is at

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the corner of the alley, across east from the City Hall, and Watson's is directly opposite the police station. I go into Geary's occasionally to buy a cigar, but I don't think I ever saw any sign there. I probably wouldn't pay any attention to it.

Mr. Cooper: It is in the front window, right over the sidewalk.

Mr. Raker: It is a great big sign, about that high (indicating), clear across the window here, three columns of it.

Mr. McGlynn: I may have seen it, but I don't remember it.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know how much they charge discount?

Mr. McGlynn: No, sir, I do not. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you think it would be a good idea if this city would get cash enough through legitimate taxation into its treasury so that the City Treasurer could pay its obligations at maturity, and stop the paying of interest to banks for financing the city and compelling workmen sometimes to go to these places to get their warrants discounted at a 20 per cent discount?

Mr. McGlynn: That is an abomination and ought to be stopped, no matter how it should be stopped. If it can be, it ought to be done.

Mr. Cooper: It ought to be stopped without any delay whatever.

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Mr. McGlynn: But unfortunately our city is bonded for \$750,000 or \$800,000, I don't remember how much-- probably more now.

Mr. Cooper: How was that brought on, that indebtedness?

Mr. McGlynn: That is an old-time legacy. I think it was in 1886 or 1884, along about there some time, we had a special charter and at that time they voted out from under the charter and in under the general incorporation laws of the State; and at that time the indebtedness of the city was enormous and it had to be taken care of.

Mr. Cooper: About how much was it?

913 Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know what it was, \$300,000 or \$400,000. It has grown steadily since. The bonded indebtedness has been refunded once or twice I think since I have been here.

Mr. Cooper: The bonded indebtedness has been refunded once or twice, but increased in amount?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. McGlynn, I am not clear as to what you said about-- when the police and the soldiers approached the saloon over on the Island on the morning of the 3rd of July, about shooting, if they run, or shooting if they shoot. What was that again, please?

Mr. McGlynn: Let me state what the record shows on that.

Mr. Johnson: What record?

Mr. McGlynn: Anderson claims--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) This is a soldier?

Mr. McGlynn: Corporal Anderson claims that the Sergeant, Meehan, told him that if the niggers run, to shoot them. Broulett says-- he is one of the soldiers-- says that coming down in the machine-- no, after they got down there and started towards this place, to kill them if they run; have no mercy on them. Now Le Gris, another soldier, testifies that the only thing that was said was in the machine coming down, before they got down there, and that is that if they undertook to shoot any of them, to kill them.

Mr. Johnson: And upon what mission were they bent, the soldiers and the police?

Mr. McGlynn: To close the saloon that was supposed to be open. That was their instructions.

Mr. Johnson: Did these negroes who were to be shot if they ran, or to be shot if they themselves fired, what did they have to do with the open saloon?

Mr. McGlynn: Well, I don't know that they had anything to do with it. I understood that a colored man by the name of McLean ran the saloon, and they were laborers who worked around the railroad yards, transferring ties, or work of that kind-- working on the track, possibly, and they were congregated around the saloon.

Mr. Johnson: So the errand upon which these policeman and these soldiers were bent was to close the saloon?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; and if there was any of them down there had guns on them, to bring them in. The instructions of the lieutenant to the police officers and to the

soldiers as they went down there were, "If that fellow is open, close him; and if any of these fellows have got guns on them, take them away from them and bring them in."

Mr. Johnson: If they had concealed any weapons, then that would be an infraction of the law?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: I didn't thoroughly understand that. You are excused.

The Committee is in recess for one hour, until a quarter past two.

(Whereupon, at 1:15 o'clock p.m., the Committee recessed.)

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Wed. 11/7/17

3110

A F T E R R E C E S S .

The Committee reassembled at 2:15 o'clock p.m.,  
pursuant to recess.

STATEMENT OF H. H. JOST, East St. Louis, Ill.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Please give your name and residence.

Mr. Jost: H. H. Jost; East St. Louis, Illinois.

Mr. Johnson: And your occupation?

Mr. Jost: Cashier of the Southern Illinois National  
Bank.

Mr. Johnson: Subpoena duces tecum has been served  
on you for the purpose of giving the bank account of the  
Aluminum Ore & Workers' organization. Have you that  
with you?

Mr. Jost: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Read it, please. Then will you leave  
it?

Mr. Jost: What shall I read; deposits and checks?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Jost: The Aluminum Ore <sup>Employed</sup> Protective Association  
account was opened November 4, 1916; deposit \$100

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November 13, 1916,	"	\$443.65
" 22, "	"	47.85
" 25, "	"	2.75
December 2, "	"	28.55

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December 9, 1916,	deposit	\$25.50
"    15, "	"	10.60
"    26, "	"	12.25
"    29, "	"	14.00
January 4, 1917	"	13.50
"    11, "	"	40.05
"    18, "	"	2.50
February 15, "	"	92.75
March 2, "	"	27.05
"    8, "	"	1.75
April 6, "	"	79.35
June 15, "	"	1.25

Mr. Johnson: Aggregating what?

Mr. Jost: Aggregating \$943.35.

Debits: November 27, 55 cents. ~~Atagxxxxxxxxxxxxx55~~

Mr. Johnson: For whom? Have you got to whom the check was given?

Mr. Jost: No; we keep no record of that!

November 27, 1916:	Debits:	.55
December 4, "	"	56.00
"    9, "	"	16.50
"    14, "	"	33.00
"    23, "	"	10.00
"    27, "	"	10.00
January 13, 1917	"	15.00
"    19, "	"	7.50
"    20, "	"	7.50



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	Debits	\$
February 5, 1917,		15.00
"    5, "		10.00
"   16, "		24.50
"   17, "		4.20
"   19, "		2.50
"   24, "		10.00
March 2, "		10.00
"   16, "		12.00
"   21, "		3.80
"   23, "		2.25
"   26, "		10.00
"   27, "		10.00
"    " "		10.00
"   30, "		50.00
"   31, "		10.00
April 19, "		20.00
"   21, "		57.65
"   24, "		60.00
"   24, "		45.25
"   27, "		389.00
"   30, "		10.00
June 18, "		20.00

Mr. Raker: What was the date of that big item?

Mr. Jost: On April 27, \$389.

Mr. Johnson: what is the aggregate of those checks?

Mr. Jost: \$942.20.

Mr. Johnson: Does the account balance?

Mr. Jost: There is a balance of \$1.15.

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Mr. Johnson: They overlooked that (laughter.)

Mr. Cooper: You say it aggregates what?

Mr. Jost: \$942.20.

Mr. Johnson: Will your books show to whom any of these checks were given?

Mr. Jost: No, sir; we just have two checks on hand.

Mr. Johnson: You have surrendered the cancelled checks?

Mr. Jost: Yes, sir; they have all been surrendered-- all been surrendered with the exception of these two.

Mr. Johnson: To whom did you surrender them?

Mr. Jost: I don't know to whom the clerk gave them; I suppose to the treasurer of the organization.

Mr. Johnson: Read the two checks that you have.

Mr. Jost: we have checks No. 31, payable to George R. Morris, ten dollars; signed George R. Morris, Secretary; J. T. Simons, Treasurer; May 10, 1917. Check No. 32, dated May 10, 1917, payable to the order of J. T. Simons, ten dollars; signed George R. Morris, Secretary, and J. T. Simons, Treasurer.

Mr. Johnson: That endorsements are on the back of them?

Mr. Jost: The first one is endorsed by George R. Morris, Philip Wolf, Jones T. Hurlburt, and the Illinois State Bank.

The second check, No. 32, is endorsed by J. T. Simons, Philip Wolf, Jones T. Hurlburt and the Illinois State Bank.

Mr. Johnson: were either of those checks deposited

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in your bank?

Mr. Jost: No, sir; they were cleared on us through the Illinois State Bank of this City.

Mr. Johnson: And you have no record whatever to show to whom a single one of the other checks was given?

Mr. Jost: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know who got that \$389 on April 27th?

Mr. Jost: No, sir; I don't.

Mr. Johnson: Is there anybody in your establishment that will know?

Mr. Jost: Well, it may be possible that they would remember it.

Mr. Johnson: Who would most likely remember it, the paying teller?

426 Mr. Jost: Well, whoever handled it. If it was washed, ~~was~~ the paying teller, and if it was a deposit, the receiving teller.

Mr. Johnson: And then if it was neither, but coming through the Clearing House, your individual book-keeper would know about it?

Mr. Jost: Yes, he handles all the checks. He may know about it.

Mr. Johnson: The Committee will ask you to continue as a witness until you have conferred with the bank officials, or clerks, so that you may ascertain, if you possibly can, from anybody in the bank, to whom these checks were payable, and then we will ask you to come back and tell the Committee about it.

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about it.

Mr. Jost: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: With the understanding that you are to get the information and come back, you are excused for the present.

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(The bank statement, with two checks referred to attached, is as follows):

**Aluminum Ore Employees Protective Assn.** NO. 31

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. May 10 1917

PAY TO THE ORDER OF G. E. Morris \$ 10 00

Ten DOLLARS

George E. Morris Secy.  
J. T. Simons Treas.

**THE SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NATIONAL BANK**  
70-17 EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.  
PAYABLE THROUGH ST. LOUIS CLEARING HOUSE

**Aluminum Ore Employees Protective Assn.** NO. 32

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL. May 10 1917

PAY TO THE ORDER OF J. T. Simons \$ 10 00

Ten DOLLARS

George E. Morris Secy.  
J. T. Simons Treas.

**THE SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NATIONAL BANK**  
70-17 EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.  
PAYABLE THROUGH ST. LOUIS CLEARING HOUSE

11/2/17/AM

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THE SOUTHERN ILLINOIS NATIONAL BANK OF EAST ST. LOU

*Alma*

F 1874 BAYLOR & BANNER, PRINTERS, ST. LOUIS

DATE	DETAIL	TOTAL CHECKS	DEPOSITS	BALANCE	DATE / DETAIL	TOTAL CHECKS	DEPOSITS	BALANCE	DATE
			100	100				612.45	
13			143.65	543.65		10		602.45	
21			178	541.50	27	10		582.45	
28			224	594.25	30	50		534.25	
12/2		54	2855	622.75	31	10		522.75	
4		56		566.25	19	20		581.50	
9		1650	2550	519.75	21	57.65		524.15	
14		33		542.75	24	60		484.15	
18			1061	552.85		43.75		418.90	
23		10		542.85	27	389		6 29.90	
27			1225	5510	30	10		125	
27		16		54510	1/6		125.15	21.15	
29			14	55910	18	21		115	
1/8/17			1550	572.60					
11			2000	572.60					
13		15		597.65					
18			250	597.65					
19		750		597.65					
20		750		597.65					
26		15		590.15					
		10		580.15					
15			1270	652.15					
16		2450		628.70					
17		2.25		624.20					
18		2.50		621.70					
20		10		611.70					
20/22			2700	658.70					
		10		628.70					
8			17	6450.60					
16		17		6618.50					
21		285		6117.8					
27		275		6124.6					



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Mr. Johnson: Mr. McGlynn, will you take the stand?

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STATEMENT OF DAN MCGLYNN (resumed).

Mr. McGlynn: If your Honors please, I desire to give you some dates that I was not able to furnish on my examination this morning. The date on which this meeting was held at the City Hall, when the resolutions were adopted, was July 6. I get that from the files of the Daily Journal, which I obtained through the courtesy of the editor during the noon hour.

The date on which Meehan, O'Brien and Wilson were arrested on the Coroner's mittimus, as I get it from the Sheriff's office, is July 18th.

I have the files of the Journal here for inspection if they contain any information which you desire.

Mr. Johnson: If no member of the Committee wishes to ask you any question, you may be excused.

Mr. Cooper: You say they were arrested on that date?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What day was the ~~kan~~ mittimus issued?

Mr. McGlynn: July 18th. The sheriff gives me the information from his office during the noon/hour.

Mr. Cooper: All three men were arrested the same day?

Mr. McGlynn: Yes, sir; and furnished bond that day.

Mr. Johnson: I believe that the union labor people want to put their secretary on the stand, do they not?

*Triff (als  
Glasgow)*

Ord  
11/17

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STATEMENT OF MR. EDWARD F. MASON, OF EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Give the stenographer your name, place of residence and occupation.

Mr. Mason. Edward F. Mason, 205 North 6th Street, East St. Louis; machinist by trade.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Mason, in your own way, make such a statement as you desire to make.

Mr. Mason. I am secretary to the Central Body; also secretary to the Machinists' Union.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead now and relate anything you may know relative to the riot or any cause leading up to it.

Mr. Mason. Well, I think the first that I have recollection of in regard to the riot was receiving, sometime prior to the fall election---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Do you mean 1916?

Mr. Mason. The Presidential election; yes, sir. Previous to that time I received a letter from Mr. Jorgens stating that there had been a number of negroes shipped from the South over the Pennsylvania and B. & O. railway systems, and asking me if I could investigate in any way and find what they were being used for. It was his understanding that they were being shipped into this locality. At that time I was rather busy and couldn't investigate it, but I had a friend that was doing some investigating on the same line. He was an employe of the East St. Louis Levee and Sanitary Board. He was deputy clerk, by the name of Cook. He was investigating what the negroes were being brought in here for. It was a well-known fact what at that time that they were in here, a



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large number of them, and they were expecting to be used against them at election time. So they had some of their men out investigating. I asked him to look it up for me and let me know if they were in big bunches where he found them, and talk to them to see if he could find out what they were shipped in here for. We did get a report from him some two weeks later; he found 200 of them in one voting precinct near "Whisky Chute". I don't know exactly what streets they were on, but they had told him they were shipped in here and their transportation paid from the South. They didn't know by whom it was paid. They were given tickets to come in here on, and that they were to be used here in the packing house, in a strike that was to be soon---an expected strike---and they were brought here in for this purpose. I made a report to Mr. Gompers; turned the letter right over to this Cook when *and he promised to* he asked me *I* look out for me, and never got the copy back.

Mr. Johnson. What is Mr. Cook's full name?

Mr. Mason. Ralph Cook.

Mr. Johnson. His address?

Mr. Mason. His address now is Camp Logan, Houston, Tex. He is <sup>s</sup>captain in the 124th Field Artillery.

Mr. Foster. Is he a son of Judge Cook of East St. Louis?

Mr. Mason. *s*

At numerous meetings following this, we heard reports from delegates--- *there are* about fifty odd locals *around* here affiliated <sup>who</sup> send *delegates* to the local body. Each local is entitled to *eight delegates, but* some locals *only* send one or two; it depends on how they feel. They had sent in reports on numerous occasions about negroes being in their vicinities, and there were protests

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meetings in different neighborhoods about renting property that had formerly been inhabited by white persons, to colored people, and after these reports came in so thick and fast, we decided to have someone speak to the Mayor about it. I was appointed on a committee of five to go down and see the Mayor and ask him if there was any way that the city officials could stop these men from coming in here in such droves. Through the day I didn't know how many were coming in, because I work in Granite City. On Sundays I would be off every Sunday. My job never works on Sunday, and I would see them on Sundays coming in here; just every time a Pennsylvania train pulled in from the South, there would be---it would look like an army---five to twenty-five bring<sup>ing</sup> baskets and bundles of clothes, and some of them on chilly days were so scantily attired that they were shivering. I noticed them, in great bunches of them, getting on the Alta Sita cars, going to the residential district called Alta Sita. I went almost to the end of that line, *going that way*, and they would get off all the way from ~~the~~ 15th Street to 25th Street. They lived south of that section there. There were a number of them coming in.

When we went before the Mayor on this committee, we told them how they were coming in. He said that he knew it, that they were coming in in bunches. We asked him what he expected they were doing here. "Well", he said, "they are expecting to have lots of work here before long". I said, "Do you think there is going to be enough work for all the men coming in, and where are they going to live?" He said, "Well, I understood that some of the corporations were going to build

~~~~~.

houses for them", and I told him, "Well, they had better start building houses, because the way the men are coming in they can't build houses that fast. They are coming in here in big droves". I said there was no work for them that we could understand. ~~Esman~~ Usually we keep a pretty close check on work; we know where there is men wanted; where positions are vacant; and we keep our own men lined up; keep them working steady. The Mayor said that he didn't think it was as serious as we thought it was. We told him we didn't know what these men were going to do. At the same time, I have got some figures from a newspaperman by the name of **Alleger** --- I don't know exactly, but he said over 800 hold-ups, ~~and~~ 27 murders, and seven cases of rape, previous to the riot, in ten months' time. //

Mr. Johnson. Who said that?

Mr. Mason. **Alleger**, a newspaper man. Over 800 hold-ups, 27 murders, and seven cases of rape---all charged to colored people---in ten months' time. We pictured that to the Mayor; and there had been a couple of policemen shot previous to this time, and we told him we thought the way they were coming in, so many bad ones among the bunch, it was going to be before long that policemen would have to get in off the streets to keep from getting shot. He laughed it off.

We kind of made arrangements with the Mayor to meet him on the 10th. That was on the 11th of May, and the Mayor asked us to set the date ~~and~~ ahead one day, because it was more convenient for him. We got over there, but could only locate four of the committee on the short notice. We talked to him probably 45 minutes, and he left us then; he was going to a birthday party of his wife's birthday, or something, and

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she was waiting for him out in front of the office. We left him and came back to the Central Body and made a report to the Central Body. The delegates were not satisfied with the activity <sup>that</sup> ~~was~~ the city officials had shown in the matter, and said, "They are sitting still and just letting things go to smash".

Mr. Johnson. What did they mean by that?

Mr. Mason. They said that the Mayor didn't seem to be active in trying to stop it; that he was just letting it run.

Mr. Johnson. Trying to stop what?

Mr. Mason. The importation of the negroes the way they were coming in. There was no place for them to work as we could see and no place for them to live; didn't know what they were doing.

Mr. Johnson. Did you tell the Mayor how he could stop it?

Mr. Mason. No; we asked the Mayor if he knew of any way and he told us that he had talked with Mr. Cas/hel, and had talked with Mr. Helley, the City Controller, ~~and~~ and we asked him if he wouldn't call a representative city meeting of the citizens, business men, and inform us of the time so that we could send along a committee of ten, or as many as he wanted, and confer on this matter. We told him we were almost positive there was some way to stop the railroads from loading these people in here, and that they were going to suffer with every one else. He said he would take it up, but we didn't get any satisfaction from him---that is, pointed satisfaction, anything that we could go back and tell the men. "Yes, it will be stopped to some extent".

Mr. Johnson. That is, that you hoped to be able to go

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back and tell your men that the coming in of the negroes would be stopped to some extent?

Mr. Mason. Yes; that it would be stopped to some extent.

Mr. Johnson. Upon what did you base that hope?

Mr. Mason. Well, we thought the Mayor---the Mayor said he understood the way they were coming in, that it was nothing new to him, and he was aware <sup>that a</sup> ~~many~~ great many negroes were coming in here, and we asked him <sup>he</sup> if ~~he~~ was sure that there was lots of work here for them. He said, "Well, I guess the people that are bringing them in here know what they want with them."

Mr. Johnson. I understand, but what you asked the Mayor was to stop this influx?

Mr. Mason. We wanted to know if there wasn't some way to stop this influx of negroes, and we asked him if there wasn't a law of some kind to stop it.

Mr. Johnson. He told you there was not?

Mr. Mason. He didn't know of any.

Mr. Johnson. He didn't know of any such laws--did you all know of any such law?

Mr. Mason. No; we didn't, but we asked him if he wouldn't have a meeting of the business men and appeal to the Governor, to see if there wasn't some way the State authorities could take action to stop it. The Mayor said---

Mr. Johnson. (Interposing). Did you ever find any remedy by which they could stop it?

Mr. Mason. We have not---I haven't; I don't know whether anybody else did or not. But <sup>when</sup> we went back to the Central Body and made the report, the report didn't satisfy a number of the delegates, and they suggested all the delegates go down before the City Council.

Mr. Johnson. For what purpose?

Mr. Mason. ~~Man~~ To inform them that the case had got to a serious position; that we were getting afraid of it; that there was so many of them coming in here, we didn't know what was going to become of the white people that lived here, and men every day were saying that ~~man~~ when they went to get employment at these different corporations, they found five or six colored men there to one white man, and they said that most naturally the colored men would be hired for their class of work; the white men were sent away without ever getting a job, and there were a lot of men kicking about that. Of course, there were some delegates that ~~was~~ that didn't interfere with.

Mr. Johnson. Well, there was no law covering that situation? ~~man~~ That was a matter of choice with the corporations?

Mr. Mason. A matter of choice; yes, sir.

So that was what brought about the calling of this meeting of the 28th of May. On the 22nd of May was when the Central Body met. You see, we had been to the Mayor on the 10th ---the committee---and we got no satisfaction---that is, what we thought was satisfaction---so then we went back to the Central Body on the 22nd, and on the 25th I sent out a circular letter to the delegates, and also to the secretaries of the locals. My mailing list consists of about fifty locals. That would be fifty secretaries and naturally about 150 delegates, if they were all sending <sup>a</sup> full delegation, but some only send one delegate. The locals in St. Louis---they only have a few men working in East St. Louis and they only send one delegate.

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Mr. Johnson. Did you or any of your associates make any suggestion to the Mayor or to the Council as to what means might be used to stop the influx of negroes here?

Mr. Mason. Well, I made no suggestion. I don't have any in mind and I don't recall of anyone else making ~~an~~ any suggestion. We asked him to call a meeting of business men, representative men of the city, and let us in on this conference and see if we couldn't talk <sup>it</sup> over some way, to see if there wasn't some way that it could be straightened up.

Immediately after that meeting on the 28th of May, there had been a remark made by one of the speakers about a pawn shop window on Collinsville Avenue---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). Who was that?

Mr. Mason. One of the speakers; I don't recall which one; there were three or four speakers.

Mr. Johnson. What kind of a looking man was he?

Mr. Mason. If I knew what kind of a looking man he was, I could tell you who he was, because I know all of them. But I don't remember which one it was. He was referring to the crime in the city at the time, and he said it was no trouble for a man to buy a gun, and he said there was a sign in a pawn shop window, on Collinsville Avenue, right off from the City Hall,--a large sign in the window put on the four or five dozen of guns in the window, and this sign was stuck up in the middle and read, "Buy a gun for protection".

Mr. Cooper. Revolvers?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; old, second-hand revolvers, all sizes and shapes. ~~When~~ The sign may not have been exactly "Buy a gun for protection", but something to that effect.

Immediately after the crowd came out of the City Hall---

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Mr. Johnson (interposing). Now, that had a meaning? What I mean is, inviting attention to that fact had a meaning. What thought was intended to be conveyed, as you understood it?

Mr. Mason. Well, I would understand him to say that that is where the colored men were getting guns that they were holding up people with, and there were a number of hold-ups at that time; every night there were three or four hold-ups, and all claimed to be held up by colored men. One case down there, a man told me that a policeman had arrested a colored man ~~and~~ with over \$100 and ~~on him~~ two brand new automatic revolvers loaded. When the officer went next morning to appear against the colored fellow, he was discharged. He wasn't in the jail at all; he was out of the place, and there was no charge made against the man; didn't know whether the guns had been confiscated or what had happened. The nigger was gone, although he had been arrested with this amount of money.

Mr. Johnson. How much money did he have?

Mr. Mason. Over \$100. He was not a local man, either; he didn't tell them where he lived. And that had been noticed around the streets; there was a rumor on the streets, and the people were <sup>beginning</sup> getting to believe that they were being allowed to run wild, so there was a crowd got around this window that night on Collinsville Avenue---the pawn-shop window---and they got noisy in the street. There was a big crowd there, probably fifty or sixty men, standing out in the street. Finally ~~when~~ the man who owned the pawn-shop came to the front and took the sign out of the window. I was standing on the corner with five or six men; there was a police officer standing in the crowd speaking with us; and the next thing I



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noticed there was a young colored fellow came chasing up the street.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by "chasing"?

Mr. Mason. Running as fast as he could go and the crowd after him.

Mr. Johnson. He was being chased?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; and he was in the lead six or eight feet, but he brushed right close to me as he went by. He went probably half a block when a policeman and an ex-sheriff stopped ~~up~~ and wouldn't let the crowd hurt him any, and there was a number of men in soldier's uniform chasing.

Mr. Johnson. Who was the policeman and the ex-sheriff?

Mr. Mason. Brockman was the policeman's name and Cashman was the ex-sheriff. That was just at the time the people were coming out of the City Hall, and the crowd was right on the streets at that time. I stood on the corner for possibly 30 minutes longer, when officer Coppedge came out of an alley going right by the City Hall---leading to the City Hall---and he told officer Mark Brockman, who was still standing there with the crowd I was with---he said, "Go out Missouri Ave. <sup>as far</sup> as 10th Street and close all the saloons, and tell them to close until in the morning. <sup>If</sup> we want them closed tomorrow, we will notify them. That is orders of the Mayor. There is trouble in the South End."

Mr. Johnson. That was May 28th?

Mr. Mason. On the evening of May 28th. Officer Coppedge went the other way on Missouri Avenue and went into all the saloons and told them to close up. I had a package I had left in a saloon down the street, and I went down to get that before

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they closed the place up. I wanted to take it home with me and I got in there just as Coppedge came in. In fact, I walked in there right with him. I got the package and came out and I walked back to Collinsville and Missouri Avenues, and I could see that there was a big crowd down Collinsville Avenue towards Broadway. I walked down that street. Possibly five or six more young fellows were coming out of a bowling alley about that time. <sup>When</sup> We got to ~~the~~ Broadway there was a colored fellow laying on Broadway; he had been hit and knocked down. He was not hurt very bad. He was laying there very still, and the crowd drifted away from him and left him alone, and he rolled over and saw nobody around him and got up and ran down the street and after he ran about half a block the crowd saw him running and started after him again. He dropped and then they stopped possibly thirty or forty feet from him. They stopped and he laid <sup>there</sup> a few minutes and got up and walked down Broadway, but they didn't chase him any longer.

About five minutes after that <sup>---</sup> there was no car ~~mind~~ that came along in my direction---I lived on the Lansdown line on 18th near Lynch, and there was no car that came along for possibly five minutes. The first car that came along was a Washington Park car, and I got on that and went home, about 11 o'clock, I judge, and right opposite our car, when it stopped, there was a suburban car---it might have been a Belleville car or suburban car running in from the north on this line, that had a smoker attached---only the suburban cars have smokers---I noticed Sergeant Keenan was standing

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in the door of the smoker, and he was keeping a crowd from getting on the car. There were about six or seven colored men in the smoker of this car, and the crowd wanted to get them off the car, and he wouldn't let them. They pulled the trolley off several times.

Mr. Johnson. Was this on May 28th?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir. Sergeant Keegan got the men to leave the car ~~summoned~~ proceed on to St. Louis, and I believe, they pulled the trolley off once and he told them to leave the trolley alone, that the men lived in St. Louis, and to go away and leave them alone. Finally they went away from there and my car pulled out and I went on home. That is as much of the first part of the riot as I saw. I believe there were about five or six men injured in that, but none of them were killed.

Mr. Johnson. How far away from the pawn-shop, where this sign was, had this negro started on his run?

Mr. Mason. I don't know where he started from. He may have come from clear down below, but I didn't see him possibly more than sixty or seventy feet. I saw him practically in front of the pawn-shop window. But I was standing a little north of it, possibly forty or fifty feet.

Mr. Johnson. How many men were after him?

Mr. Mason. He was in the street, jammed with people; a big crowd was in the street, and he was coming through the crowd. I couldn't tell whether four or five were after him or maybe fifty after him, but as he ran the crowd followed him in after him and they just trailed right along behind the leaders. There were about three or four men in soldier's uniform running with the crowd.

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Mr. Johnson. Now you say---who joined in the pursuit of him as he passed through the crowd?

Mr. Mason. Almost everybody in the crowd was swarming along in behind to see what happened to him.

Mr. Johnson. They were just simply running along to see what happened?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir. They weren't running fast enough to try to catch him.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know any of the soldiers?

Mr. Mason. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Were they pursuing to see what happened or were they trying to catch him?

Mr. Mason. It didn't look like they were trying to catch him, because they were not running fast enough. He was going pretty fast when he went by me.

Mr. Johnson. Was anybody running fast enough to indicate that he was trying to catch him?

Mr. Mason. Well, I thought if he was caught it would be by somebody ahead of him, because he was going too fast for anybody in behind to catch up with him.

Mr. Johnson. But was there anybody behind him running comparatively as fast as he was?

Mr. Mason. Not that I could notice. I didn't think they would catch him if they didn't head him off in front.

Mr. Johnson. And he ran through the crowd, that came from the meeting over at the City Hall, down in front of the pawn-shop?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And that <sup>was a</sup> crowd of fifty or sixty men?

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Mr. Mason. There was more than that on the street. There was possibly 200 men on the street. They were just coming out. Understand that this alley is an exit from the City Hall, and they were coming through to Collinsville Ave. The crowd walked over to the pawn-shop to look at the sign. They were standing on the sidewalk and out in the street.

Mr. Johnson. Nobody in that crowd molested him?

Mr. Mason. Well, he was hit, I believe, once or twice, but he wasn't even knocked down, but he was stopped right at the bank at the corner of Missouri Avenue--

Mr. Johnson. How far away from the pawn-shop?

Mr. Mason. Half a block; just about half a block.

Mr. Johnson. After he had passed the pawn-shop, he stopped within half a block?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you get any sort of a clue at all as to who was paying the expenses of the negroes here from the South?

Mr. Mason. No, sir. I have heard numerous reasons and numerous conversations about that, but it was conjecture more than anything else. I haven't heard anything that was positive.

Mr. Johnson. Was any considerable number of these negroes, who came from the South, out under any such supervision as would indicate where they went when they got here?

Mr. Mason. Well, I have heard on one occasion, when Mayor Hollman and some of the men running on the political party with him were complaining, they stopped in to the office of the Danville Iron Works--on 15th St. and Brady I think the office is--and while they were in there there were a couple of colored fellows that came in with grips, suit-bases, etc., and they came in and inquired for one of the *men*

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they mentioned his name, and while they were waiting for this fellow---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Was it a negro that they inquired for?

Mr. Mason. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Was he a new arrival or an old man who had been here for some time?

Mr. Mason. This negro had just come in town with a suitcase, and he came right into the office and inquired for a man, and before this man got there, Mr. Whalen, who was along with Mayor Hollman at the time, said, "You must know who you are looking for?", and he said, "Sure I do." And after the man came out, Mr. Whalen asked him---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). A negro man or a white man?

Mr. Mason. A white man, an official of the plant. He said, "You must have been expecting that fellow?", and he said, "Oh, yes, we had him sent there (here)".

Mr. Johnson. Who was it that said that?

Mr. Mason. That official of the Malleable Iron Works.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know his name?

Mr. Mason. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any way of advising the Committee who he is?

Mr. Mason. Mr. Edw Whalen possibly could give you his name; I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson. Who is Mr. Whalen?

Mr. Mason. City Clerk.

Mr. Johnson. What is his first name?

Mr. Mason. Michael---H. J. Whalen.

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Then this report, that I got from Mr. Cook, of the 200 he found in one precinct near "Whisky Chute"---I don't know what ~~was~~ street that was on---they said they were being brought in here for packing-house work. They were right up in the neighborhood of the packing house at the time. He also told me he found 400 men in the packing-house neighborhood up there that were not registered to vote; 400 ~~negroes~~ men not eligible to vote.

Mr. Johnson. Were they endeavoring to vote?

Mr. Mason. Well, he didn't know that. They were trying to ~~stop~~ stop it. They were investigating how long they had lived here so as to challenge their vote on election day. That is what they were out there for.

Mr. Johnson. Using the old argument of cause and effect, ~~can~~ can you look back and see where any great number of these newly imported negroes went for employment, or for any other purpose, and reason from that what brought them here?

Mr. Mason. In 1891 we had a strike on the Illinois Central, and Harriman lines all over the western part of the country. The Harriman lines include the Southern, the Pennsylvania, the Oregon Short Line and the Illinois Central. ~~and~~ It was a strike of shop men. I understand---

Mr. Johnson. About how many men?

Mr. Mason. About 30,000 men were included.

Mr. Johnson. In this locality?

Mr. Mason. There were 465 in East St. Louis. There was ~~was~~ territory down there in the 2nd Ward, bounded by Main Street, 4th St., 5th St. and 6th St., running north and south, and Trendley Avenue, Bicket Avenue and Market Avenue, running east and west, and in a radius of possibly three blocks from

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that shop, where there wasn't, I don't think, before the strike, more than a dozen or at the most twenty colored families,-- I was pretty well acquainted in the neighborhood down there--- there was about twenty colored families at that time; you only could find about twenty families. They were brought in here and kept in the ~~commissary~~ commissary room of the Illinois Central for a certain length of time; I don't recall the exact time, but several months. They built a commissary down there and kept them right in the place; fed them in there; and they seldom came out, only when they left employment. On a certain date the company notified the men they wouldn't keep them any longer and they had to get out and get houses.

Mr. Johnson. Negro men they had in the commissary?

Mr. Mason. Negro men and white men they had in there.

Mr. Johnson. What percent were negroes?

Mr. Mason. Well, I would judge that over one third of them were negroes.

~~Mr. Johnson.~~ There was a great number of negroes in the car department doing outside work. In the roundhouse and the machine shop they had white men, but they had a number of negroes in the roundhouse ~~working~~ working as helpers. Previous to the strike they never had a negro man ~~helping~~ helping a white man down there; all was white help, but they---

Mr. Johnson. (Interposing). That was in what year?

Mr. Mason. 1911 and 1912, up until 1915, when the strike was called off. It ran over four years before it was called off.

Mr. Johnson. And how many white strikers were there here?

Mr. Mason. 405 came out on strike.



Mr. Johnson. And remained out during that time?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir. There may have been possibly half a dozen that went back to work in that time. Some of them left town.

Mr. Johnson. And they were replaced in what way?

Mr. Mason. By white men---Americans, all classes of foreigners, and colored men. There were three or four foreign races down there.

Mr. Johnson. And about one-third of the 465--

Mr. Mason. (interposing). There was no colored men that came out on strike, but they were replaced by possibly one third colored men. In all, I believe they hired at one time a thousand men there taking the place of those 465. I know at one time in cold weather, where four machinists worked, they had about 15 or 20 men doing their work---<sup>many</sup> incompetent men, inexperienced men, and <sup>the</sup> men hired couldn't qualify at all; they were simply there to make a showing. We talked with lots of men that came out of there. They said they didn't do anything in there.

Mr. Johnson. There were approximately 200 negro men?

Mr. Mason. I judge every bit of that much.

Mr. Johnson. And how did they get here? Do you know?

Mr. Mason. They were shipped in here; hired in St. Louis and shipped in here. The Illinois Central road runs right along beside the roundhouse and <sup>they</sup> ~~brimmin~~ would bring them in on their own trains and take them off right in the commissary.

Mr. Johnson. Did they all come from St. Louis?

Mr. Mason. Not all of the time. They came from the South. They hired some from St. Louis. They would come over from  
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St. Louis on the ferry and come over on ~~the~~ train sometimes; they would come right down from the Relay on the Illinois Central trains.

Mr. Johnson. Were they St. Louis ~~the~~ residents?

Mr. Mason. I presume some of them were; some of the men would stay on the train till they got to St. Louis. After they got to St. Louis, they would inquire for the places *they wanted to go to, and they would have to go back to East St. Louis.* We would see those fellows coming from St. Louis, but couldn't tell whether they came from St. Louis or how they got here. But a great number of negro men were brought in at that time, and you will find it down there in that district; yes, sir. There is any number of houses, I would judge; I can show you fifty houses in an hour's time down there that were formerly occupied by white people previous to that strike, and now they have colored inhabitants. That was the first time that I noticed the big crowd of them coming in.

Mr. Johnson. Have you noticed any since then?

Mr. Mason. Only since this last bunch that came in.

Mr. Johnson. Tell us about that.

Mr. Mason. I told you about them coming in on Sundays; I didn't see ~~at~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~ through the week, but did see it on Sundays. Sunday afternoons those trains came in; I think it was excursion trains by the way they came down the street. They would all have either, <sup>s</sup> suit-cases, basket, or bundle of clothes.

Mr. Foss. That was in May of this year?

Mr. Mason. That was before that, two or three months.

Mr. Johnson. Then a large number last fall, you said?

Mr. Mason. Yes; I didn't see <sup>those</sup> ~~that~~ ~~they~~ came in in the fall;

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that was my information from Mr. ---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). You are speaking from information in making that assertion?

Mr. Mason. Yes; that ~~was~~ was in the fall. Previous to the fall election, I got that letter from Mr. Gompers saying that negroes were coming in here on the B. & O. and ~~the~~ Pennsylvania systems. I didn't see any of them. I don't know---they may have not got this far, but they were being shipped along this territory, and he asked me to investigate if there were any being brought in here and what they were being brought in for.

Mr. Johnson. After they got here, did any large per cent. of them go to work?

Mr. Mason. I presume they did. There was a number of them went to work. The steel foundries put some of them to work out here.

Mr. Johnson. Anybody else?

Mr. Mason. It is hard to keep men in the ~~the~~ steel plant. ~~Whammmmm~~ The work is pretty hard and they come and go. They work a week and then quit a few days, and the same man will come back ~~in~~ again in a few days. They worked there ~~possibly~~ possibly a dozen times in a year.

Mr. Johnson. Did any of the other big corporate institutions here take any of them in large numbers?

Mr. Mason. Well, the Aluminum Ore had some in here, and so did the Lalleable Iron Works.

Mr. Johnson. Just those three institutions, now, that you have named?

Mr. Mason. Those are the only ones besides the packing,

houses, I think, that employ very many colored men. Another place is the Cottonseed Oil Co.

Mr. Johnson. Did any of the packing houses get any of this influx that you speak of in the fall of 1916, and in the spring of 1917?

Mr. Mason. Well, only those that told Mr. Cook that they were coming in here to do work in the packing houses. I don't know how many went to work in there, but that is what he said. they came here for.

Mr. Johnson. He said their fares had been paid here?

Mr. Mason. The proposition was laid to them that they would work in the packing houses at good pay.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you have dealt now with the May riot. Can you come along down and tell us something of the July riot?

Mr. Mason. Well, the July riot is something I don't know.

I don't know anything about. I work in Granite City. Understand, I was working all that time.

Mr. Johnson. How far is Granite City from here?

Mr. Mason. About six or seven miles, I think believe. You go through North Venice; then through Madison; then to Granite City.

Mr. Johnson. You don't know anything about the July riot; do you?

Mr. Mason. I don't know anything about that; I was working days at that time all the time.

Mr. Johnson. Were you down town here? Did you come into East St. Louis on the night of July 2nd?

Mr. Mason. As I came from work, I came down as far as the hardware store over here on the corner.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see anything of the riot?

Mr. Mason. No; there were not very many people on the streets. I had heard about 3 o'clock in Granite City that there was trouble down here. I came right on down on the car.

Mr. Johnson. What time did you leave Granite City?

Mr. Mason. I left Granite City about 5:20. I quit at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Johnson. Your work then was over?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; my work was over at 3 o'clock; I work an eight-hour shift; start to work at 7 and quit at 3. I am relieved at 3 o'clock by another shift.

Mr. Johnson. If you saw anything of the riot, tell about that.

Mr. Mason. I didn't see anything of the riot. There was no disorder on the streets at that time. There may have been several men standing on the streets, but there was no

disorder.

Mr. Baker. A letter has been ~~presented~~ presented here by Mr. Kerr. I have here what purports to be a copy of that letter, in "The Crisis".

Mr. Mason. Yes; I believe I received that copy of that paper from the East.

Mr. Baker. This contains---this doesn't seem to give the date---this is a pamphlet taken out---this is the history of the East St. Louis riot taken out of "The Crisis", and you have seen this copy?

Mr. Mason. I think I have.

Mr. Baker. Was this letter here, published on page 3. (Handing paper to witness) approximately the letter, or is it a copy of that letter?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; I have read this, and I think I sent them the copy of this letter. They wrote to me right after the May riot; this paper did---or I don't know whether it was that paper, but it was stationery of them that was on brown-colored stationery, signed by Burkhardt Newbois --- that was the name the letter was signed by---asking me for any information I might want to give as to the cause of the riot. That was before---that was after the first riot and before the second one. And I wrote back and told them at that time that the State Council of Defense was investigating the riot, and until they had made an investigation, I only had newspaper reports for my information, and I didn't care to quote newspaper reports. They could get the same thing if they wanted it, and until that report came out from the State Council of Defense, most anything you could hear around the streets wouldn't be positive. I told them where they

could get---who the secretary of the State Council of Defense was, so that they could get a copy of that report. They mentioned that letter, and so I sent them that copy. Later on, I received that copy of "The Crisis".

Mr. Baker. This is dated May 23, 1917?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now, that letter grew out of the meeting held on May 22nd?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. This is a copy Mr. Herr gave me this morning. (showing copy to witness).

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; that is a copy of the minutes.

Mr. Baker. (reading). "Minutes of Meeting, May 22, 1917. Meeting called to order by President M. J. Whalen, who stated he would like to be excused, as he had a lot of important business, etc."

Now, this Mr. M. J. Whalen is the City Clerk, isn't he?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Then this follows: "Committee Reports. Special Committee on the Negro Proposition reported and the Committee was instructed to continue along any lines that would bring about desired results."

Now, can you tell the Committee what, in substance, was the special committee's report on the negro proposition?

Mr. Mason. I believe I made the report. Now we---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Have you got a copy of that written report?

Mr. Mason. No; I have a written report; it was a verbal report.

Mr. Baker. Then you can state it again?

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Mr. Mason. I was on the committee and was practically chairman of the committee.

Mr. Baker. Who else was on the committee with you? and myself

Mr. Mason. Mr. Kerr, Allison, Allegor, were the only four that met the Mayor.

Mr. Baker. Was Mr. Allison the preacher?

Mr. Mason. No; he is a clerk in a grocery store over here.

We reported back to the Central Body that we had met the Mayor and that the Mayor had no formula or no way of seeing how he could stop this influx of colored men. Some of the fellows said, "That is all you ever get from the Mayor. You never get any satisfaction on anything you go down and see him about." There was quite a bit of dissatisfaction about the report we brought back. And <sup>they</sup> about had some of us. I guess, in refusing to get on the committee to go before the Mayor. At one time they could hardly get anybody to go down to see ~~the~~ the city officials and see them because they could get no satisfaction. They would put you off and promise. ~~They would~~ You would get more promises than you could stand for.

Mr. Baker. More promises than performance?

Mr. Mason. You bet; that is exactly it.

One night up there they polled the entire house to get a committee to go down there and get some information about an arrest that was made. They polled the entire Central Body of 75 or more delegates before they could get a committee of five to go down there and inquire. They said you couldn't get any information down there.

Mr. Baker. Why was there such a reluctance among the members to get on ~~the~~ committee to go down and see the Mayor and



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the city officials?

Mr. Mason. They said the Mayor would only tell you he would investigate and that was as far as it ever went. They said, ~~then~~ "You don't get any satisfaction out of him."

Mr. Baker. What about the rest of the city officials?

Mr. Mason. It seemed like he would send you to the Police Chief and he would send you to somebody else, and they would send you back to the Mayor.

Mr. Baker. Just kept you going in a circle?

Mr. Mason. Yes. When they commenced to go back and disappear from you, you couldn't find <sup>them</sup> any ~~more~~ then. We had occasion to go down there and see the Police Board about a policeman beating up a man out here in a labor difficulty. He was a St. Louis business agent for the ~~Moulders~~ Moulders' Union. He went out there to see some men working in the place. He knew them personally and wanted to talk to them, and there were a number of police officers right on the street in front of the place. He stood right there in front of the officers waiting for these men to come out, so he could talk to them, and an officer told him to move on down the street. **and as he** started on, he was hit in the back of the head, leaving a large cut back of his ear.

Mr. Baker. He was a business agent for the Moulders?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir. And he was kicked while he was down on the ground by one of the policemen. There was a number of other men out on strike and some of his friends stood there and saw it. They wanted to grab the two policemen right away and he said, "No, don't do anything to them. Let them go ahead and do the fighting." We preferred charges against that policeman before the Police Board, but they whitewashed his case and put the man right back to work.

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Mr. Baker. Do you remember the name of that policeman?

Mr. Mason. Voigt. When we would go by the street, any of us that he would know he would sneer at us and laugh at us, and he said, "You can't get my job". Then we took it to the Mayor and we told the Mayor that he had ~~na~~ to do something with that policeman, as he didn't have a right to go out and beat up a man for doing nothing. The policeman was under the impression that he did have that right. He as much as said that. There was a civil suit entered against the policeman for assault and battery.

Mr. Baker. By this man?

Mr. Mason. By this man; and we sent a committee then of thirty--we sent 15 men down to the Police Board meeting to go down there and sit there as a committee from the Central Body and listen to the testimony put up in that case; then to come back and tell us if they thought that man was guilty of any wrongdoing or not. The Police Board then handled it. They didn't do it exactly at that time, but in a week or so he was taken off the job. We had ~~had~~ good results from sending down a committee of 15, where one or two men should have been able to handle the case by merely giving the information.

Mr. Baker. What was the idea you intended to convey, Mr. Witness, as to the necessity of your sending any committee down there at all? What was the real logical purpose?

Mr. Mason. Our reason for sending down the entire delegation was that we had had success ~~in~~ previous to that in sending down a large committee, and it wasn't something new. We had sent down small ~~delegation~~ committees, but could get no satisfaction, so decided to send the entire delegation down. That is how we came to send a big crowd down. That is why I sent

out that letter.

Mr. Baker. Was the purpose to get results?

~~Mr. Mason~~ If you didn't go or sent a committee, it would be whitewashed. Is that what you mean?

Mr. Mason. They would just brush it over; would let it <sup>they would</sup> go; ~~pay~~ no attention to it, if we sent down two or three.

Mr. Baker. Now, following further with the statement, "And the committee was instructed to continue along any lines that would bring about the desired results." Now what were the desired results that you were going to bring about?

Mr. Mason. In making the report back to the Central Body, we stated we had suggested to the Mayor that he ~~had~~ have a meeting here of business men, representative citizens, and that we ~~would~~ also had asked for a place in that meeting. We wanted to have a place in the meeting; to be invited there. They told us to go ahead then and stay on the committee to see if he did take any action and called this meeting. We suggested that we might take it up with the Governor. We thought that would be the proper way. He said the city had no authority in the matter, and ~~in~~ we thought probably the Governor would. We asked him to take it up with the Governor through the citizens.

Mr. Baker. <sup>following</sup> Then/~~this~~ meeting, the report ~~and~~ which you have given, ~~with~~ the minutes, ~~the entry made---~~ then you prepared the letter that I have called your attention to, of May 25th, 1917, copy of which <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ already been furnished by Mr. Herr and has gone into the record, and which is in "The Crisis". It starts off this way: "To the Delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Unions. Gentlemen:- The immigration of the southern negro into our city for the past eight

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months has reached the point where drastic action must be taken if we intend to work and live peaceably in this community." How would you mean by that?

Mr. Mason. Well, the way they were coming in and the trouble they were causing through the police department. They wouldn't allow us to live peaceably, as everybody pretty near had to carry a gun here in this town for awhile. It was absolutely necessary, if you didn't want to get run home some night or get shot.

Mr. Baker. Was it **customary** for the general citizenry of this city to be compelled because of this condition to have to carry a gun to protect themselves?

Mr. Mason. I don't know how many of them did, but I know I did. I didn't feel safe out after dark ~~was~~ without one.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you understand that what was generally the condition?

Mr. Mason. By the reports in the newspapers of hold-ups every night, I thought it would be the safest thing. I supposed the rest of them were doing the same thing.

Mr. Baker. Did you understand that the citizenry generally, men like yourself, who wanted to go out ~~and~~ and were compelled to go out, in and about the town, had to carry a gun to protect themselves?

Mr. Mason. I don't know how many of them did, but I presume a lot of them did.

Mr. Baker (reading). "Reached the point where drastic action must be taken." What did you mean by that?

Mr. Mason. In our meeting with the Mayor, we hadn't got any results. We thought he was the proper authority to go and see. We went to him, but he said he couldn't do anything. **W**

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said we would have to go further, and we would have to make it so strong to impress him it on their mind---he didn't seem to pay any attention to it. His thought wasn't serious. We said we would have to make it very strong; would have to show them that it was getting bad before we could get him to look at it in a serious way.

Mr. Baker. What was the drastic action that was expected to be taken?

Mr. Mason. We thought probably he could stop them from shipping them in here. They could be stopped. We anticipated that they could prevail upon the railroads to stop shipping them. I understood there was a law to stop them from shipping men in from one state to another, in time of labor trouble, without informing the men what they were coming here for. These men, as I understood it, hadn't been informed that there was labor trouble here. Since that time there has been a couple of strikes---one at the Cottonseed Oil, and the packing house trouble, I believe, had happened since that time, and those men were coming in without being informed what they were coming for, and I believe there is still a law on the statute books prohibiting any corporation from bringing a man from one state to another. I believe the St. Louis employment agents wouldn't send a man over here to a strike, unless they informed him there was labor trouble over here. I believe the law stops them doing that now.

Mr. Baker. Now what was this (reading), "If we intend to work and live peacefully in this community"---now to what did that refer? What was the condition existing where the work was not peaceable or the living peaceable in the community?

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Mr. Mason. Living hasn't been peaceable since they had been holding up so many people. Negroes were arrested in districts where they didn't live within eight or ten blocks of the houses. They were arrested in that neighborhood.

**They** couldn't show any reason what they were doing in that neighborhood, late at night, they had no business there. I understand the police force was down ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> close/about sixteen men, I think, on nights, to go over this entire city--sixteen men, I think. I believe I counted thirteen going out north one night and three going south, making sixteen, all told, to patrol the entire city, and they couldn't begin to do it.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you ever hear about the Chief of Police advising his force not to arrest any negro men running saloons and otherwise, but just let them run, prior to election?

Mr. Mason. No; I never heard of anything like that. I think they did arrest them time and again. I have seen it in the papers numerous times.

Mr. Baker. There were about 800 crimes committed here in ten months, but very few prosecutions?

Mr. Mason. That was only the colored people's crimes.

Mr. Baker. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. Mason. There were a lot of others; there were white people's crimes. That is only the colored people's.

Mr. Baker. And there were possibly as many crimes committed by the whites?

Mr. Mason. Possibly as many.

Mr. Baker. Mr. Chairman, I see a shorthand reporter taking testimony by that door (indicating). Can't he be

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invited in?

Mr. Johnson. Invite him in, Mr. Sergeant at Arms. Give him a seat here at the table.

Mr. Creal. He is not reporting the proceedings; he is merely writing notes for one of the members of the Committee.

Mr. Mason. Now, concerning that point of the work here, <sup>that</sup> these men/had a strike at the Aluminum Ore said there were numerous colored men put in their places, and they knew the nature of Mr. Fox; they know that there was never a chance for a white man to replace a colored man; if there was any chance to replace a white man with a colored man, he would do it. ~~Now~~ This Mr. Fox I don't think had a friend in the plant. I worked out there for six months. I never heard a man inside the fence ever speak a good word for him. It was one of the few places I worked where I didn't **think** a man in the plant was a friend of his--that is, the men who worked; he may have had some friends among the foremen and higher-up officials, but among the working men no one had any use for him.

Mr. Raker. Did he give preference, you say, to the colored men?

Mr. Mason. They said he would do that. In my line I didn't have any colored men competing with me, but the men in the labor class <sup>said</sup> he would rather hire colored men ~~than~~ than white men.

Mr. Raker. Then the second paragraph of this letter reads, "Since this influx of undesirable negroes has started, no less than 10,000 have come into this locality".

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Now where did you get that information, as you told the chairman?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir; practically ~~that~~ that. There have been so many reports in---the Mayor said/one time he made the remark that they were coming in at 2,000 a week. We didn't estimate that high; probably 100 a day and 500 on Sunday; that would make more than a thousand a week. He said there were possibly more than 2,000 a week coming in. It doesn't take very long to get 10,000 when they are coming in at 2,000 a week. They had no place for them to live and we couldn't see any place for **them** ~~to~~ to work. Naturally they were undesirable if there was no place to work, and **they** could get no money and there would be no way of getting back.

Mr. Baker. That is what I was going to ask you, about this word "undesirable".

Mr. Mason. **We** naturally drew from that that the greater part of this **crime** was being **committed** by these men coming in here, hungry, with no place to live and no place to work. They had to get by some way. They had to eat some way, and a negro man is not a man to do much begging. Very seldom have I seen a colored man come to the house and ask for something to eat.

Mr. Baker. When he gets hungry, what is your ~~and~~ theory that he will do?

Mr. Mason. My theory is that he will go out and take it away from somebody.

Mr. Baker. Well, were these men undesirable because they came to do work and singly because they were colored men?

Mr. Mason. No, sir. Our information was---our idea ~~was~~



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was that it was these men that were committing the crimes. We still maintain that crime was being committed by them.

Mr. Baker. Would you consider that undesirable if they came here solely and entirely to seek work?

Mr. Mason. No, sir; not to seek work if there was work here for them. I would not blame them for coming here. If there was work here for them it would <sup>have been</sup> a good thing to have them here.

Mr. Baker. Of course, your contention is that there was one job for three men, as it was then?

Mr. Mason. That is the way it was in their class of work; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And the more men you brought in, the worse the condition?

Mr. Mason. <sup>There would be</sup> ~~him~~/more men for that job.

Mr. Baker. Competition <sup>would</sup> ~~be~~ wages lower, wouldn't it?

Mr. Mason. It would in their line of work. It would not hurt my business any because I have no competition with that class of work in my line.

Mr. Baker. Now were these negroes brought in as strike breakers, in effect? In other words, could more negroes coming in have the effect of strike breakers and prevent the union from maintaining their strike successfully?

Mr. Mason. I understand that a ~~majority~~ majority of these strikes were not union-called strikes. They were non-union-called. At the Cotton Seed Oil plant, one crowd of colored men went out on strike, and another crowd went in and took their jobs.

Mr. Baker. Then, also, as a matter of fact, the strike at

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the Aluminum Ore plant was?

Mr. Mason. A very small percentage of the men were organized out there.

Mr. Baker. In other words, that was a strike by unorganized labor?

Mr. Mason. Unorganized men, practically.

Mr. Baker. Is that a strike that Mr. Wolf pulled off?

Mr. Mason. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What about that Cotton Seed Oil plant?

Mr. Mason. I say there was a bunch of colored men that went out on strike there and they were replaced by colored men. They struck over long hours; they were working 12-hour shifts; one crew relieved the other crew. I worked at that plant three months while they were putting up building, and the trades worked 8 hours on the building, and the negro laborer worked 12 hours. They paid them, I believe, 25 cents an hour. That made them \$5.00 a day, and they built houses right along the side of the fence of the plant; the firm built the houses. ~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> houses were rented to those men; the rent was taken out of their pay as they worked. They have a number of houses there yet. I don't know exactly how many; I would judge there ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> half a dozen there when I left the place, and I left the place when the building was completed and the machinery installed.

Mr. Cooper. ~~with no further questions~~ Do you remember what the rent was?

Mr. Mason. I have no idea what the rent was. They were just frame houses set up on concrete pads. There is a great deal of dust coming from that place, from the cotton seed.

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from the grinding of the hulls. That is where they make this bran. They call it a bran plant. They grind up the hull and extract the cotton from it. Dust blows all around there for three-quarters of a mile. I know when I came by those houses they would just be covered up with dust; ~~whirring~~ just getting right through the sides of the houses. Dust would be all over the floors of the houses. The houses weren't fit ~~for~~ to live in.

Mr. Baker. Further explanation--<sup>the</sup> third paragraph reads "These men are being used to the detriment of our white citizens by some of the capitalists and a few of the real estate owners". What did you mean by that?

Mr. Mason. Real estate owners then---a report came in from the carpenters' organization, or from the carpenters' delegate, and <sup>the</sup> painters' delegate, saying that several real estate men were repairing fences, <sup>and</sup> board walks by colored men, that previously had given that work to residents of the city here, white men union carpenters and painters, but now they had hired a few colored men and let them paint the fences, put new pickets on the fences and fix up board walks around houses. These men had lost that work that previously they were getting. They were getting it done considerably cheaper. They were giving ~~whirring~~ it to the colored people and that was where it was working a detriment in those places; and also where they were being hired at the Alumina, here they would hire a dozen colored men and leave the white men stand at the gate. That happened to numerous men. Several have told me that that happened at the packing houses daily. They would come out to the gate and pick out four or five colored men and leave the white men standing there, men that worked there off and on for years.

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Mr. Raker: Men having families here?

Mr. Mason: Men having families, and competent butchers too.

Mr. Raker: Now tell us what, in your view, was the real purpose of taking this course-- in other words, this large influx of negroes here when there were more men here already than there was work for; and then selecting the colored men in preference to the white men who lived here, had worked for them, had families here, and were good workers? That is your theory that that was done for?

Mr. Mason: A number of years ago the packing houses here organized completely, and every man in the institution belonged to his union, covering his branch. They had a strike there a number of years ago and lost the strike, and since that time it has been called an open shop and they have hired who they pleased and fired whom they got ready to fire. They had men working 40 hours this week and 25 hours next week, and made you hurry and get through as quick as you could and then sent you home. That was working piece-work. They just kept the men right on the verge of starvation, you might say. You understand a working man isn't very far from that anyhow, with the high cost of living. He is two or three weeks out of the poor-house if he keeps working steady. These men were right at the back-door of the poorhouse, the majority of them. By having those men coming to that gate every morning and applying for work, and they pass them up and

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take a colored man, they browbeat them down until they are willing to take a job doing almost anything. It took the run all out of them. I believe that was their intention more than anything else.

Mr. Raker: Now the next paragraph reads as follows:

"Next Monday evening the entire body of delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Union will call upon the Mayor and City Council, and demand that they take some action to retard this growing menace, and also devise a way to get rid of a certain portion of those who are already here."

That you practically covered in your prior answers?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: This "growing menace" is what you have described?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the desire to get rid of certain ones already here, refers to your former answer?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Then this sentence:

"This is not a protest against the negro who has been a long resident of East St. Louis and a law-abiding citizen."

You have made the distinction there as against the man who was attending to his business, but it seems as though your main purpose was to prevent--

Mr. Mason (Interposing:): Our contention was that

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the majority of the men were the men causing crime, and that is what I was hitting at more than anything else. I didn't know at that time of so many of the men being put into the different plants having struck. The unorganized strikes didn't get to me as quick as the organized strikes. Unorganized men call a strike and handle it for a week or two, and try to handle it themselves, and if they can't settle it and can't get any satisfaction out of it, can't get a meeting with the employers, then they call on the labor movement to try and help them out. In that way I wasn't getting reports of all these men going to the different plants in that way. I considered the crime wave was the important part of those men coming here.

Mr. Raker: So that I may finish it all and leave nothing out on the matter, I want to read the next one:

"We earnestly request that you be in attendance on next Monday evening at 8 o'clock at 137 Collinsville Avenue, where we will meet and then go to the City Hall."

Was that done?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How many of you met and went to the City Hall?

Mr. Mason: Well, when we got to the meeting we invited all the locals up there, and on that night the laundry workers' local meets there, a local of young ladies, and we had invited them up, and they came over, I guess a dozen or more of them. The retail clerks had as many as a dozen young ladies from their organization down there.

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Mr. Baker: Here in town?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. They have a number of young ladies belong to their organization. They were there, and there were some young ladies from the waitresses' local here. They were all in attendance. They were all in attendance in the hall up there, inside the hall when I got up there, and they wanted to know who we had picked out for the speaker to address the Mayor and the City Council. We were to meet them in the Council Chamber, and I told them I didn't have any idea of picking out any speaker. I guess the Mayor already knew what we were coming over there for, and just someone to <sup>up</sup>press ~~us~~ our reasons and bring the crowd in and show him the people protesting against conditions as they were-- I thought that would be sufficient. But in the meantime some of the other committees had asked a carpenter by the name of Al Curtis if he would speak. He is a man that is willing to speak, and he explained the case from his viewpoint, and Mr. Allegor was one of the committee. He was going to speak. And Mr. Kane, Mr. Jerre Kane, ex-member of one of the organization, and at present manager for a brewery in Granite City. He had quite a bit of information, and he had dates with it, on some of the packing-house troubles, and we thought he would be a good speaker to speak for us.

That is all the speakers we had when we went over there. We walked right straight over to the City Hall and went up there.

Mr. Baker: Did you select any other speakers except

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those that you have named, and selected as you have named them?

Mr. Mason: Not that I know of.

Mr. Raker: All right. Then to follow this letter-

Mr. Mason (Interposing:) We got up into the City Hall---

Mr. Raker (Interposing:) No, you have got to that point. I want <sup>to finish this</sup> A letter. This is more important than any local meeting.

What was your meaning, what was your intention in that sentence?

Mr. Mason: A number of our delegates-- understand, I notified all the delegates, three from each local, and also the secretary, so in case the delegates shouldn't get in in time the secretary, if they met before that, could remind him of it. The delegates like to go to their meetings and report how business is handled to the Central Body, referring to their organizations. We didn't want to go down there without trying to get a full delegation out, and have them find only six or eight or ten men out there. It would look like ~~interest~~ was slack and proper effort was not taken in good faith by the delegates themselves.

Mr. Raker: I will read the rest of this:

"Fraternally, Central Trades and Labor Union.

(Signed) Edward F. Mason, Secretary."

Now Mr. Kerr handed in this morning what purports to be the delegates attending. Is that a list of the



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delegates supposed to have been at this meeting just described, when you were meeting together in the City Hall (showing paper to witness)?

Mr. Mason: No; this is the delegates that were at this meeting on the 22nd of May. They fill out the attendance card and I file their name under the local's name. Sometimes there are a great many more than that.

Mr. Raker: But you haven't a list, or have you, of the delegates that <sup>did</sup> should appear on the evening at the hall at 137 Collinsville Avenue?

Mr. Mason: No; I had no way of getting a record of them. There were so many people there that were not delegates.

Mr. Raker: This is marked "Central Trades and Labor Union of East St. Louis, Illinois. Meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month, 309 Collinsville Avenue", containing a copy of the meeting of May 22nd, 1917. That is right, isn't it?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And a list of the delegates attending; attending at that meeting on May 22nd, 1917.

Xx. I think that ought to go into the record.

Mr. Johnson: Yes, let it go 'n.

(The paper referred to as follows:)

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HALL OF  
**Central Trades and Labor Union**

309 COLLINSVILLE AVENUE

Meets every second and fourth Tuesday of each month at Lehman's Hall, 309 Collinsville Ave., East St. Louis, Ill.  
 SECRETARY—Edw. F. Mason, 1220 N. 13th St., East St. Louis, Ill. Phone—Kinloch, St. Clair 740-R.

PRESIDENT—M. J. Whalen.

VICE-PRESIDENT—Hunter B. Keith.

RECORDING-SECRETARY—Edw. F. Mason.

FINANCIAL-SECRETARY—Harry Kerr, 1111 St. Louis Avenue.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS—L. Henderson.

ORGANIZER—Herman Ziegler and Harry Kerr.

TRUSTEES—D. J. Neenan, Geo. Lett, C. N. Allegor.

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE—Hunter B. Keith, Chairman;

Chas. Kueferer and Parker Hammond.

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE—E. J. Scully, Hunter B. Keith and Parker Hammond.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE—Hunter B. Keith, Edw. F. Mason and E. James Scully.

MINUTES OF MEETING, MAY 22, 1917.

Meeting called to order by President M. J. Whalen, who stated he would like to be excused, as he had a lot of important work to do at the office. President Whalen asked Delegate Towers to conduct the meeting in the absence of Vice-president H. B. Keith; Bro. Kirk acting Vice-president. Roll call showed the presence of all other officers.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved as read.

COMMITTEE REPORTS.

Special Committee on the Negro Proposition reported and the Committee was instructed to continue along any lines that would bring about desired results.

Organizers reported progress in the Elliott Frog and Switch Co. Local.

The Fraternal Delegate to the Building Trades Council reported on the last two meetings of same.

COMMUNICATIONS.

From the B. T. C., inviting us to participate in their Labor Day Celebration and Parade; filed.

From the Painters, requesting the services of the Grievance Committee; turned over to same.

From State Federation of Labor, urging us to send a telegram to Senator on Injunction Limitation Bills; Secretary instructed to comply with request.

From Tri-City Trades Council, stating they were being sued for \$30,000.00 damages on account of a strike which was carried on against the Granite City Sewer Job, by Federate Labor Union, No. 15,305; on motion \$25.00 was donated.

From the Allied Printing Trades Council, of New York, requesting us to protest to our Senators against the proposed raise in second-class postal rates; received and request complied with.

From the American Federation of Labor, on the preceding proposition; received and contents noted.

From the Union Label Collar Co., stating the only place in East St. Louis handling union made collars, is the Fellner-Crow Co., Collinsville and St. Louis avenues.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS.

Executive Board was instructed to confer with a committee of Building Trades Council on a Joint Picnic for Labor Day.

NEW BUSINESS.

The new agreement of the Retail Clerks was brought up and endorsed by the C. T. L. U.

A committee was appointed to meet the Mayor on the Aluminum Ore Co. proposition—Johns, Kerr and Jimerson.

A committee was appointed to call on the Police Board, Mayor and Chief of Police and Chief of Detectives, on the holding of members of the Teamsters Union in Jail without anything to eat for over 24 hours.

Organizer Leek, of the Mine, Mill and Smelters Union explained the strike at the Aluminum Ore Co., also the Injunction.

On a motion \$100.00 was donated to the Defense Fund of the Aluminum Ore Co. Defense Fund.

The proposition of the Central Trades taking up the Hall formerly held by the Bartenders at 137 Collinsville avenue, was turned over to the Executive Board.

On motion Secretary was instructed to notify every Delegate to the C. T. L. U. to meet the Mayor and City Council on next Monday eve, May 28, 1917, at the City Hall.

The following Bills were allowed:

|                                                    |          |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Harry Kerr, 48 hours, and postage, \$1.00.....     | \$ 20.20 |
| E. J. Scully, 2 meetings B. T. C. ....             | 1.00     |
| L. Henderson, 2 meeting sergeant-at-arms .....     | 1.00     |
| E. F. Mason, salary and postage.....               | 6.30     |
| Tri-City Trades, donation .....                    | 25.00    |
| Aluminum Ore Co., Defense Committee Donation ..... | 100.00   |

Total..... \$153.50

The Receipts of the Evening were:

|                                     |         |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Blacksmiths, No. 159 .....          | \$ 2.00 |
| Beer Drivers, No. 43 .....          | 6.00    |
| Laundry Workers, No. 94 .....       | 2.00    |
| Stationary Engineers, No. 149 ..... | 6.00    |
| Bakers, No. 5 .....                 | 6.00    |
| Painters, No. 215 .....             | 36.00   |
| M. M. B. A., No. 2 .....            | 2.00    |

Total..... \$60.00

Balance on hand—May 22, 1916..... \$695.63

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. F. MASON,  
 Recording-Secretary.

UNION MEN—GET YOUR FIRST UNION MADE STRAW HAT AT THE HUB CLOTHING COMPANY.

**ELKS CLUB unfair to Bartenders, Waiters, Cooks and Musicians.**  
**SPECIAL---Cinco Cigar and Hauptman's Hand Made very unfair.**

YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO DEMAND UNION MADE GOODS AND IF THE CLERK DOESN'T SIGN THEM TO YOU, WALK OUT OF THE STORE. ACCEPT NO OTHER.

## DELEGATES ATTENDING

|                                                                                           |                                                                    |                                                            |                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen, No. 54                                     | Blacksmiths and Helpers— No. 159                                   | Franklin Ass'n No. 43<br>Ernest Weill, Jr.                 | Retail Clerks, No. 676<br>E. J. Allison<br>W. A. Snow             |
| Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, No. 534<br>E. W. Jimerson<br>R. B. McDonald | Boot and Shoe Repairers No. 109.<br>C. Houry                       | Garment Workers, No. 4                                     | St. Louis Central Body<br>Louis Garvey                            |
| Bakers Joint Council                                                                      | Brewers and Malsters, No. 6<br>John Oswald                         | Glass Blowers, No. 78                                      | Stage Employes, No. 147                                           |
| Bakers and Confectioners— No. 5<br>Chas. Geoglein<br>Chas. Kupferer                       | Brewery Freight Workers & Ice Pullers, No. 237<br>Chas. Neiman     | Horseshoers, No. 119                                       | Stationary Firemen, No. 313                                       |
| Barbers, No. 138<br>W. Sanders<br>P. Page<br>E. W. Hchit                                  | Building Trades Council                                            | Laundry Workers No. 94<br>Mary Laffanwitche<br>Kitty Smith | Steamfitters, No. 439<br>Thos. Sullivan<br>E. Scully<br>J. Shawen |
| Bartenders, Waiters, Waitresses and Cooks, No. 332                                        | Carpenters, No. 169<br>Geo. Tuthil<br>R. E. Johns<br>P. C. Mungler | Machinists, No. 121<br>S. K. Sneider                       | Street Railway Employment No. 125<br>M. Whalen                    |
| Beer Bottlers, No. 187<br>W. Schaefer<br>M. Schoder                                       | Cigar Makers, No. 44                                               | Machinists, No. 266<br>E. F. Mason                         | Switchmen, No. 16<br>Harry Kerr                                   |
| Beer Drivers, No. 43<br>John Sweeney                                                      | City Firemen, No. 15415                                            | Mine Workers, No. 1797                                     | Teamsters, No. 729<br>W. A. Eggers<br>O. B. Kirk                  |
| Belleville Central Body<br>Al Towers                                                      | Coopers, No. 91<br>L. T. Henderson                                 | Mine Workers, No. 1899                                     | Teamster's Joint Council                                          |
| Bill Posters, No. 5                                                                       | Electrical Workers, No. 1<br>W. Clemens                            | Moving Picture Operators— No. 288                          | Tinners, No. 276                                                  |
| Boilermakers, No. 363                                                                     | Electrical Workers, No. 309                                        | Musicians, No. 2<br>H. J. Fein                             | Tri-Cities Trades Council                                         |
|                                                                                           | Engineers, No. 149<br>A. J. Baker<br>Geo. Lett                     | Painters, No. 215<br>O. D. Johns<br>Jno. Orr<br>H. Walker  | Typographical, No. 8<br>C. N. Allegor<br>J. W. Alvis              |
|                                                                                           | Federal Labor Union, No. 15142<br>L. R. Metcalf                    | Plumbers, No. 360                                          | White Rats Actors Union, No. 11                                   |
|                                                                                           |                                                                    | Plumbers Laborers, No. 62<br>Lem Kirkpatrick<br>Wm. Stank  | Visitors—                                                         |
|                                                                                           |                                                                    | Printing Pressmen No. 6                                    |                                                                   |

### BULLETIN BOARD

The Union Laundry, Thirty-Third and Caseyville and the East St. Louis Laundry are the only **UNION LAUNDRIES** doing business in East St. Louis

**Buy Union Made Cigars Made in East St. Louis.**

I. X. L. products are the only products killed by Union Butchers in the city. Ask for the products of the East Side Packing Co.

#### UNION MEN

There is now in this city an organization of

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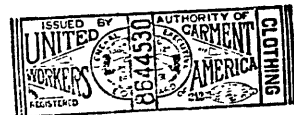
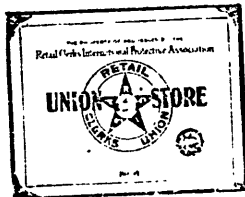
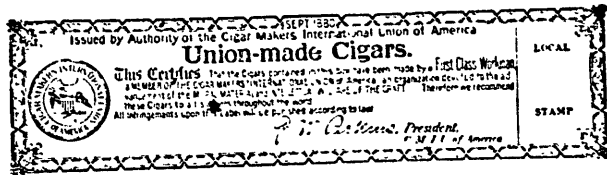
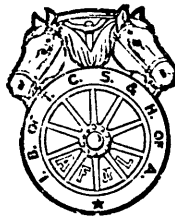
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Mr. Raker: Did Mr. Alexander Flannigan belong to this Central Body?

Mr. Mason: No, sir; he belongs to no organization in the city.

Mr. Raker: And he wasn't present at this meeting of the 22nd?

Mr. Mason: He didn't meet at 137 Collinsville Avenue. The first I saw of him was after the meeting was going on.

Mr. Raker: I want to get it in sequence, so as to make it clear. Do you know of any of your members inviting him to be present at this meeting for the 28th?

Mr. Mason: No, I don't. I don't think he was invited.

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Mr. Raker: What is your judgment on that?

Mr. Mason: Well, I don't think he was invited. He is a man that has an office right across the street, and is usually around there in the evening, and I presume whenever there is a meeting-- in fact, every time I have been to the City Hall any time that there is any kind of a meeting, Flannigan is there. He is a man well known, and he just walked over there when he saw the meeting. The first I saw of him I was sitting at one side of the hall, near the rear of the hall.

Mr. Raker: I don't want you to get ahead of this. I want to get this in sequence now. We haven't had a chance to get it right down before. So far as I you know now, it is your testimony that you know of no one

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belonging to this organization that invited Alexander Flannigan to be present at that meeting that evening?

Mr. Mason: I know of no one that invited him; no, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now you went down to the meeting, as you have told us, and you were present?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: I mean in the City Hall.

Mr. Mason: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Did this committee, now, that left 137 Collinsville Avenue, the Labor Temple--

Mr. Mason (Interposing:): Now there is two labor temples; two buildings they call the Labor Temple.

Mr. Raker: 137 Collinsville, what hall was that?

Mr. Mason: The teamsters and bar-tenders hall.

Mr. Raker: when you left that hall that evening, you marched in a body to the City Hall. Before you did that had you as secretary made any arrangements to have this notice or this meeting given general publicity?

Mr. Mason: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Do you know how it became known that this meeting was to be held in the City Hall?

Mr. Mason: The only notice I gave it was to send it to the delegates.

Mr. Raker: It has been said here that it was made known generally.

Mr. Mason: I don't know how it was done.

Mr. Raker: when you got down there now, with your delegates, about 60 in number, you think?

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Mr. Mason: I would judge more than that. Possibly 100 met there.

Mr. Raker: You did say about a hundred in number, with yourself-- and some young ladies with you?

Mr. Mason: Possibly forty ladies.

Mr. Raker: From the waitresses' union?

Mr. Mason: The laundry workers and retail clerks.

Mr. Raker: These young ladies working here in town in the stores and in the laundries, various laundries?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And waitresses from town too?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: well, that would leave, then, about sixty men and forty women?

Mr. Mason: There were several men standing on the sidewalk who hadn't gone up in the hall. They joined in with the crowd. There were delegates among those men too.

Mr. Raker. Is there any method by which we could get the list of the ladies that attended this meeting now on the 28th up at the hall?

Mr. Mason: I wouldn't know of any way of finding that out, no.

Mr. Raker: Mostly young women, are they?

Mr. Mason: From the clerks and waitresses they were mostly young women; but from the laundry workers there were a number of elderly ladies, and some of them widows



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with two or three children to support.

Mr. Baker: Who practically led this gathering down there? I want to see just how it got down there.

Mr. Mason: There were practically no leaders. We just told them, "All right; let's go over; it's time to go over there."

Mr. Baker: Where did you start for?

Mr. Mason: The Council Chamber at the City Hall.

Mr. Baker: Did you get in the Chamber?

Mr. Mason: We walked to the Council Chamber, and some one there said it was dark. In fact, it wasn't lit up like we expected to find it, and we said we wondered where the City Council and Mayor is, and they informed us down in the Mayor's office at a caucus meeting. Some one says "There is a crowd up in the auditorium." So we went up in the Auditorium. Part of this crowd went into the Council Chamber, a smaller room, and I went up and looked in the City Hall auditorium. It was <sup>about</sup> half filled with people.

Mr. Baker: And that was before you people got there, you already found it half full?

Mr. Mason: We found a large crowd in there.

Mr. Baker: And you found the City Council's office practically dark?

Mr. Mason: It was just probably one light burning.

Mr. Baker: Nobody in there?

Mr. Mason: No one there.

Mr. Baker: And you learned that the Mayor and Council were in the caucus room?

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Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: That is a new room: What is that?

Mr. Mason: That is a new extra use they had put the Mayor's office to. The only way I can understand was to keep the public from finding out what they were doing. That was the best definition I could give to the room. I think they invariably met there every meeting before they go into the public room. They talk over these favors. They are in the Mayor's private office there. You can get into the ante-room, but you can't get into the private office. We got into the ante-room that night and left word for the Mayor to come to the other place instead of the Council Chamber.

Mr. Baker: Does this mean all of the councilmen and mayor? All of them get into the council chamber?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. Sometimes I presume there are other city officials in there too, but I don't know of any outsiders ever getting in there.

Mr. Baker: It is your intention to convey by that now that the thing is fixed up, cocked and primed, in the caucus room, so the public can't know it, and then it is sprung when they get into the open daylight?

Mr. Mason: That is the way I understand it. I believe there are committees out from the previous meeting also report to the caucus. They talk over that at the same time.

Mr. Baker: Then it requires but little talk-- or in other words, that makes it a very expeditious city gov-

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ernment, when you can just pull the things off one right after another before the public, as to what you want done?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And that is the way you understand things have been done here?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And this is done at night?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; they meet Monday evenings, I think.

Mr. Raker: No daylight meetings?

Mr. Mason: No. They used to have daylight meetings several years ago.

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Mr. Raker: But they called off the daylight meetings?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, *after you got into the* City Hall. Were you surprised or not as to what you saw in the City Hall?

Mr. Mason: That surprised me more than anything else I had thought about, to see that crowd down there. I talked more about the crowd. I didn't hardly pay attention to what the speaker was talking about for looking at the crowd around there, seeing that many people interested in it. I couldn't understand then why the Mayor didn't see the case was serious, when that many people just through-- I figured out this crowd were neighbors of the delegates, and they had talked to them. I found a number of ladies from the outside districts; who lived out in there, where the negro people lived adjacent. They

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were there, and their men folks are not affiliated with the Central Body in any way. They just heard there was going to be a meeting down there.

Mr. Raker: Did the Mayor and the City Councilmen come into the auditorium that evening?

Mr. Mason: Yes; we went down and told them that we wanted to see him in the auditorium instead of the Council Chamber; that there was a crowd up there, and they all came in.

Mr. Raker: The Mayor and the Councilmen?

Mr. Mason: The Mayor and the Councilmen. I believe all of the Councilmen came.

Mr. Raker: Any of the City Officials?

Mr. Mason: The City Clerk came in. He acted as chairman of our meeting. Understand, he is President of the Central Body. He acted as chairman of the meeting.

Mr. Raker: And were any of the policemen there?

Mr. Mason: I believe one or two were standing at the door outside.

Mr. Raker: Well now, who started the meeting?

Mr. Mason: Mr. Allegor, a member of the first committee that called on the Mayor. He got up and stated the reasons for calling the meeting.

Mr. Raker: Did he go over the reasons set forth in the call?

Mr. Mason: He practically covered all of that; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Who followed him?

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Mr. Mason: I think Mr. Curtis followed him.

Mr. Raker: And what did Mr. Curtis talk about?

Mr. Mason: Curtis talk-d-- he is a carpenter by trade, and he talked about the way some real estate men were putting men on their work, fixing up fences and doing that repairing that they used to get, and said their men were walking the streets that normally did that repair work.

Mr. Raker: Did he discuss anything else except that nature of it?

Mr. Mason: I don't recall any of his remarks.

Mr. Raker: Then who followed Curtis?

Mr. Mason: Mr. Fane, Jerre Fane.

Mr. Raker: What did he talk about?

Mr. Mason: Jerre talked about the packing-house strike. He also talked about the way the street car company does business here. He told about how long they had the streets torn up without doing any repairing on them, and he give the city administration a pretty good raking, more than anything else.

Mr. Raker: Well, did Jerre talk about anything else, now, except that? Did he say anything about <sup>the</sup> conditions as to the laboring man and the treatment they were given, and the fact that others were coming in here and taking their work from them?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; that is about it.

Mr. Raker: Who followed Jerre?

Mr. Mason: While Jerre was speaking, I believe--

I don't know whether it was while Jerre was speaking or while one of the others was on the floor-- Alexander Flannigan came in and walked up the center aisle of the room and walked on to the stage and sat down. I was sitting way over in the corner of the hall, Mr. Kerr and I together. I don't know whether anyone invited him to take the stage or not, but there were a number of extra chairs up there and he sat down. After he sat down some of the crowd hollered for Flannigan. So Flannigan got up and spoke. I don't remember whether he spoke before the Mayor or after the Mayor. The Mayor also spoke.

Mr. Johnson: What did the Mayor have to say?

Mr. Mason: He didn't seem to take it serious, and although both he and Mr. Alleger advised the crowd not to let their excitement get away with their better judgment, to go out and start any trouble of that kind-- the crowd was advised about that, and there wasn't anyone in the crowd that anticipated anything like that. I didn't. I didn't hardly think it was necessary for that bit of advice. I didn't think there was going to be anything serious about the affair at that time.

Mr. Raker: Well now, why should Alleger and the Mayor advise that audience there that night not to go out and do anything?

Mr. Mason: Alleger spoke first. Then again he spoke before the meeting was over, and the second time on the stage, after the remarks that Mr. Flannigan is supposed to have made-- I don't remember exactly what they

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were; something about how they kept colored people from coming in to the neighborhood in Alta Sita.

Mr. Raker: He told about how they kept colored people out of his neighborhood?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. There was some property sold out there to colored people, and they prevailed upon the man not to move in. They didn't explain how they did it, but he never moved in.

Mr. Raker: Did the house burn down?

Mr. Mason: I don't think the house burned down. I think somebody took it off his hands; they advised him, I think, that it wouldn't be a good neighborhood to move into.

Mr. Raker: And he didn't come out?

Mr. Mason: He didn't move in there; no.

Mr. Raker: Then did you hear Flannigan's speech?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; I was in there all the time he was speaking. I don't remember all that he said, though.

Mr. Raker: Can you give the substance of what he said?

Mr. Mason: Well, he told them a few funny stories. He is always telling funny stories. He made that about half of his speech-- some jokes-- and told them stories about this man moving in, and about how they had a meeting out there of citizens in that neighborhood, wanting to know how they were going to keep them out-- didn't want them in there. Those men own their

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own property and paid a pretty good price for it, and they didn't want any colored people living next door to them. He stated at that meeting he told them a funny story. That story was that if the man didn't get his furniture into the house, they wouldn't have the trouble of having him in the house, and they wouldn't have the trouble of having him take it out again; and if he didn't get it past the yard, it wouldn't have to be taken out again-- and I don't remember now how the climax of the story was.

Mr. Raker: Did he further state something like this, that if the house should burn down, of course he couldn't move in?

Mr. Mason: I don't remember that. If he said that, I don't recall it. I didn't pay much attention to the speakers at all, because the crowd surprised me so much that I was looking at that more than anything else.

Mr. Raker: Now hold on to Flannigan a little while. What did he say about this, that he never heard of people who had participated in a riot or mob being prosecuted?

Mr. Mason: Well, I couldn't give you his words on that. There was some reference made; something about a mob was never prosecuted, or something like that. But I can't give you the exact facts. I don't recall the words.

Mr. Raker. Did you gather from what he did say on that subject that he conveyed to the audience that ~~men~~ men hadn't been punished for participating in mobs?



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Mr. Mason: I don't remember that he said it was a mob, as much as it was in getting people out of the neighborhood like that. I don't remember that part of it at all. I know there was some remarks made, but before I caught it, everybody was laughing about it, and I didn't, in fact, get the words.

Mr. Baker: Well, was that speech--- were his ideas such, and his language such, <sup>as</sup> to convey to the crowd that if they did get people out of the neighborhood, practically nothing would be done.

Mr. Mason: Well, he said that it had been done before; and I presume he meant to do it again. But I think they got them out without any trouble at all. There was no trouble about it. They prevailed upon the man to move out of the neighborhood. He bought the house, I believe. That happened years ago, a couple of years ago.

Mr. Baker: You folks have taken no action against Mr. Flannigan for inciting that trouble, have you?

Mr. Mason: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: You are convinced that the inflammatory speech made by Mr. Flannigan, and the other remarks as to what occurred there really did put a tinge to that meeting that made them feel very bitter as they got out of the hall?

Mr. Mason: Well, as they got out of the hall there was one thing I think had more to do with it than the meeting or speeches or anything else. They were taking a colored fellow to jail just as we come out of the hall,

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and the word was passed through the crowd that he had shot a white man. Somebody wanted to go right in and lynch that fellow right away, and there were several of the men from the Hall, Mr. Whalen, I believe the Mayor, and ex-City Clerk Dave Walsh; Earl Jimerson, and two or three more fellows trying to keep the crowd quiet.

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When I came out there was an uproar in the street right in front of the jail, and somebody said they had just taken a negro that had shot a white man, and come to find out, it was only a rumor. He hadn't shot a white man; he had been shot himself by two colored detectives that caught him prowling three or four blocks down here, and shot him trying to run from them. On that evening the wagon came in with another nigger, and a man said he had shot somebody. That was two of them inside of an hour while that meeting was going on. I think that did more to inflame the crowd than all of the speeches. I know I didn't come out of there with any ill-feeling towards the colored people, and I think a whole lot more of them was the same way I was. I didn't blame the men that come in here. I wouldn't hold any ill-feeling to them. I think things was misrepresented to them when they came here. It was the people that brought them here, was the ones that I felt hard against. But I didn't know who they were.

Mr. Baker: I am assuming from this letter that you wrote--- the statements of it--- that you were working with your other associates in the various organizations in

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the Central Body, and with the Mayor and city officials, to bring about a changed condition, if you could?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; we tried to do it early, before it got too big.

Now some of our organizations have colored men in them. The teamsters' organization has a number of colored drivers in it. The hod-carriers' organization has colored men in it.

Mr. Raker: How many women do you think were present at this meeting on the night of May 28th?

Mr. Mason: In the auditorium I would judge 200 were there, at least.

Mr. Raker: The women were specially desirous of bringing about changed conditions?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. We brought the women along to make it look to the Mayor like as if it had got real bad. Girls had been grabbed on the streets, and their money taken away from them; their pocket-books grabbed, bundles grabbed, and hit and knocked down and left laying in the streets, by colored men, and we brought these girls along to see if we couldn't touch-- we wanted to wake h'im up. He was in a trance. He couldn't see anything like we did.

Mr. Raker: How many do you think were in that auditorium that night altogether?

Mr. Mason: Well, I figured there was close to a thousand. I understand there are 1200 seats in the place, and I think there must have been in the hall-- quite a

crowd stood up back by the door, and some seats were vacant.

Mr. Raker: well, in addition to the unsafety of coming downtown at night, that would apply to day-time too, to a more or less extent, wouldn't it, on a back street or alley?

Mr. Mason: I don't know as there was so much danger in the daytime, but there was a great deal of danger at night-time. I know that much.

Mr. Raker: Was there a good deal of drinking? were there a good many men around that came from these saloons partly intoxicated?

Mr. Mason: I don't know so many of them that way. You see a number of saloons along these streets here won't sell anything to a colored man. The majority of them won't. The better class of saloons uptown won't sell-- that is, saloons kept under better conditions--- won't sell to the colored men.

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Mr. Raker: At whiskey Chute they sell to anybody, don't they?

Mr. Mason: Anybody; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: and there are a great many men along on the streets and in front of the streets, and were just prior to this meeting, who were intoxicated?

Mr. Mason: At the meeting of the 28th, you mean?

Mr. Raker: I mean had been for months and weeks and days before? It was usual to see men around in front of these saloons-- in other words, it was not very

safe for young ladies to pass along there at any time of the day, particularly along in the dusk of the evening or at night?

Mr. Mason: Night-time was the dangerous part.

Mr. Raker: And that would apply to these other places where there are so many of these barrel houses and places where men-- where the thugs and hold-up men stopped?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did your organization take up that feature of the condition that led to your bad conditions here too?

Mr. Mason: Well, I don't recall that we did mention that.

Mr. Raker: There were a good many negro saloons, weren't there?

Mr. Mason: There were a great many negro saloons. We thought that would be something that the Mayor would be better posted on than we were, and it would be no use telling h'm something he already knew.

Mr. Raker: You thought he knew that?

Mr. Mason: We were convinced he knew that.

Mr. Raker: Now just tell the Committee what has been done by these large concerns for the betterment of labor in and about East St. Louis during the last year or year a half, if anything?

Mr. Mason: Well, I tell you I can't tell you about a whole lot of these, because you have got to get inside of them to find out some of those things. They did fix

up some of the conditions in some of these big plants; put in wash-rooms, clothes' lockers and things like that, but not until the law compelled them to do it.

Mr. Raker: Not until the law compelled them?

Mr. Mason: Not until the packing-house inspector came in here and got 25 or 26 convictions here in about 30 days.

Mr. Raker: For violation of this law?

Mr. Mason: Violations of the blower system in the steel foundries; for blowing the dust away from the men that have to work; also the wash-rooms. And then there were several children under the age working, that called for convictions. It was sanitary conditions more than anything else. They considered those sanitary conditions.

Mr. Raker: Then these were all brought about by virtue of a law of the State?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the various inspectors coming here and making an examination and finding them so bad that they not only tried to stop them but convicted the men?

Mr. Mason: There was almost every time he would bring a case in the court, the factory inspector, he would get a conviction.

Mr. Raker: How many cases were there in East St. Louis?

Mr. Mason: I believe 25 inside of a month.

Mr. Raker: Is he a State official?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. That has been several years

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ago. It has been more than two years ago. They have fixed up the wash-rooms in those places, and every time the men are asking for an increase in wages or change of conditions, they always specify all those things, but usually it is settled up that they get a few cents on the hour and all the other part is pushed away. I know at the Aluminum Ore Company, I worked out there one time and there was, I have an idea, about 1800 men working there at that time. There was a wash-room in one part of the plant. I understand it was a real nice washroom, but it was so far away from where we worked that it was out of the question to go there to wash up after you got through work. It was put way over in the other part of the plant where the men from the machine shop, really the men that got the dirtiest, didn't patronize the place because it was so far away from where they had to go. There was five or six wash-bowls in the machine shop, but no covering over them, and the dust would get in them and they were never cleaned up.

Mr. Raker: Now just what has been done by these various corporations for the betterment of their men? I mean to better the conditions of the men, that has not been forced upon them by the law? Is there anything that you know of?

Mr. Mason: If they did anything at all, it was because the men went in and howled so much that they had to. They didn't do anything else that I can remember of.

The American Steel Foundry at one time had a man

out there to put safety appliances on machines. I believe the law called for a certain amount of safety appliances in factories, and if they don't do it they can be convicted. They have to put safety appliances on the machines to keep men from being injured, and they had a man out there at the steel foundries that come around and fixed those machines for a couple of months. He didn't do anything but do that work, and finally they laid him off, and then they put up a big electric sign in front of the place, a great big electric sign, "Safety first." But they didn't have anybody there to do any of that work. I work in the steel plant at Granite City and they had three machinists doing that work all over it, but they don't have any out here.

Mr. Baker: How did you people get this last increase, within the last year, on wages, in these various institutions here, do you know?

Mr. Mason: Shortage of labor forced that up more than anything else. They couldn't get competent men, and the men were quitting and going places where other people were raising the wages, and they had to raise their own men before they left them. They began running on flat time previous to this increase in wages, and then when they got bigger orders they had to give the men more wages or they would leave and go some place else.

Mr. Baker: How much of this increase of wages has occurred since July 2nd, do you know?

Mr. Mason: I believe the American Steel got an



increase; I don't recall exactly what it was. I believe they got from 44 to 52 cents.

438 Mr. Raker: Some of these increases occurred since July 2nd?

Mr. Mason: Yes, where I work we got an increase since then-- not then. We got one the 1st of May and we got one yesterday. Our hours were reduced from nine to eight.

Mr. Raker: Since July 2nd this large importation of negroes has increased, or decreased?

Mr. Mason: The importation?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Mason: I presume it has decreased. I have heard numerous people say that they thought there were just as many here as there was before, but I don't believe it.

Mr. Raker: I am talking now about those coming in.

Mr. Mason: I don't think they have come in at all like that.

Mr. Raker: So you know now of nothing that you can think of, except what you have told us, wherein these great concerns have done anything to better the conditions of their help?

Mr. Mason: Not in East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker: I am talking exclusively now about East St. Louis. Wages are low for the work done?

Mr. Mason: Wages are higher here than they are

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in Belleville; but they are not as high here as they are in Granite City.

Mr. Raker: Somebody told us here that the wages in Belleville were 35 per cent to 45 per cent higher.

Mr. Mason: That is only on day labor. Men make that doing common labor. Mechanics are paid less up there than lots of them get down here. The rate for machinists is 52 cents in East St. Louis, and only 32 in Belleville.

Mr. Raker: Now, summing it all up, what is your theory, from your knowledge--- and you seem to be a very well posted man on conditions, and as I view it, trying to help the Committee out-- as to the cause of the riot on the 2nd of July?

Mr. Mason: Well, as I have stated, this crime wave always appeared to me the most: Now there may have been some animosity held against the colored men working for the Aluminum Ore by those strikers out there, but I don't know who a great many of those strikers were. Men would come and go out there, and you don't get acquainted with them. I don't know who they were, and if they held that feeling-- it is possible they did-- I don't know about that. But I do know that there was a great deal of comment about the crime that was being committed here, and there was ill-feeling by not only men that worked every day around these places, but by business men also. There was any number of men you could hear speaking on the streets. They were all talking about it-- "Isn't it getting fierce, the way people are held up every night?"

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Mr. Raker: what was the attitude of these forty or fifty young women, and middle-aged women, in the three industries you have called our attention to, and their friends, relative to the same condition? Would that add to it too?

Mr. Mason: well, those girls working in the laundries-- of course no colored people work in the laundries with them, but the only connection they would have would be the way the trouble was on the streets. Conditions of the city in general made it bad for them, and we asked them if they would voluntarily go with us.

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Mr. Raker: Is it your view now that the reign of absolute terror, the want of enforcement of the law, the saloon conditions, the permitting of these fellows, drunks, on the streets; the want of safety for women to travel on the streets at night, alone or even with their escorts; the feeling that men couldn't travel the streets in safety; that many of the citizens had to carry guns to protect their lives; that this general condition of lack of enforcement of the law was the major thing that led to this riot, to this climax?

Mr. Mason: That had a good big thing to do with it. I think that was the major part of the trouble, right there. The police force wasn't capable of checking it. There was nobody brought to trial for it, and it seemed as though when a man was arrested he would walk right out of the place.

Mr. Raker, what was the understanding as to

the attitude of the police in-- I will call it "grafting"-- that is the word for it-- where they arrest a man and then turn him loose before they file a charge against him because he puts up the money?

Mr. Mason: Some of these colored politicians get to him and they have the man taken out-- some friend of theirs some way.

Mr. Raker: Was that the practice that prevailed in this city?

Mr. Mason: That was almost actually known to happen in this town, and colored politicians hung around the City Hall, and they had more chance to get a man out of there than some man that lived here all his life.

Mr. Raker: How is that now?

Mr. Mason: I say the colored politicians and the colored saloon-keepers could get a colored man out of jail over there quicker than a white man could get out of jail.

Mr. Raker: By the man never being prosecuted?

Mr. Mason: He might be prosecuted, but the case would be quashed over-- never amount to anything. There would be a little fine, possibly, paid.

Mr. Raker: And in many instances no fine at all?

Mr. Mason: I suppose so.

Mr. Raker: And in some cases, where the politicians were indebted to the saloonkeeper to any extent for any favors he did them, they wouldn't pay at all?

Mr. Mason: No; it was no trouble for a colored

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man to get bond down there at that time.

Mr. Raker: Who was the official bondsman for these people?

Mr. Mason: At one time, when the newspapers went to writing them up, it was a saloonkeeper on Broadway by the name of Dowling. He is dead now. The name was in the paper every day for going on bond for persons that had been arrested.

Mr. Raker: Was it understood that they were making something out of this bonding business?

Mr. Mason: Well, the saloon was patronized by a lot of colored men. They would get it back that way, I suppose.

Mr. Raker: He would furnish bond for the colored men?

Mr. Mason: Furnish them for anybody.

Mr. Raker: And in turn the white man as well as the colored man would patronize his saloon?

Mr. Mason: That was the understanding.

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Mr. Raker: Now another condition, I saw a sign up here in regard to getting your city and jury warrants cashed in a saloon. That has been a practice here that you have noticed? And for what purpose was it done?

Mr. Mason: I believe for a long while they paid the jurors off in the evening, when the court cases were over. They couldn't get them cashed in the banks. The banks would be closed. The business men wouldn't cash them for them because it took their cash away, and

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the saloonkeeper would carry a stock in his place-- he had a big safe, and it was to the interest of his business to cash those warrants for those people.

Mr. Raker: The jurors would go to the saloon?

Mr. Mason: To cash their warrants.

Mr. Raker: And get their warrants cashed?

Mr. Mason: You see a number of those men were men from out in the country here, outside of the city, on city court cases, and they didn't like to take those warrants out of town with them to be cashed.

Mr. Raker: And when you cashed a warrant in the saloon, generally you would have to call up the boys and treat them?

Mr. Mason: I don't think that was the custom there. I believe a man could go in there and cash his warrant, and if he cared to buy a cigar, that was all right. I believe they accepted that as all right by the men that run the place.

Mr. Raker: Then taking this all together, as you have now described it, it is your theory as to the cause of the rioting--

Mr. Mason (Interposing:) I think that that was one of the causes; one of the big causes.

Mr. Raker: It kept leading up and getting worse from that on to July. That's all.

Mr. Cooper: I want to ask you a few questions, Mr. Mason: You said something about a "Safety first" sign on some plant here.

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Mr. Mason: The American Steel Foundries, 20th and Broadway. That was a large glass sign with an electric light in the center of it, and said "Safety First" on it.

Mr. Cooper: When did they put that up?

Mr. Mason: They put that up right after they laid off the machinist that took care of those safety devices. I noticed it because they took a man of this trade out of the shop, put him out of a job, and then they put up the sign.

Mr. Cooper: Now let's get this clearly. Were there certain mechanics in the employ of this company that attended to safety appliances?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Keeping them in repair and putting them in?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the State officials came down here and did what?

Mr. Mason: I don't know that the State officials were here at that time, but they had been here previous to that time on numerous occasions.

Mr. Cooper: And had visited that plant on numerous occasions?

Mr. Mason: They had went to all the plants in this district.

Mr. Cooper: And these mechanics whose business it was to put in these safety appliances and keep them in

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repair were discharged?

Mr. Mason: Were laid off.

Mr. Cooper: Then the company put up a big electric sign, "Safety first"?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Outside or inside?

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Mr. Mason: Outside, on the street, right over the sidewalk.

Mr. Cooper: You described the Cotton Oil Company's plant. What did they make out there?

Mr. Mason: There is a cotton oil company, and then there is a cottonseed plant alongside of it. The Cotton Oil Company takes the oil out of the seed, and they use it, for, I don't know how many different purposes; and then the hull is taken over into another plant and ground up. The cotton lint is separated from the cottonseed-- from the hull, rather, and the hull is ground into a fine powder. I don't know what they use that for.

Mr. Cooper: Cottonseed meal, for cattle feed.

Mr. Mason: They claim they make cattle feed out of it, but I have heard they ship it to Battle Creek, Michigan, to C. W. Post. I don't know what they do with it up there. (Laughter)

Mr. Cooper: Do you know whether any human being that buys that cottonseed meal done up-- do you know whether there is a safety first sign on the package?

Mr. Mason: Well, they put some of it up in



large sacks, I guess two bushel sacks, and then some more of it they put in box cars in bulk. They didn't have time to sack it up. They are running it out of there twenty carloads a day.

Mr. Cooper: Did you say there is a great deal of dust there?

Mr. Mason: Yes; you can see the dust for half a mile away when you go by on the street car, right in the air, all over the place, all over the ground and the houses. They have got stuff piled up there now for 100 yards square outside the plant. There isn't room inside the plant for it.

Mr. Cooper: You say that dust fills the air out there?

Mr. Mason: It hangs right in the air. It is real light.

Mr. Cooper: All about the plant?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And of course in the plant, in the building?

Mr. Mason: You can't realize how bad it is inside until the sun shines in on it and lets you see how thick it is in the air. A man breathes that all the time in there.

Mr. Cooper: And they run that plant in winter and summer?

Mr. Mason: The year round. It runs seven days a week.

Mr. Cooper: You have some very hot weather here, don't you?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; real warm sometimes.

Mr. Cooper: And to obtain any comfort at all, the windows have got to be opened there, haven't they?

Mr. Mason: There is no windows, only up above the ceiling line. The windows are high from the ground, way up high.

Mr. Cooper: Way up high from the ground, and the heat must become very great in a plant like that.

Mr. Mason: In the winter-time they have got to heat all that to keep the hulls working through the conveyors. It has to be hot all the time.

Mr. Cooper: But it must be especially hot in the summer.

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Mr. Mason: I presume it is. There is only a tin wall on the building, and that holds a lot of heat.

Mr. Cooper: And they work colored, unorganized labor there, you say, in twelve-hour shifts, in that dust?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. The men wear a handkerchief across their face to keep it out of their nostrils and out of their mouth.

Mr. Cooper: What time does the 12-hour shift go on?

Mr. Mason: From seven to seven.

Mr. Cooper: From seven in the morning to seven in the evening. Then another shift goes on at seven in

the evening till seven in the morning?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. That is worked every day.

That machinery don't stop at all.

Mr. Cooper: Do they work on Sunday?

Mr. Mason: Every Sunday; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And they are unorganized?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Colored labor?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And those conditions, as thus described by you, became so intolerable that even these poor colored people couldn't endure it; and, unorganized as they were, they struck for better conditions?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the company proceeded to put in other colored men?

Mr. Mason: There were men hired for their places immediately.

Mr. Cooper: Were they colored men?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; colored men.

Mr. Cooper: And they were put to work in the same places?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Under the same conditions?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir. They may have given them a raise. I don't recall that, but I got the newspaper reports on that.

Mr. Cooper: But the same conditions. Now men must

be very anxious to work; they must be very poor, must they not; conditions as to them must be very hard, which would induce them to take the place of a colored laborer, unorganized, striking to get away from 12 hours' dusty employment like that? Men must be very poor and very hard up that would go in and take a place like that?

Mr. Mason: I would think they were; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: In other words, the employer, knowing that there are people so poor, so unable to protect themselves, that they can get them to work for twelve hours a day in surroundings such as you have described, take advantage of that opportunity, and in effect force men in there? Isn't that what it amounts to?

Mr. Mason: That is just what it is.

Mr. Cooper: A laboring man, as you say, the ordinary white laborer out here at the packing plant, is worked 40 hours a week sometimes, and then sometimes 20 or more only?

Mr. Mason: Many a time in winter time when they are working short time they don't get in more than twenty hours a week.

Mr. Cooper: And you have summed up the situation of even the white labor at the packing plant as being only two or three weeks from starvation or the poorhouse, didn't you?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well now, these unorganized colored laborers usually endure any sort of a surrounding, won't they, in order to get work?

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Mr. Mason: They usually do. They never <sup>have</sup> what you might say good conditions. When they work steady their conditions are poor to start with, and when they can't work steady their condition must be almost intolerable. I don't see how they can stand it.

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Mr. Cooper: Now, ought any man, white or black, in the United States, be compelled to work for 12 hours a day in such surroundings, seven days in the week, or six days in the week, amidst such surrounding as you have described?

Mr. Mason: I don't think they should.

Mr. Cooper: You have said that this company built some houses in which these poor people would live close to the plant?

Mr. Mason: Right on the same property. Just a fence between them.

Mr. Cooper: And the dust was all over those dwelling houses, wasn't it?

Mr. Mason: The dust blows a quarter of a mile beyond those houses when it is blowing that way.

Mr. Cooper: And so the women and children of those families, in the summer at least, have to have the windows up in order to live at all in the house, and the dust ~~had~~ would come in and settle all over them and over everything else, didn't it?

Mr. Mason: Why, that is true.

Mr. Cooper: In some way, isn't it true-- I am only asking for your opinion; not expressing my own--- but in some way, it is your opinion, isn't it, that such

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inhuman conditions for labor must be done away with in this country? Isn't that so?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; I think they should.

Mr. Cooper: The hours have got to be shortened, you think?

Mr. Mason: I think they should.

Mr. Cooper: Do you think any man should be obliged to work seven days in the week, 12 hours a day, at such employment as that?

Mr. Mason: I don't think that a man could give you good service for that number of hours.

Mr. Cooper: I mentioned the other day that the great committee appointed by the British Parliament to consider labor conditions during this war reported officially-- they have recently-- that long hours for labor in the plants making munitions was bad for the Government, because it tended to injure the health and productive capacity of labor; and to that extent to injure the government, and therefore there ought to be shorter hours with the very best of conditions? You think that is true here, don't you?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you think that where a lot of working men have reasonable hours and decent surroundings, and are treated like human beings ought to be treated, that they are more enthusiastic in their work and that the average product is increased in amount?

Mr. Mason: I think they do. It has been my

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way of looking at it, and I always believed it was a fact.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Flannigan is a lawyer?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir; I understand he is.

Mr. Cooper: Well known in this community?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: A lawyer here for years?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: In part of his speech he suggested to them that it would be wrong to indulge in riots; that it would violate the law. He told them that as a preliminary, and then he concluded by saying, however, that he never heard of anybody being punished for rioting, and the law never had, so far as he knew, punished riots in this State? He said that, didn't he?

Mr. Mason: I believe he kind of prefaced that by saying he would tell a little story. I think he put that in his story. I think that was what he said.

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Mr. Cooper: One witness stated here that was his understanding of the purport of his speech. You understood it to mean that rioting could be carried on here without any penalty?

Mr. Mason: I didn't know he expected to go as strong as a riot.

Mr. Cooper: Did he convey that impression?

Mr. Mason: Well, you might get that impression if you was thinking about that.

Mr. Cooper: And after hearing Flannigan say that sort of a thing, that crowd came downstairs and heard

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that a colored man had shot a white man?

Mr. Mason: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And killed him?

Mr. Mason: I didn't hear whether he was dead or not.

Mr. Cooper: You heard he was shot?

Mr. Mason: That he was shot trying to hold him up.

Mr. Cooper: And so they proceeded to mob the colored man when they were taking him to jail?

Mr. Mason: They took him right into the jail.

Mr. Cooper: And then they proceeded to shout and make demonstration?

Mr. Mason: It was real noisy out on the street.

Mr. Cooper: And it turned out that the black man himself had been shot by the white man?

Mr. Mason: By two colored detectives.

Mr. Cooper: By two colored detectives. You say you have colored men in unions here?

Mr. Mason: Yes, the teamsters organization has a number of colored drivers, coal drivers and roving drivers; and the loadcarriers have colored men in their organization. And here in the last two years we have on three different occasions tried to form colored locals here, one of the porters, barbershop and saloon porters, and one of the freight house employes; and one previous to that of day laborers, colored men. The day laborers' local was to be colored men and white men. I know I held



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three or four different meetings with those fellows on that. It was in hot weather, and they would come up one day, and the next day they wouldn't show up. Finally after three or four weeks I just let it drop because there was no anxiety shown on their part to be organized. They would talk all right one day; would be willing to do it, and the next day they wouldn't show up for the meeting.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Towers here the other day testified that he had attended meetings of representatives of labor unions-- State meetings, I think-- State conventions, of miners, and so forth, at which there were regularly elected colored members of unions.

Mr. Mason: I understand the miners do elect colored men as delegates.

Mr. Cooper: What about the two hundred men that were shipped out of here to the packing plant, colored men-- or imported some years ago, in one precinct, Whiskey Chute?

Mr. Mason: That was investigated by a man for the Levee Board. They found that there was over two hundred men that weren't living here long enough to vote. They were in one precinct. He asked them how they came to be here, and they said they had been brought here from the South and they were going to work in the packing-houses here.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember what state they came from?

Mr. Mason: I couldn't tell you that, no.

Mr. Cooper: Did you hear about any agents having been in the South, or any other influences at work to bring them here?

Mr. Mason: I have heard rumors of newspaper advertisements, and so on down there, but I never seen any of those.

Mr. Cooper: That's all.

Mr. Foss: What did you say your trade was?

Mr. Mason: Mechanist.

Mr. Foss: How long have you lived here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Mason: Since 1889.

Mr. Foss: And what concern do you work for?

Mr. Mason: I work for the Commonwealth Steel.

Mr. Foss: How long have you worked for them?

Mr. Mason: About ten years. I have worked three months for the American Steel Foundry. I worked six months for the Aluminum Ore Company.

Mr. Foss: Did you leave on your own accord?

Mr. Mason: I was laid off-- I left the American steel for a better job, and I left the Aluminum Ore when they had a lay-off in the fall of the year. They laid off all construction men, and I was caught in the lay-off. And I worked for the Commonwealth steel Company at Granite City about five years. I am up there at present.

Mr. Foss: Now you are secretary of the Central Labor body?

Mr. Mason: Of the central body of East St. Louis, also the machinists' local.

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Mr. Foss: You work every day?

Mr. Masch: I work every day. I happened to be in Belleville attending court, at the Circuit Court, and I was excused up there till tomorrow morning, and had the afternoon off, and I came down here.

Mr. Johnson: You may stand aside.

Mr. Jost, will you come to the stand?

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STATEMENT OF E. H. JOST (resumed).

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Jost, have you any further information that you can give to the Committee relative to the deposits or checks about which you have just spoken?

Mr. Jost: Regarding that debit of \$389, I have learned that it consisted of two items, one for \$350 and the other for \$39. Our paying teller, although he is not entirely positive, has rather a vivid recollection that the cash was obtained on the \$350 check by Mr. Simons, the treasurer, with one of the other officials. He is not sure about the other official. It was either Mr. Wolf or Mr. Morris.

Mr. Johnson: Did you gather any further information from them?

Mr. Jost: Well, the reason he gave at the time for withdrawing this money was that they were discontinuing the organization. That was the reason for withdrawing the money at that time. That was all the information I could obtain.

Mr. Johnson: Did you hear Mr. Wolf testify concerning these matters?

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Mr. Jost: No, sir; this is the first time I have attended here.

Mr. Johnson: In his testimony he stated that there had been no liquidation or distribution of the funds. You have no information on that subject?

Mr. Jost: No, I have not.

Mr. Foss: What was the balance there today?

Mr. Jost: \$1.15. Probably there is a check outstanding for that amount.

Mr. Johnson: Please look and give the date when the \$389 was drawn out (handing copy of account to witness).

Mr. Jost: Under the date of April 27, 1917.

Mr. Johnson: This year?

Mr. Jost: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: When was the last deposit?

Mr. Jost: The last deposit was made June 15. The amount was \$1.25.

Mr. Johnson: What year?

Mr. Jost: This year.

Mr. Johnson: So after the statement had been made to the bank that they were going into liquidation and paying out the money they made other deposits?

Mr. Jost: This one, for \$1.25. That is about the amount outstanding, so perhaps-- it would seem that they made an error there or some kind and deposited that in order to take care of the outstanding check.

Mr. Johnson: That is the analysis of it that you make?

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Mr. Jost: Yes, sir; it would seem that way.

Mr. Johnson: Did they have any instructions as to how these checks were to be signed?

Mr. Jost: Yes, sir; we obtained the authorized signatures from the association. They were to be signed by both the secretary and treasurer.

Mr. Johnson: Have you any knowledge or information as to whether or not the cancelled checks were gotten at the end of each month?

Mr. Jost: Well, we have the dates here. I could give you then when the account was balanced, or the cancelled checks were received.

Mr. Johnson: Is <sup>that</sup> where the red letters appear in this? (Examining paper.)

Mr. Jost: Yes, that shows when it was balanced and the cancelled checks returned. The first time it was balanced and the checks returned was on January 15, 1917; then again on March 8th, March 16, April 27 and June 15.

Mr. Johnson: You may be excused.

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STATEMENT OF JAMES W. KIRK,

1117 Pennsylvania Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Baker: State your name and place of residence.

Mr. Kirk: James W. Kirk, 1117 Pennsylvania Avenue, East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker: Your business or profession?

Mr. Kirk: Newspaper.

Mr. Baker: What newspaper?

Mr. Kirk: The East St. Louis Journal.

Mr. Baker: How long have you been running the East St. Louis Journal?

Mr. Kirk: Well, let me see-- since 1888, I started it.

Mr. Baker: You are the editor as well as the proprietor of the paper?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: You have supervision of what goes into the paper-- its policy?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And what it is?

Mr. Kirk: As near as I can.

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Mr. Baker: Certainly. You have assistants, of course?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Who was your main assistant during the months of April, May, June, July, 1917?

Mr. Kirk: Well, the city editor was Fred S. Wilbur, and the local reporters were J. E. Reed and, I believe, F. Popkess. I am not sure about his first name.

Mr. Baker: Will you in your own way now, proceed to tell us what you know about the coming of colored people to East St. Louis within the last year and a half, referred to many times in your paper?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; in a general way. They have been

coming here for the last year or year and a half-- and to some extent before that-- large numbers of colored people to East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker: Do you know how they came here? That is, by what means they were induced to come here?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I heard reports such as that advertisements were published down through the South that there was plenty of labor here and large wages. In fact, I got that from some of those that came here, myself.

Mr. Baker: Some of the negroes?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir. Of course they came in here in such numbers that there was not that employment here.

Mr. Baker: How many do you think came to East St. Louis from the 1st of January, 1916, up until the present time?

Mr. Kirk: I could state that myself, as well as from the information of others, and my own observation there in my immediate vicinity of Collinsville Avenue and Broadway, when the population or those that are traveling on the streets often exceeded the whites; and I should judge from what I learned and what I had decided from time to time, there were all the way from ten thousand to fifteen thousand people-- colored people.

Mr. Baker: Those were mostly men now?

Mr. Kirk: Mostly men; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Have you any information, direct or otherwise, that gave you an opinion as to who was responsible for these men coming?

Mr. Kirk: Well, getting deep into it and trying to learn the real facts, I formed the opinion that there were agencies sent down to the South by plants here that needed the labor, and I believe they did need it. The only fault I could find was that they didn't take proper means to bring them here, and brought them in too large numbers. I believe they needed, from what I could learn a certain number.

Mr. Baker: Well, it is your opinion, from your investigation that these large concerns, these plants, did participate and inaugurate a campaign to get labor here that you thought they needed?

Mr. Kirk: I don't know now-- they deny that, and I don't know that I could overcome their denial, except-- still, there was that persistent report. There were some things said to me that led me to believe that whether they directly did it or not, it was done in some way in which they could make the denial with justice.

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Mr. Baker: And not be caught in the affirmative proof that they did actually participate?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; that is my opinion too.

Mr. Baker: Well, it turned out that the importations <sup>for</sup> exceeded the demand?

Mr. Kirk: Yes. Mind you, I believe from what I could learn that they were greatly in need of labor of a certain kind, such as the negroes could give. In fact, there was trouble in getting workers here, and I remember the street car company in the city was endeavoring to get



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some work done on Broadway, and I believe on Missouri Avenue, and they couldn't get labor to do it with. The character of the labor-- there was a scarcity of labor in the packing plants and in some other places.

Mr. Raker: When was this scarcity of labor that you speak of now?

Mr. Kirk: Well, 1916, and the fore part of 1917. In fact, there was a scarcity and has been here-- there never has been an overabundance of labor in East St. Louis. There never has been.

Mr. Raker: At no time?

Mr. Kirk: No, sir; no time.

Mr. Raker: Did you make any investigation as to the fact that some 13,000 negroes had been shipped from East St. Louis because they couldn't get jobs here, on to Baltimore and Philadelphia, and up into Michigan and Chicago and Ohio?

Mr. Kirk: I never made an investigation, but I heard that that was the case. I don't know about 13,000, but a large number.

Mr. Raker: Would you think that the shortage of labor would be here, and still at the same time the free employment agency would be shipping these men out of East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: Of the whites, you mean?

Mr. Raker: Negroes; shipping negroes out.

Mr. Kirk: Well, the trouble was that the colored people couldn't get only a certain class of work.

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Mr. Raker: Well, there must have been a very large excess in numbers as to the amount of work required or needed for these colored men?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know about that.

Mr. Raker: You didn't make any investigation?

Mr. Kirk: No; I didn't know anything about that feature of it, but I know there has been a complaint here for a long time for a lack of labor.

Mr. Raker: Well, did you make an investigation to ascertain and determine whether or not these various plants were preferring the colored help to the white help?

Mr. Kirk: No, sir; I never did make an investigation.

Mr. Raker: And you don't know the real condition as to that?

Mr. Kirk: Why, no, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you understand that the railroad companies had said and were preparing to bring in colored men to take the place of their white help on the tracks if they should demand shorter hours and more pay?

Mr. Kirk: I heard that they were doing it and had done it.

Mr. Raker: Did you make an investigation to see who was responsible for that?

Mr. Kirk: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Did you publish anything on it?

Mr. Kirk: I presume there may have been published something about that in the local columns.

Mr. Baker: well, you wouldn't publish those things without inquiry by yourself or your reporters, so as to be fairly certain that the statements coming to the paper would be facts, would you?

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Mr. Kirk: Well, items are apt to be caught up pretty rapidly and put in, on the best proof possible, and we can't investigate them all. It is impossible to publish a paper in these days if you are going to have a judicial determination as to the truth.

Mr. Baker. I know, but you have somebody that must be held responsible for these facts that are presented?

Mr. Kirk: They take the report of whoever may make the complaint or say something about it, and that party is given as authority for the item in the paper.

Mr. Baker: Well, nothing would be published unless it was believed to be a fact and could be substantiated?

Mr. Kirk: well, no; not just exactly that. A reporter gets something stated to him by somebody in whom he has confidence will tell him the truth on good foundation for it, and it is published in that way.

Mr. Baker: You expect to have all these matters buttressed by some facts and real truth behind it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: So that when these facts were published by the paper about these men being-- about colored people being brought in from the south, and who were bringing them

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in, that you thought that you were justified in doing it because it was true, after investigation by your various reporters? That is right, isn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Not that it was true, but that it was given by those in whom confidence was placed that they were stating the facts.

Mr. Raker: And therefore, stating the facts, they were stating the truth?

Mr. Kirk: Well, sometimes things are stated in the paper that we have to correct. We find out they are not facts.

Mr. Raker: You didn't correct any part of these statements?

Mr. Kirk: I don't recall that we did, no.

Mr. Raker: Then it was published and taken for granted as true that these conditions relative to the importation existed?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, and generally believed to be true.

Mr. Raker: Did you charge that they came in for political purposes?

Mr. Kirk: Why, I guess I did, but I did that editorially. That is another phase of it.

Mr. Raker: Upon what information did you make that charge?

Mr. Kirk: Well, from information that I could see on the surface, and the manner in which things were done.

Mr. Raker: Just tell us what those conditions

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were.

Mr. Kirk: Of course I don't think that these large numbers that came in within the last year or year and a half had very much to do with politics. I think the politicians used it for all it was worth.

Mr. Baker: They worked them after they got them here?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, and there was quite strong competition.

Mr. Baker: What kind of competition do you mean?

Mr. Kirk: Well, you see we have a good many local boards here that are not elected under partisan politics, and of course most of those colored people will vote the republican ticket for President and Governor and for Congressmen. I guess the Congressman always has it; but for these other positions, such as Levee Board and Park Board and city offices, why they have liberty to do about as they please, and they do.

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Mr. Baker: Was there <sup>any</sup> inducement for them to exert that-- to exercise that liberty?

Mr. Kirk: Well, it is believed that way.

Mr. Baker: Coming through what kind of channels?

Mr. Kirk: Well, the politicians; coming through the politicians. To commence with, it is politics that has damned East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker: Well, would they be rewarded for their patriotism in voting?

Mr. Kirk: In money?

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Mr. Baker: Yes.

Mr. Kirk: No doubt but what money is used to control the negro vote.

Mr. Baker: And of course that would create more or less trouble?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Well now, you made more or less of an examination to find out as to whether or not these facts were true before you published them, didn't you, in the paper?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I pretty near knew they were true. I didn't have to make such examination. It was in the atmosphere. We could breathe it for years.

Mr. Baker: There was no way to stop it?

Mr. Kirk: No.

Mr. Baker: You didn't have any here yesterday. There wasn't any evidence of it here yesterday?

Mr. Kirk: No; they started out and founded out there wasn't much of a chance.

Mr. Baker: There was no charge of any money being expended to use the negro vote here on either side yesterday, was there?

Mr. Kirk: No, I believe not. It was a pretty pure election.

Mr. Baker: A good, clean, pure election?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, I think so.

Mr. Baker: About the first one you have had for a long time? Is that what you mean?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I guess we have had fair elections. Mr. Mollman was elected fairly. Still, at the same time, these influences were at work.

Mr. Raker: Well, that is what I mean. You wouldn't call it a fair election?

Mr. Kirk: Well, he would have been anyhow.

Mr. Raker: But still you think these influences were working just the same?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, yes. They have worked tremendously for years. The city has been without lawful government or control for fifteen years.

Mr. Raker: And was up to the 3rd of July this year?

Mr. Kirk: Well, there has been a good deal of improvement made under Mayor Mollman on account of several good things for which he should receive credit. But of course he didn't go far enough. He didn't tackle the whole list.

Mr. Raker: Well now, Mr. Kirk, it is none of my business, but still I am constrained to ask the question.

Mr. Kirk: I am willing to give you all the information I can.

Mr. Raker: I appreciate that. Did you and your paper exploit these matters that you have called our attention to, that local things were corrupt?

Mr. Kirk: I have many and many a time. It was corrupt as could be. I couldn't have made it any stronger.

Mr. Raker: From the justices of the peace up?

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Mr. Kirk: From the justices of the peace up. They are the worst (laughter).

Mr. Raker: Couldn't you make any impression?

Mr. Kirk: Not a bit.

Mr. Raker: With the justices, the city court?

Mr. Kirk: I think we have a pretty fair city court now.

Mr. Raker: were the policemen the same?

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Mr. Kirk: Oh, yes; they are the same--- graft, corruption, participation in commercialized vice--- language can't describe what we have gone through.

Mr. Raker: And the City Council?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, the City Council.

Mr. Raker: And the chief of police?

Mr. Kirk: The chief of police-- the whole bunch.

Mr. Raker: Just read this article and see if you ever saw that before, will you, Mr. Kirk (handing newspaper clipping to witness)?

Mr. Kirk (After examining paper:) Yes; I have seen that.

Mr. Raker: Did you publish that?

Mr. Kirk: That was published, I believe, in the Journal.

Mr. Raker: Did you get it from the facts?

Mr. Kirk: Well now, I don't know.

Mr. Raker: Was it true-- the facts therein stated by you?

Mr. Kirk: I heard about it.



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Mr. Raker: This says "Mollman workers dine." This is supposed to have been published in the Journal of April 4, 1917.

(Reading:)

|      |                                       |  |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| of   | MOLLMAN WORKERS DINE                  |  |
| he   | On 14, 1917                           |  |
| St.  | Five hundred members of the Col-      |  |
| er   | ored Mollman workers enjoyed a ban-   |  |
| ag-  | quet at the Masonic hall, Thirteenth  |  |
| as   | street and Broadway, Saturday night,  |  |
| he   | where they told "how it happened"     |  |
| at   | that the mayor was given the greatest |  |
| bly  | majority ever given an East St. Louis |  |
| ur-  | majority candidate. The banquet       |  |
| rch  | was given under the auspices of the   |  |
| and  | St. Clair County Republican League,   |  |
|      | and Matt Hayes was the toastmaster.   |  |
|      | Short talks were made by Mayor        |  |
|      | Mollman, Treasurer S. J. Cachel, G.   |  |
| so-  | Locke Tarlton, John Drury, Rev. T.    |  |
| fore | W. Wallace, Dr. J. N. Bundy and Dr.   |  |
| nell | L. B. Bluit.                          |  |
| at   | Journal                               |  |
|      | YOUR FLAG?                            |  |

You think that was a fact?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Not only to that extent, but they had their pictures taken?

Mr. Kirk: I didn't hear that.

Mr. Raker: Didn't you?

Mr. Kirk: No. That was kind of a decent thing compared to some of the things hauled off, anyway (laughter.) That was a very reputable meeting compared to a great many meetings they have.

Mr. Raker: well, these colored men were brought there for the purpose of telling how this successful election happened, in which he participated?

Mr. Kirk: Yes. They used to meet in the basement of the post office.

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Mr. Foster: When was that?

Mr. Kirk: They used to meet in the basement of the post office after election and before.

Mr. Foster: When?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, here a few years ago.

Mr. Raker: And have a banquet?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know. I wasn't there to see just exactly what they did.

Mr. Raker: But they were satisfied. That is, you mean the colored people met?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now you stated a moment ago that the colored man voted the republican ticket for President.

Mr. Kirk: Yes; it is pretty hard to change them from that.

Mr. Raker: President, Governor and Congressman?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Now isn't it curious that an organization of 500-- which must have meant many more hundreds who didn't belong to the organization-- that they would meet as Mayor Kollman's workers? How do you account for that, and what is the explanation?

Mr. Kirk: About their meeting?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Kirk: I think that they helped him.

Mr. Raker: Well, what would be the inducement for these good republicans to vote for a democrat?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I suppose he didn't run as a de-

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mocrat. He ran on a non-partisan ticket, you know.

Mr. Cooper: Not politics but principle (laughter)?

Mr. Kirk: That is the reason I say that the negroes can be utilized, and it puts both democrats and republicans out to gather their votes for positions in which national politics cut no figure.

452 Mr. Baker: Did Mayor Hollman's opponents have a large organization of colored men working too?

Mr. Kirk: Oh yes. They did their best.

Mr. Baker: Then it was a question which could give the most inducement?

Mr. Kirk: Which could get the most. Most of the work done in East St. Louis for several years-- of course they would have some literature and send it out to the white voters, but the practical work, the efficient work, was always done with the negroes and the vice element.

Mr. Baker: All right; I will get to that later.

Now this toastmaster, who was Matt Hayes?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, he is a pretty fair sort of a man, a colored man.

Mr. Baker: A colored man?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And Matt acted as toastmaster for the Mayor?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir. I guess he earned the distinction (laughter.)

Mr. Baker: In what way?

Mr. Kirk: Why, controlling the colored vote.

Mr. Baker: Now Matt would expect something for

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doing that, wouldn't he?

Mr. Kirk: He would expect something, and I guess he got it. That is my impression.

Mr. Baker: Now, where does Mr. S. J. Cashel, Treasurer, come in?

Mr. Kirk: Well, they took him along for respectability, I think.

Mr. Baker: Is he white or black?

Mr. Kirk: He's white, a very fine man too.

Mr. Baker: I expect he is the same man that appeared here the other day?

Mr. Kirk: I guess so.

Mr. Baker: G. Locke Tarlton. Now where does Mr. G. Locke Tarlton come in?

Mr. Kirk: Well, he is the best politician in East St. Louis, outside of Rodenberg (laughter.)

Mr. Baker: Gentlemen, this thing isn't funny. Please restrain yourselves and have your laugh when you get outside.

Well, was Mr. Tarlton mixed up in this mayoralty election in handling the colored votes?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, I think Locke did n's share in it. Just to what extent I don't know.

Mr. Baker: In a financial way?

Mr. Kirk: Well, that I don't know either.

Mr. Baker: Well, has it been charged that he got anything in return for it?

Mr. Kirk: Locke?

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Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Kirk: No, I never heard that.

Mr. Raker: In the way of contracts of the Levee Board and otherwise?

Mr. Kirk: Well, he is president of the Levee Board, and of course the Mayor would have nothing to do with that, you know. I believe he ran at the same time, or ran a year ago, last fall.

Mr. Raker: Well, it has been charged that there has been a good deal of improper work on the Levee Board in regard to contracts, hasn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: In which Locke Tarlton and Canavan were interested?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I infer so.

Mr. Raker: Did you ever investigate that?

Mr. Kirk: Well, no, not thoroughly.

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Mr. Raker: Where they claimed they got about \$40,000?

Mr. Kirk: I have heard it.

Mr. Raker: Did you publish anything about it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, it was in the paper.

Mr. Raker: Well now, you wouldn't publish it unless it was true?

Mr. Kirk: Well, that part of it the committee opposed.

Mr. Raker: Oh, I see. It was another matter.

Who was John Drury?

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Mr. Kirk: He is one of our prominent citizens.

Mr. Baker: Colored or white?

Mr. Kirk: White.

Mr. Baker: How did he happen to be there?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know. Is that Drury?

Mr. Baker: Yes, Drury.

Mr. Kirk: I didn't think he would be there, and I am a little surprised at it. Locke must have made him go.

Mr. Baker: What is Drury's business?

Mr. Kirk: I believe he is in the ice business now. He is one of our substantial men, worth a great deal of property.

Mr. Baker: Wasn't it a little bit peculiar, hearing all the evidence you have had about vice and trouble between the colored and whites in regard to saloons, in regard to prostitution and in regard to drinking; in regard to this general reign of terror, that John Drury should go to a meeting that would incite more prejudice, to have this banquet?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, it is.

Mr. Baker: Have you any method of explaining why it should occur?

Mr. Kirk: Politics is all. His son is City Attorney now.

Mr. Baker: Oh, does the Mayor have anything to do with appointing the city attorney?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, he appointed him. Of course it has to be confirmed by the council.

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Mr. Raker: Well, John having attended this "How it happened meeting, and his son wanting appointment--

Mr. Kirk (Interposing:) I don't think that that was the issue at that time, because the city attorney, Mr. Fekete enlisted and went to the army, and resigned, of course, and then Mr. Drury's son was appointed city attorney.

Mr. Raker: Reverend T. T. Wallace. Is he colored or white?

Mr. Kirk: I believe he is colored. I don't know him, but I have heard he is.

Mr. Raker: Dr. L. W. Bundy?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, he is one of the chief rogues in the colored ranks, amongst the colored politicians. He is indicted and his trial is now pending.

Mr. Raker: Dr. L. B. Bluit.

Mr. Kirk: He is colored.

Mr. Raker: A very influential man with the colored people?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now this commercialized vice that you speak of, what do you mean by that?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I mean that it was allowed to run openly, with what everybody believed the consent of the city authorities, and that they benefitted in a monetary way from it.

Mr. Raker: How could they benefit in a monetary way?

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Mr. Kirk: well, I don't know, except by taking money for being allowed to violate the law.

Mr. Baker: In other words, no arrests <sup>would</sup> being made, or the arrest being made, money would be paid and there would be no prosecution and the vice would continue, both as to white and black?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, and vice includes gambling, and it is said there have been offers of as much as \$500 a month willing to be paid for permission for those things to exist. Of course they all go together.

Mr. Baker: The drinking, the gambling and the vice?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, and of course the liquor that went there. They even had to pay for the liquor that went there, and the music that was in the place.

Mr. Baker: How is that?

Mr. Kirk: I say the music, the music machines, and so forth, and the liquor that went there, those that sold it had to contribute in order to be allowed to dispose of it.

Mr. Baker: In other words, it was the understanding that all of them contributed to the powers that be to run and continue their business as they were doing?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: In violation of law?

Mr. Kirk: That is the general impression believed by everybody. I published it time and time again. Nobody has attempted to disprove it.

Mr. Baker: where is your State's Attorney?



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Mr. Kirk: Oh, I guess he has been doing pretty well lately.

Mr. Raker: well, before July 4?

Mr. Kirk: I don't think he did anything to enforce the law-- that is, to amount to anything-- along the lines that the public needed. However, I didn't know that I was to testify along this line. I thought I was to make a statement in regard to charges against the Journal. I haven't thought the matter over.

Mr. Raker: You don't seem to have to stop to think very long. To tell what you know.

Mr. Kirk: I have been through it and know it all in a general way. It is the curse of the place, a terrible situation-- has been. It is fearful to have a place of this size and people that we have so enslaved in the manner in which we have been. Of course I want to say that it couldn't be any worse for years. It is a little better than it was when, as I say, <sup>Mayor</sup> Kollman closed the saloons on Sunday and closed up some of the vice dens, which the other Mayor hadn't done; and it helped a great deal.

Mr. Raker: Did you make any investigation to find out the condition of labor in East St. Louis, as to how it was paid and how it was treated? I mean generally now.

Mr. Kirk: No, except as it is talked of in conversation.

Mr. Raker: You have understood it has been poorly paid?

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Mr. Kirk: Well, I think labor is pretty well paid.

Mr. Raker: Now at the present time?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I think it has been. Of course there may be some departments-- this gentleman that preceded me gave a very elaborate, and it looks to me a  
455 very faithful statement of things generally.

Mr. Raker: Yes; that appeared to be the condition.

Mr. Kirk: No, the ordinary laborers, of course they may not be paid well, but I think the skilled laborers, from what I know of them, have been paid very well-- so far as I know.

Mr. Raker: Well, do you know of any effort on the part of the large concerns here to make conditions better for their laborers, for their help, and their families?

Mr. Kirk: Well, no, nothing definite. I heard of the Aluminum works-- we had something in the paper about it one time. I just recall that, about them establishing a place for them to eat lunch, and something of that kind. I recall that.

Mr. Raker: Nothing else that you can think of?

Mr. Kirk: No.

Mr. Raker: You know none of these plants who have done anything to better the conditions, as you have described, in East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: No; and I am not familiar with them.

Mr. Raker: If they do, you don't know it? You haven't heard of it?

Mr. Kirk: No.

Mr. Raker: You published, from time to time, from

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September, 1916, up until July 4, the number of alleged crimes that were committed in your paper?

Mr. Kirk: We had a good many in; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Both by negroes and whites?

Mr. Kirk: I guess a good many of them got by us-- a vast amount of them. Every night, every day, there were several.

Mr. Raker: And upon investigation but few of those were brought to successful prosecution?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know about that. I don't think there has been much prosecution for violation of the law here for a long time, either in that time or any other time.

Mr. Raker: Well, that of itself is bound to lead to serious conditions.

Mr. Kirk: Certainly it is. I didn't know that we would have as bad a riot as we had, but I have been expecting something of this kind to take place for a long time; not so much as against the colored as it would be some of the whites against the whites.

Mr. Raker: Go ahead and explain that, why you expected this clash between the whites and the blacks-- the whites against the whites?

Mr. Kirk: Well, what I mean by that is that we had such corruption, such maladministration, such robbery of the city treasury, such wholesale plundering, such crimes and vice and theft and utter disregard of the public interest, that you would think the community would rise

in rebellion and go down to the City Hall--they did it in Philadelphia, I believe-- and demand a change.

Mr. Raker: And do business if they didn't get it?

Mr. Kirk: yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: This general condition, except a few changes, has continued since July 2nd, hasn't it?

Mr. Kirk: You mean what?

Mr. Raker: The vice conditions.

Mr. Kirk: Has continued?

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Mr. Raker: Yes, generally speaking.

Mr. Kirk: Well, no, the vice conditions were somewhat cleaned up before that, and the fire cleaned it out better.

Mr. Raker: Well, they are still running, aren't they?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Open and above-board?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And really nothing is done to stop it?

Mr. Kirk: It is not so concentrated as it was. The fire wiped out the black valley and wiped out the white valley, as it has been called here.

Mr. Raker: The police force, some of them, are still on duty?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir. well, we have now a very efficient police board chief, and a very good change was effected there by the Committee of One Hundred.

Mr. Raker: But you still have your same justices'

courts, though?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That's all.

Mr. Foster: Mr. Kirk, you spoke of holding heretofore, a few years ago, these banquets, such as are described in the article as read here by Judge Raker, in the post office, in the basement of the post office?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Was that in the Federal Building up here?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: When was that? How long ago?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, I guess when they did that most was-- that was political headquarters where the colored people were handled, as I understood.

Mr. Foster: Who was postmaster then?

Mr. Kirk: Messick, I think. He is County Judge now.

Mr. Foster: And he was postmaster at that time?

Mr. Kirk: I believe so.

Mr. Foster: And they held these elegant banquets there?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know how elegant they were.

Mr. Foster: Well, festivals?

Mr. Kirk: Supposed to be headquarters for handling the colored element.

Mr. Foster: And they were held in the basement of the post office?

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Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: About the same kind of banquets as is described here?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know. I guess it was more general/and more protracted.

Mr. Foster: Did they have something to drink?

Mr. Kirk: No, I don't know about that. I say it was headquarters from which the colored element were handled.

Mr. Foster: I think some witness testified that this banquet was a wet one. I didn't know whether the one at the banquet was wet or dry; that is the reason I was asking if you knew.

Mr. Kirk: Well, what I meant by that, about the post office, was that from that place Mollman had to go and meet them, you know. He didn't have a headquarters, and they used to go to the post office-- or that building-- I don't know whether it is the post office or not--- and get their inspiration, orders and directions.

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Mr. Foster: Was the inspiration material inspiration?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know. That was the current report.

Mr. Foster: At least they went away satisfied?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Did I understand you to say that Mayor Mollman met them there?

Mr. Kirk: No, I said he couldn't meet them there.

Mr. Johnson: They met at another place, did they?

Mr. Foster: Now these saloons existing in the city

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of East St. Louis, there have been quite a number of them,  
Mr. Kirk?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, yes.

Mr. Foster: Have any of them been closed up in the  
last year?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Foster: Do you know how many?

Mr. Kirk: No, not exactly, but after closing the  
saloons on Sunday and raising the license, I believe, to  
\$750, I think a good many of them, perhaps may be a hund-  
red, went out of existence.

Mr. Foster: They closed them up after they put  
the license up to \$750, and they closed them up on Sunday?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Previous to that time the license was  
\$500 a year, and they were open seven days in the week?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And was all this drinking and carousing  
going on on Sunday the same as it was on the other days of  
the week?

Mr. Kirk: Worse.

Mr. Foster: People were coming over from St. Louis,  
across the bridge, to enjoy the day in East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And a good many of those have been  
closed up?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Were they among the lowest saloons you

had here?

Mr. Kirk: A good many of them were, yes. Still, there are barrel houses and low saloons yet.

Mr. Foster: There are still some left?

Mr. Kirk: The barrel houses are the most damnable.

Mr. Foster: It would have been a good thing to have closed them up, wouldn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And in fact, if you had <sup>them</sup> saloons out of here, there probably would be less crime than there is now, by a good deal?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; or if they were regulated as the law directs.

Mr. Foster: Or if they were properly regulated and lived up to the law?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They don't make such pretence of living up to the law now?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I believe they live up to it better now than they did.

Mr. Foster: Better than it used to be?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; very much-- that is, in many places. I don't know all about some of the places. I hear complaints about violations, but nothing compared to what it was.

Mr. Foster: That action was taken previous to the riot?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; I believe the 1st of January.

Mr. Foster: Of this year?



Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They closed up a goodly number of these saloons?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir. If they had made the license a thousand dollars, as they should, it would have closed up more of them.

Mr. Foster: Which would have been better for East St. Louis, I take it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; no doubt of it.

Mr. Foster: You said awhile ago about politicians using the colored vote here, and you mentioned some men who were the best politicians you had; among them was Locke Tarlton. What do you mean by that?

Mr. Kirk: I mean effective.

Mr. Foster: They get results?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Well, Tarlton was confined to the city in politics? He confined his efforts to the city, or to the State, or how?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, I guess he helps out the national ticket and the state ticket. He is a democrat, and locally for the side that he was on.

Mr. Foster: I suppose Mr. Bodenberg was a candidate, and looking after his own interests?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, he had a machine that looked after it for him, so he didn't have to bother with it.

Mr. Foster: What do you mean by "looking after it"?

Mr. Kirk: Why, he didn't have to bother himself much. He had a machine that did that.

Mr. Cooper: What is that, an automatic, perpetual motion machine? (Laughter)

Mr. Kirk: Yes; it worked that way.

Mr. Foster: Did you ever call attention in your paper to the financial condition of the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, many a time.

Mr. Foster: And what remedies did you suggest to improve it?

Mr. Kirk: Well, for the election of men that would use the funds as the law contemplated.

Mr. Foster: And did you call attention to the low assessment of certain individuals or corporations in the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, that was in the paper.

Mr. Foster: And did you point out the remedy, in your judgment?

Mr. Kirk: Well, we spoke of it.

Mr. Foster: Do you know what effort was made by the County Treasurer to secure a proper assessment, to raise sufficient money to pay the expenses of the County and the City?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I heard of it. I don't know positively about the county.

Mr. Foster: You don't know positively?

Mr. Kirk: I know that there was a good deal of agitation and talk about the city assessor having made assessments, and they were cut down by the board of review,

and there was large talk of attorneys getting large fees from corporations for seeing that they were cut down.

Mr. Foster: Of course they were acting in the capacity of an attorney?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Foster: Now how is the county board of review constituted?

Mr. Kirk: I believe the chairman of the board is one member, and the county judge appoints two.

Mr. Foster: Of the same party, or different political parties?

Mr. Kirk: Independent, not of the board.

Mr. Foster: I want to know the two that the County Judge appoints. Are those two from the same political party, or from both parties?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know about that. Partisan politics here don't cut much figure in local matters at all.

Mr. Foster: I wondered whether you knew the law provided for that.

Mr. Kirk: Why, no; I don't know.

Mr. Foster: You think, however, the law does provide for that?

Mr. Kirk: I guess it does.

Mr. Foster: The County Judge must appoint one of each political party? Has there ever been any effort made by the County Judge to secure the appointment of men who would look after the proper assessment, whatever it might be, just and right; to see that it was done?

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Mr. Kirk: Not that I know of.

Mr. Foster: The citizens of East St. Louis have never taken up any expressions of that kind?

Mr. Kirk: There has been a good deal of talk about it.

Mr. Foster: But nothing, to your knowledge, has ever been done?

Mr. Kirk: I don't know of any certain effort.

Mr. Foster: Do you know who were the last board of review?

Mr. Kirk: No, I couldn't tell their names. Probably if you would mention them I might.

Mr. Foster: Do you know who was the Board of Review last year?

Mr. Kirk: No.

Mr. Foster: What, in your judgment, has been the character of the county board, if you care to express yourself? I mean the board of review.

Mr. Kirk: Well, I haven't had much use for them.

Mr. Foster: I didn't know but what you had observed whether they were representative business men of the county, or whether they were politicians.

Mr. Kirk: Well, my impression is that they served political ends more than they did the County, from what I learned, and I stated the cause of my judgment. I don't know anything special myself, but that was the atmosphere.

Mr. Foster: May I ask you your opinion, or your judgment-- if you care to express it-- that in East St.

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Louis there are-- of course we all know it, I believe-- many good men.

Mr. Kirk: Just as many as there are anywhere.

Mr. Foster: And that the good men and good women are in the majority in East St. Louis?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: I believe that's true. I believe that is so in any community wherever you go, and that if the good men and good women of East St. Louis, through an organization, or acting individually-- but better by an organization--- would be able, by exerting themselves along the lines to better conditions--- I believe they would be able to bring about in East St. Louis a public sentiment that would force an enforcement of the law, and would force the closing up of many of these low dives that you speak of, and make a better city of East St. Louis, and one of the best in the United States.

Mr. Kirk: There is no doubt about it. The trouble is to get them to act in concert. They bring up side issues that divide them, and, as I say, the parties that are put up-- of course I hope it is going to be better under the commission form of government, but the ones put up, it doesn't make much difference which way it goes.

Mr. Foster: But the commission form of government will not give relief unless the better element in East St. Louis takes hold of it.

Mr. Kirk: It will not give as much opportunity, anyhow.

Mr. Foster: It is still necessary for the citizens

of East St. Louis, that have the good of the city at heart, to take hold of this condition?

Mr. Kirk: Undoubtedly.

Mr. Foster: And make it better?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That's all.

Mr. Cooper: The commission form of government, Mr. Kirk, will affect no reform whatever unless the men elected are strong, honest, industrious, and absolutely fearless men, will it?

Mr. Kirk: Well, after you can get a man that isn't the very best kind of a man, and put him out before the public with responsibility placed on him from which he cannot escape, and get some good from him; whereas, under the form of government we have, as this gentleman who has just preceded me very well said, you can't place responsibility or blame on anybody connected with the form of government we now have in the municipality. And ~~what~~ everybody can be blamed for, just as I have said, what is everybody's business is nobody's business.

Mr. Cooper: But you can't place responsibility on the chief of police that you have had here in previous years. He is the head of the executive department. He executes the laws. He doesn't make them. He has the men under him who are under him subject absolutely to his ~~commands~~ <sup>Commands</sup> in the execution of the law; and if he is honest, competent, industrious and fearless, is there any breakdown?

Mr. Kirk: Not if they will do their duty. But

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he can get out of it. The chief of police is subject to the police board and to the Mayor and the politicians.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, I see the point you make. Now you say this city has been without lawful, decent government for the last fifteen years?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That there has been graft and corruption, degradation of every sort; commercialized vice, and so forth?

Mr. Kirk: Absolutely.

Mr. Cooper: You said also there are a good many boards here. What boards are there?

Mr. Kirk: Well, there is the school board and the Park Board and the Levee Board.

Mr. Cooper: Now the Levee Board; how much money does it handle?

Mr. Kirk: Why, they have about \$6,500,000 in bonds; I believe. I think they probably handle \$500,000 or \$400,000 a year. They have done a magnificent work. They have protected the city from all danger of high water and removed that which has retarded the growth of the place. That part of it has been magnificent and well done.

Mr. Cooper: Has there been any graft in connection with it?

Mr. Kirk: Oh, it is charged.

Mr. Cooper: For instance, a magnificent work can be done by a public board--- that is, the work which they accomplish may be done at too great a cost, can't it?

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Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: I remember, <sup>and</sup> ~~as~~ you do too, a man of your experience and of your intelligence, you remember well that the State Capitol in one of the Eastern States was erected, a magnificent building, but that there were millions stolen by prominent men?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Some of whom went to the penitentiary.

Mr. Kirk: They don't go here.

Mr. Cooper: They did a magnificent work, but they robbed the people in doing it.

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Well now, what does this levee board do?

Mr. Kirk: What do you mean?

Mr. Cooper: What is their work?

Mr. Kirk: Well, building a levee about the city to hold out the Mississippi.

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Mr. Cooper: Are there special assessments for that work?

Mr. Kirk: No, it is general taxation.

Mr. Cooper: Over how wide a district?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't know about that. It is a pretty big district though.

Mr. Cooper: Who levies the levee improvement tax?

Mr. Kirk: Why, I guess the trustees.

Mr. Cooper: Who are they?

Mr. Kirk: There are five of them. They are Mr.



Tarleton--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:): You mean the Levee Board itself does that?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Tarleton and who else?

Mr. Kirk: I don't know now as I can recall the other names.

Mr. Cooper: There are five of them, aren't there?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir. Mr. Tarleton, Mr. Flynn. There is another one here in East St. Louis-- I can't recall his name. Then there are two up above, I believe, in Madison County.

Mr. Cooper: Tarleton is recognized as one of the leading, if not the leading, politician in this city?

Mr. Kirk: Oh yes, he is.

Mr. Cooper: Politics is his business?

Mr. Kirk: Oh no, he is one of the best business men in East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper: One of the best politicians too, isn't he?

Mr. Kirk: He is developing that way.

Mr. Cooper: How much money do you say they handle in a year?

Mr. Kirk: Now I don't know about that, but I should judge they ought to handle \$350,000 or \$400,000.

Mr. Cooper: How are they appointed?

Mr. Kirk: They are elected.

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Mr. Cooper: By the city?

Mr. Kirk: By this district.

Mr. Cooper: What salary is paid?

Mr. Kirk: Well now, I don't know about that. I think somewhere about \$2500 or \$3,000 a year. But still I am not certain about that now.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know how much of the time they are occupied with it? Is the work constantly going on?

Mr. Kirk: Why, there is contracts for this work. That is about all there is to be done.

Mr. Cooper: How long ago was that Levee Board first introduced?

Mr. Kirk: I should think eight or nine years ago.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know how near completed the work is?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I guess it is pretty well completed. I think down in the south part there may be some yet to do. They have done a great deal of work.

Mr. Cooper: In your judgment, it is substantially completed?

Mr. Kirk: That is my impression now.

Mr. Cooper: Have you an idea how much it will cost to keep it in repair each year?

Mr. Kirk: No, I haven't.

Mr. Cooper: The police board here has had the reputation here of being corrupt, hasn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Very corrupt?

Mr. Kirk: Well, I don't think the reputation could be more so.

Mr. Cooper: In other words, the police board of this city has a reputation that couldn't well be worse. How long has it enjoyed that reputation? Before the riot, I mean.

Mr. Kirk: Oh, for-- as I say, twelve or fourteen years. They have allowed everything to go, nearly, that wanted to be pulled off.

Mr. Cooper: And if a policeman who was charged with graft, with brutality toward an innocent person, as they have been, they got away with a reprimand very frequently, didn't they?

Mr. Kirk: I don't know that they even got reprimanded.

Mr. Cooper: Some of them got only a p reprimand for outrageous brutality, beating up innocent men. There is no doubt about that, if the evidence is to be relied upon.

Now you say the barrel houses are still here, some of them; and you also used these words, "They are damnable."

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: Now just tell why a barrel house is so exceptionally bad.

Mr. Kirk: Well, the lowest go there, and they sell a great deal of liquor for a very small amount of money, and they are allowed to lie around there, and the colored go in there and the whites-- the lowest element. They are

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allowed to go into the back, into the alley, and drink by the measure, and go back and drink around and hang around there, and finally it degrades the locality in which it is.

Mr. Cooper: It is the cheapest kind of whiskey, isn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That not only intoxicates, but en-furiates very frequently?

Mr. Kirk: I guess so.

Mr. Cooper: That kind of liquor, that cheap kind, drunk in that way, will transform scoregood-hearted, kindly disposed men into demons, won't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; they get their money. They have a half a day on Saturday that they don't work these poor laborers, and some skilled laborers, and instead of the half day being any benefit to them, it is only an opportunity to allow them to spend all their wages in these barrel houses.

Mr. Cooper: Let me ask you this question: You say they get a half holiday. Is it to be wondered at that a man that works 12 hours in such an atmosphere as those people do over at that cottonseed plant, from seven o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock at night, and seven days in the week, and occasionally they get half a day off, that they would hardly know what to do with themselves, and go into the saloon and do anything?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, the barrel house might be a recreation.

Mr. Cooper: It would be one of the most natural things in the world. There isn't much in life for a human being that has to live and struggle-- they don't live, do they? They just exist?

Mr. Kirk: That's true.

Mr. Cooper: Well, do you think we have approached anything like a solution of the industrial problem that confronts this republic when conditions like that obtain, not only in this city to an almost unexampled extent, but to a large extent in other industrial centers?

Mr. Kirk: It is a great problem.

Mr. Cooper: We haven't begun to approach a solution of it, have we?

Mr. Kirk: It is a big problem.

Mr. Cooper: Now I will ask your opinion-- I am not giving mine-- would it be wonderful if white men, compelled to work in that way, under those surroundings, and their wives and children, to live in such surroundings as those people are over there in this city, should become so desperate because of their forlorn condition as to lose all respect for law? It wouldn't be strange, would it?

Mr. Kirk: No; it is a great menace.

Mr. Cooper: One of the first things to do-- for the American people to do-- is to find some solution whereby those conditions can be removed from all of our industrial communities, isn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Compelled to work amidst such surround-

ings as they are compelled to, because they are without education; they have had no opportunity to be educated; white men as well-- they must either work or go to the poorhouse or starve, and they don't want to do the last two-- either of the last two-- and so they try to work.

Doesn't justice demand that those conditions be removed?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; and my belief is that the only way they can be removed is by governmental regulation and control.

Mr. Baker: Of what?

Mr. Kirk: Of the industrial situation.

Mr. Foster: Well, you would have to have men in control of these plants imbued with the idea that it is not all in life to see how much can be passed to the dividends at the end of the year?

Mr. Kirk: Yes; or else compel them to.

Mr. Cooper: That's right. Now we have got also to get over, haven't we, saying "This is one of our leading citizens?" Then when you ask what he has led in, "Thy, he has got a lot of money." "Well, has he ever led in any movement to better the condition of a single mortal on this earth, with all his money?" "No." "Has he ever tried to do anything to make anybody happier in this world, except as incidentally they earn wages under him while he accumulates millions?" We have got to get rid of that.

Mr. Kirk: There is too much of that.

Mr. Cooper: I am only asking for your opinion.

Mr. Kirk: That is my opinion.

Mr. Cooper: I know that is talked a very great deal.

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Mr. Kirk: We need more humanity.

Mr. Cooper: It is going to be pretty soon not how much has a man got, but how did he get it.

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; that is the idea. We ought to know more about that.

Mr. Cooper: He might get such a reputation as George Peabody had, a rich man, and in all his millions not a dishonest penny nor one wrung from poverty. That is the kind of a reputation they should have.

Mr. Kirk: Yes; he stands as a great philanthropist.

Mr. Cooper: And that is the only sort of a character that in this country ought to be honored by citizens?

Mr. Kirk: In any country.

Mr. Cooper: Now I want to ask you one more question.

464 Yesterday we had before us, presented by the City Treasurer of East St. Louis, Ill. report submitted by a board of expert accountants, having offices in five, I think, of the leading cities, including St. Louis-- the leading cities of the United States-- and they examined the books of the city treasurer here. They were employed shortly after the loss of that \$150,000 of the city funds here. In that report they say that special assessments were so collected in the tax collector's office, and tax sales were so manipulated that prominent property owners in this city, if the Comptroller's statement were true, were escaping the payment of their special assessment taxes. You heard about that?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; I have heard of such.

Mr. Cooper: You have heard about that?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now, that report, or that condition--

Mr. Kirk (Interposing:) That didn't cut any figure here.

Mr. Cooper: I was just going to say, it is just-- simply the people have become so hardened to it--

Mr. Kirk (Interposing:) Dormant.

Mr. Cooper: And the case seemed so hopeless for the average *citizen* that he just simply went about his business and let the evil go on?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: The small property owner couldn't escape taxation, could he?

Mr. Kirk: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: But this report in the archives of this city government, of these disinterested accountants, finds that if the statement of the Comptroller is true, prominent property owners in this city--

Mr. Kirk (Interposing:) The City Treasury has been robbed for years, and they couldn't even indict them, and after they indicted them, they couldn't convict them--- some of our supposedly best citizens.

Mr. Cooper: The school fund was robbed too, wasn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir; the same way.



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Mr. Cooper: Is there any fund that hasn't been robbed?

Mr. Kirk: Not if they know it.

Mr. Cooper: Now in the last analysis, when you get right down to the facts, it all amounts to this, that the average citizens are men of comparatively small means, a little householder, struggling to make a living and accumulate something if possible in an honest way to keep him and his wife in old age, has had to pay his taxes. He couldn't escape it. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, sir..

Mr. Cooper: And he was helpless to prevent-- these men in public place here, deliberately steal these taxes wrong from these people. That has been nothing to laugh at. It is a serious and awful thing.

Mr. Kirk: And honored by reelection.

Mr. Cooper: Did the county treasurer steal something?

Mr. Kirk: No; I never heard that.

Mr. Foster: Wasn't there ever one who was a defaulter here?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, I believe there was, a long time ago.

Mr. Cooper: Was he prosecuted and convicted?

Mr. Kirk: I couldn't recall that.

Mr. Cooper: How much did they take from the school fund?

Mr. Kirk: That I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: It has been reported here to us \$45,000.

Mr. Kirk: That was the school treasurer. I thought you meant the county treasurer. Yes, that has gone on for

several years. It got to be a scandal. There didn't seem to be any attempt to get any results from it.

Mr. Cooper: That has got to be a scandal?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: How much did they take?

Mr. Kirk: I say the public can't see that there is any attempt at prosecution.

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Mr. Cooper: How much money was taken from that?

Mr. Kirk: About forty or forty-five thousand dollars.

Mr. Cooper: About how long ago was that, Mr. Kirk?

Mr. Kirk: About-- I suppose it had been going on for several years, but he was defeated, I think, about two years ago.

Mr. Cooper: Did they leave any, or take it all?

Mr. Kirk: I guess it was pretty near all gone.

Mr. Cooper: And the taxpayers have got to make that up?

Mr. Kirk: Why, certainly. Now the instance about these institutions not paying their taxes, the people haven't much cared whether there was any assessments made or not, because it wouldn't do any good to turn the money in to these people. It would only give them so much more to spend, to squander and steal. They got enough money, all they ought to have had. There was no use in paying any more taxes to them. The city, I suppose, is three or four or five hundred thousand dollars in debt now, and the revenue I guess is all used up for the next year.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember, Mr. Kirk, how the city

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got in that deplorable condition?

Mr. Kirk: I told you the city went through this thing once before, about a decade ago. In 1887 they were in debt about \$1,200,000. That indebtedness was afterwards scaled down to \$750,000 and funded, and that indebtedness has remained right along. After 20 years elapsed it was re-funded, and I believe \$50,000 more was added to the funded indebtedness.

Mr. Cooper: At the time of the re-funding?

Mr. Kirk: Of the refunding. That, of course, is not a great indebtedness-- not a great bonded indebtedness for a city of the resources of East St. Louis, if it were necessary to have improvements. We need improvements here. If the money was expended rightfully it would be all right. It is not a large indebtedness. The interest on that is not great, but the revenue collected every year is squandered, dissipated. There is really no benefit from it, and the current obligations increase right along in excess of the revenue. They attempted to go up to the Legislature the last time and have the taxes increased. I don't know for what, except merely to give them more revenue. We wouldn't get any benefit from it. We have had this vice and crime, and the police could give no protection. We have a pretty fair department now. I think, generally speaking, the fire department has rendered pretty fair service.

Mr. Cooper: They don't want anything to burn up, of course.

Mr. Kirk: But the street improvements, and the police, and along those big lines that the large amount

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of money is spent for-- they collect \$80,000 or \$90,000 a year for streets, and you never see anything done on the streets. They are in a most execrable condition, and one can see where the money goes to, and why should we be seeking to add additional taxes on people <sup>that get nothing for</sup> ~~to~~ what they already pay, and pretty exorbitant at that? Now if we had an administration that would use money properly and expend it for beneficial things, why people would be willing to pay them. I don't think there is any doubt about it. But just merely to collect additional taxes, and turn it into our city treasurer for the purpose of getting just such results as we have had, nobody takes an interest in it.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Kirk is making a very forceful statement. It is 20 minutes to six, and I think we ought to have him some other time again.

Mr. Johnson: Can you come back in the morning?

Mr. Kirk: I <sup>can</sup> ~~have~~, but I haven't stated what I would like to state.

Mr. Johnson: We want to give you that opportunity in the morning. We will adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 5:40 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned until 10 o'clock a.m., Thursday, November 8, 1917)