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II

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East St. Louis Riot Investigation

Sat. Oct. 20. 1917
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OK

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Saturday, October 20, 1917.

The Committee met at 10:30 o'clock A.M., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF MR. PAUL Y. ANDERSON, REPORTER FOR THE POST DISPATCH, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

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

Mr. Anderson. Paul Y. Anderson, reporter for the Post Dispatch, residing at 4453 Berlin Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Anderson, there has been some testimony before the Committee to the effect that interstate commerce has been interfered with, particularly between the state of Illinois and Missouri, and that one cause of this interference was the riot in East St. Louis on the 2nd day of July, 1917. If you know anything about that riot, the Committee would be glad to have you repeat it in your own way.

Mr. Anderson. Just what I saw of the rioting on that day?

Mr. Johnson. Don't confine yourself to what you saw, and what you know of your own knowledge, but you may go out into hearsay, as the resolution under which the Committee is acting authorizes it to hear hearsay testimony, and in your recital, please be careful to tell the Committee when you are speaking of your own knowledge and when you are speaking only of hearsay, so that we may keep the two separate.

Now, be good enough, please, to take this thing up at the beginning, as you know it, and come along down with it.

Mr. Anderson. When I came to East St. Louis July 2nd, it was about eight A.M., and that morning early two policemen had been shot.

Mr. Johnson. Let me interrupt you there. What induced you to come over here on this morning? What rumors did you hear?

Mr. Anderson. This is my regular beat. I am stationed here ordinarily.

Mr. Johnson. You had been over here, then, during the next few preceding days to July 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. I had been here the three preceding years. It was just my ordinary trip that I made this morning---nothing unusual about that---and when I arrived I found that two policemen had been shot and fatally injured, by negroes.

Mr. Johnson. The night before that, wasn't it?

Mr. Anderson. That was early that morning, shortly after midnight, the night of July 1st. When I got to the police station, the automobile in which they had been shot was standing in front of the police station and bore a lot of bullet marks, and there was considerable crowd examining it, possibly fifty men. They were talking about what should be done to the negroes in general, and I heard several of them say that they should be run out of town; they should be wiped out, and other

remarks of that sort. About ten o'clock on Collinsville Avenue, between ~~Division~~ Division Avenue and Broadway, I saw a negro coming north on Collinsville Avenue, and about the same time a large number of men, perhaps thirty or forty, went south on Collinsville Avenue. They seemed to be marching in sort of an irregular way, and when they met this negro down there, somebody knocked him off the sidewalk and he was knocked down and two or three of the men in this crowd stepped out and kicked him in the face a few times, and some man walked up and shot him---stood over him and shot him three or five times---I don't remember which. He lay there awhile; then got up and walked away and was later taken to the hospital.

Mr. Johnson. Did he die?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; he didn't; he recovered. About fifteen minutes later ---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing) . Did you know the man who shot him?

Mr. Anderson. No; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Had you ever seen him before?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether I ever had or not?

Mr. Johnson. Have you ever seen him since?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that I have. I was about a block away when the shooting occurred. About 10:15 I should judge, a white man shot at a negro in front of the Illmo Hotel, at Collinsville and Missouri Avenues, and missed the negro and hit a white man, so I understood---I didn't see that. I got there shortly afterwards and a policeman

had a white man arrested. The white man was drunk and he had a revolver in his hand and was brandishing it, and there was a large crowd of men gathered around the two of them on the corner, shouting to the policeman to turn him loose, and after awhile he did turn him loose and walked away---released him; allowed him to go. The white man stood there for sometime on the corner, making remarks about what he was going to do to the niggers, and what ought to be done to them. Later I saw him being taken to the police station by Colonel Clayton, who was in charge of the National Guardsmen here that morning. That was the only violence I saw before noon.

About 1:10 or 1:15 I heard that two negroes had been killed; had been taken from the street car and killed at Illinois and Collinsville Avenues. When I got up there, I saw the bodies of the negroes in an ambulance and were being taken away, and there was a large crowd there--between five hundred and a thousand people, I would estimate--- and they were stopping all street cars that were going along Collinsville Avenue. Those are the cars that go from East St. Louis to St. Louis, and they were all being stopped and searched for negroes. They found one or two while I was there and they assaulted them and beat them---kicked them, hit them with bricks and stones, but they didn't kill anybody.

Just before I arrived, a white man had been accidentally shot by a bullet which apparently killed a negro--went through the negroes body and killed a white man. That is the case being tried at Belleville now. That crowd was there for

about an hour while I stayed there, and they stopped all the street cars that came past and searched them for negroes, with the avowed intention of killing them. I heard that desire expressed often, that they should find them and kill them, all that they could find.

From there I went up near the stock yards. I saw a negro who had just been knocked from a wagon by a man. He was lying on the ground bleeding; a white man was standing over him with a brick in his hand and some man came out of a house and asked me and another reporter, who were in an automobile, if we would take the man to the hospital.

Mr. Johnson. A negro man?

Mr. Anderson. A negro; and the man who was standing over him said, "You won't take this nigger to the hospital. You won't doctor him. You had better drive on". And we drove on. We came back down town.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether that negro was killed or not?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think he was; he didn't appear to be seriously injured.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know the man standing over him with the brick?

Mr. Anderson. I did not.

Mr. Johnson. Have you ever seen him before or since?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that I have.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know whether the man that stood over him with a brick assaulted the negro after you went away?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper. So you don't know whether the negro was killed afterwards or not?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was the negro unconscious or in a helpless condition at that time?

Mr. Anderson. He was helpless; was lying on the ground, but conscious.

Mr. Johnson. Where had he been struck on the head?

Mr. Anderson. In the forehead. He had a large wound apparently made by a stone or brick.

We drove back down town, and just as we got to Collinsville and Division Avenues, another large crowd of men--- probably fifty or one hundred---were driving a negro out into the street, and just as we came abreast of them, the negro was knocked down in the street and stamped in the face two or three times, and kicked, and just then a white man walked up and either had a revolver in his hand, or drew one from his pocket, and he shot the negro right through the back of the head. When he was turned over we could see that the bullet had come out between his eyes. He was dead. He was put into an ambulance and taken away.

Mr. Johnson. Have you ever seen the man that fired the shot before or since?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that I have. I wouldn't recognize him.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't hear anybody say who he was?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

About the same time a pawn shop was broken into near there, and several of the rioters came out with guns, rifles,

shot-guns and revolvers.

Mr. Johnson. They robbed the pawn shop?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know any of those who committed that robbery?

Mr. Anderson. I did not.

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear anybody say who any of them were?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And you didn't know any of them?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

About 4 o'clock, I went to Main Street and Broadway. There was an old negro, probably 65 or 70 years old--- he was said to have just gotten off a street car there coming from St. Louis to East St. Louis? His dinner bucket was lying on the ground ~~mmmm~~ beside him; he had been knocked down, stoned and beaten, and was lying on the ground apparently dead, although he had his arm arched up over his face as if to protect himself from blows. About that time an ambulance driver came by and started to pick him up and put him into the ambulance, and a white man standing over him says, "If you pick up this nigger, you will get what he got", and the ambulance driver drove on..

I saw that same negro in the undertaking establishment the next day dead, with the arm still arched up over his face. That is the way I could identify him. His arm had stiffened into that position.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know the ambulance driver?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Anderson. His name was John Busholtz.

Mr. Johnson. Did he live here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you ~~hxxxx~~ hear him say whether or not he knew any of these people?

Mr. Anderson. I have since.

Mr. Johnson. Did he say he knew the white man?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he say who he was?

Mr. Anderson. Charles Hanna.

Mr. Johnson. Charles Hanna?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; He is now being tried for murder in Belleville.

Mr. Johnson. He has been indicted and is now being tried?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

There was considerable other trouble going on in that immediate neighborhood---Broadway and Main Street. At the same time men were firing into houses and sheds where they thought negroes were, and they set fire to several negro houses around Third St. and Brady Avenue. I saw several negroes run from those houses.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know any of the parties who set fire to the houses?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear anybody say---give the names of any of them.

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't. Several negroes

were shot as they ran from those houses. I saw several of them fall. All that ran out fell, I think.

Mr. Johnson. All that ran out were shot?

Mr. Anderson. With the exception of a woman and two little naked children three or four years old.

Mr. Johnson. Naked?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; they had no clothing on when I saw them.

Mr. Johnson. How old were those children?

Mr. Anderson. Three or four years old. They ran up in the direction of the police station.

Mr. Johnson. Did they get to the police station?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that. I couldn't see from where I was, and I didn't follow them.

Mr. Johnson. Were they molested?

Mr. Anderson. They apparently---their clothing apparently had been torn from them by the rioters, but I didn't see that. I didn't see them come out of the house; I only saw them after they had gotten out and when they were coming from that direction.

Mr. Johnson. Was the woman injured in any way?

Mr. Anderson. I don't believe she was. There were several National Guardsmen around in that locality. I saw a white man loading a revolver and heard a guardsman tell him to kill all the niggers he could, that he didn't like them either.

Mr. Johnson. You refer to him as a National Guardsman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was this?

Mr. Anderson. It was about between four and five.

Mr. Johnson. In the afternoon?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was he in uniform?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he have a rifle?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Were any other soldiers near him?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. In uniform?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Armed with rifles?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And this particular soldier to whom you refer in the presence of the others advised this citizen, who had a pistol, to go ahead and kill the negroes?

Mr. Anderson. I doubt that the other soldiers could hear this man. I don't think they were quite that close. They weren't paying any particular attention.

Mr. Johnson. Well, when this white man received this encouragement from this soldier, what did the white man do who had the pistol?

Mr. Anderson. Well, he was reloading at that time.

Mr. Johnson. Had he been shooting?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see him shoot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he kill anybody?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, at what distance away were those at whom he was shooting?

Mr. Anderson. He was firing into a house when I saw him.

Mr. Johnson. Firing into a house; and was that the house out of which the negro woman and children came?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; that was a different house a block away from there.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see any disposition upon the part of any soldiers elsewhere during the day to encourage the killing of negroes?

Mr. Anderson. Not direct encouragement. When the large mob was at Illinois and Collinsville Avenue, there were a number of soldiers there, and they chatted and talked to the rioters---seemed to be in very friendly moods. They did nothing, so far as I could see, to hinder them from searching the street cars---stopping them. They just mingled with the crowd just as other pedestrians would.

Mr. Johnson. Except the one incident recited by you of General---who was it?

Mr. Anderson. Colonel Clayton.

Mr. Johnson. Did you observe any of the militia or any of the troops doing anything to discourage or to hinder the whites in their attacks upon the negroes, except that one incident?

Mr. Anderson. At the time that the negro was shot and killed at Division and Collinsville Avenue, there was a soldier standing over him asking the crowd not to kill him.

Mr. Johnson. That negro was then down?

Mr. Anderson. He was lying on the bricks, and that was before the shot was fired. If I remember correctly, the soldier said, "Boys, you have done enough to this man. Leave him alone. He is all in now"---something of that character. Immediately after that the man fired the shot.

Mr. Johnson. Stepped up to him and shot him three or five times?

Mr. Anderson. No; this man only shot once.

Mr. Johnson. And where did the bullet strike him?

Mr. Anderson. Back of the head.

Mr. Johnson. It came out of the forehead?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; between the eyes.

Mr. Johnson. What did the soldier do then?

Mr. Anderson. He picked up his gun and walked away. He had laid his gun down.

Mr. Johnson. For what purpose?

Mr. Anderson. The only purpose I could distinguish was so he would have his hands free to appeal to the crowd. He had his hands out with an appeal to the crowd.

Mr. Johnson. He didn't attempt to appeal with the loaded rifle?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; he was using moral suasion.

Mr. Johnson. Having forgotten that he was sent here with a rifle?

Mr. Anderson. He didn't use his rifle, I know that.

Mr. Johnson. He laid it aside?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think he leaned it against a post.

Mr. Johnson. And his only protest was thatthe negro had already been put out?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and not to do further violence to him.

Well, early that morning, about 10.30, I had talked to some soldiers that I met on the street, whom I didn't know, and asked them what their attitude was, and one of them says, "I wouldit harm a white man for killing anigger; I don't like a nigger myself".

Mr. Johnson. What had the man done that Colonel Clayton had in charge, of which incident you spoke?

Mr. Anderson. That was the man who had shot at the negro and hit a white man.

Mr. Johnson. And what was done with that white man?

Mr. Anderson. That white man is now in the Belleville jail awaiting trial.

Mr. Johnson. What did this Colonel Clayton do with him? Where did he take him?

Mr. Anderson. To the police station.

Mr. Johnson. He put him in the police station?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know how long he remained there?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't know that. He is in the jail now at Belleville.

Mr. Johnson. You don't know whether he was liberated without bail or not?

Mr. Anderson. I think I heard that he was, but my memory is very vague on that question. I heard of several

men who were arrested by soldiers, that were liberated by the police informally, but I don't remember any particular cases.

Mr. Johnson. Without bail? Do you mean by "informally", without bail?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. When somebody else arrested them, that the police took it upon themselves to turn them loose?

Mr. Anderson. That is what I heard. I didn't know of that myself.

Mr. Johnson. Proceed with your recital.

Mr. Anderson. That rioting continued in the neighborhood of Third and Brady till four o'clock. They were burning houses and assaulting negroes generally; and a little after that I heard that two negroes had been killed at the relay depot---I didn't see that; that was about five o'clock. The next violence I saw was at 4th and Broadway about--- between 6:30 and 7:30. I saw three or four negroes killed there, that were stoned to death and shot. One was hanged. A rope was tied around the neck of one and he was dragged to death over the cobblestones. At one point there, I counted the bodies of five negroes lying in the street within a radius of thirty feet, and one hanging to a telephone pole. I saw several negro women attacked there, some of them by white women and some of them by white men. I saw one negro woman with children in her arms attacked by a white woman and a white man pulled the white woman away. There were several soldiers standing around this place, and they made no effort, whatever, so far as I could see, to get the

rioters in any way.

Mr. Johnson. Did they encourage them?

Mr. Anderson. Only by their apathy, I would say. I didn't hear them say anything. There was a general condition of rioting on Broadway there. There was a large number of shots fired; there was a large number of houses burned; there were mobs all the way along Broadway between Collinsville Avenue and 6th Street burning houses and shooting into the houses, and assaulting negroes. The negroes were not doing anything to provoke the assaults upon them. I saw two killed with their hands above their heads. They apparently were trying to get to the police station, and in order to show the rioters that they were unarmed and could not defend themselves, they would hold both hands above their heads this way (illustrating), and march along the streets. I saw two men walking in that position knocked down with stones and bricks and afterwards killed.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know anybody who assaulted them?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir: I didn't. Two of the men who dragged the negroes to death have been convicted of murder. I know of that, of course.

Mr. Johnson. They were given sentences to the penitentiary?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Fourteen years each?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. ~~Johnson~~ Baker. Don't you hang men here in this state for murder of that kind?

Mr. Anderson. They didn't.

Mr. Baker. Is the punishment death here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; you can. Those men both got the minimum sentence, fourteen years to the penitentiary. I don't recall of any other---Oh, yes, I saw one other killing that night that I remember on 7th St. near the Federal Building. Three negro homes were fired there, and there was a man who ran out, and he was killed---shot to death. After he was down, he seemed to kick some and a white man went down to him and fired several shots through his head. I know that he was killed.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't know that white man?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't. There was a large number of fires after five o'clock all up until past one o'clock---one o'clock in the morning. There were more than 300 houses burned that night. I don't recall any particular acts of violence further than that. There were dead negroes lying in the street every place. I counted---the next morning I counted the bodies of fourteen negroes piled up in one undertaking establishment---fourteen negro men.

Mr. Johnson. At what place was that?

Mr. Anderson. The Murrus undertaking establishment. The bodies of eight other negro men and a little negro girl about two years old, who had been shot through the heart and shot through the head, in another undertaking parlor, the Benner-Brichler place, and I counted three charred bodies in the ashes of houses south of Broadway.

Mr. Johnson. Did you go to the morgue?

Mr.Anderson. There is no public morgue. Those were the only morgues there are. There were more than---I believe more than ninety negroes in the two hospitals the

following morning, some of which afterwards died.

Mr. Johnson. More than ninety?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know how many of those died?

Mr. Anderson. I think that there were 32 or 33 dead negroes accounted for, as the result of the entire riot.

Mr. Johnson. And how many white people?

Mr. Anderson. Eight, I believe; and that includes the two policemen who were shot on the night of July 1st.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know anything of your own personal knowledge about that assault made by the negroes upon that automobile?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't. All I know is the testimony I heard at the trial of those negroes.

Mr. Johnson. There was a newspaper reporter with them, was there not?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Anderson. Roy Albertson.

Mr. Johnson. Where is he?

Mr. Anderson. In East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. About how many soldiers were present at one time when any of these murders that you witnessed were committed?

Mr. Anderson. Well, it is rather hard to remember. There were not many. There was one thing I might add that I should have told about the soldiers. At the time this negro was dragged to death at Fourth and Broadway, a considerable number of soldiers---in the neighborhood

of 100, I believe, under the commandof Colonel Tripp and Colonel Clayton,--came down and arrested a large body of those rioters and took them to the station, and they arrested these men who have been convicted. They were very efficient there.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was that?

Mr. Anderson. That was about 7:30 that night. That was the first time that day that I had seen any adequate effort made by the soldiers. By that time most of the killings had already occurred.

Mr. Cooper. Then during the daytime, while there was actual violence going on---rioting, killing---you didn't see any man in the uniform of a soldier try to prevent any killing?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Cooper. Or the policemen, either?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't remember seeing any policemen that day.

Mr. Cooper. Then, as a matter of fact, anybody who wanted to kill a negro on that day, or a white man either, was at liberty to do so?

Mr. Anderson. Absolutely; there was no restraint whatever.

Mr. Cooper. There was nothing like any attempt made to enforce law and order until after the murders had been committed?

Mr. Anderson. That is exactly true.

Mr. Cooper. You did, however---you saw and you heard a man in the uniform of a United States soldier encourage

a man to murder?

Mr. Anderson. I did.

Mr. Cooper. A man who had been, apparently, doing his best already to murder by firing into the homes of black people?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Where was that---just where was that - that that incident occurred?

Mr. Anderson. That was on Main Street, half a block south of Broadway.

Mr. Cooper. Now this street right here in front of this building is Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Where is Broadway?

Mr. Anderson. Broadway is the second street south. Broadway is the street from which you alight when you come over the bridge---over the viaduct.

Mr. Cooper. That runs at right angles to this street?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; parallel.

Mr. Cooper. Oh, yes; I know now; before you make the turn?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; just before that. Main Street is one block past the foot of the viaduct.

Mr. Baker. Then this street, two streets down here where so many street cars go on, running in that direction--that would be north and east; that [redacted] is Collinsville Avenue?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; one block down this way (indicating).

Mr. Cooper. Did you see or hear of the taking of a negro, or driving of a negro and his wife, his son and daughter---a young boy and girl---from a street car?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Where was that?

Mr. Anderson. At Collinsville and Illinois Avenues. The man and the 14-year old boy were killed. The woman was very severely injured; her scalp was torn out; her hair was torn out, and the scalp torn off by the fingers of somebody who took hold of the ragged edges of her scalp. The girl escaped. The man was beaten to death; his head was crushed in; and the boy was shot and killed. She said later, that when she was put into the ambulance she was put on the bodies---on top of the bodies of three other negroes, and after she had somewhat regained consciousness and wiped the blood from her eyes, she recognized two of the bodies as those of her husband and son. She had seen her husband killed, but thought her son was still alive.

She and her husband and her son and daughter were coming through East St. Louis on their way to their home in St. Louis, having been on a fishing trip up north of this city. They had never been in this city, I think she said.

Mr. Cooper. That was their first trip through East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. They had never set foot on the ground in this city before. They never had in their lives, she said.

And the car was stopped up there, and a man came in and

dragged her husband off the car, threw him on the ground at the step and shot and killed him. Then he came back for her and her son. She struggled with the man who had her son and told him that they had killed her husband, and to please leave her boy, but they didn't; they took the boy off and shot and killed him; then they attacked her.

Mr. Cooper. About how old was the boy?

Mr. Anderson. The boy was fourteen.

Mr. Cooper. Was there a girl with them?

Mr. Anderson. The girl was thirteen.

Mr. Cooper. What became of her?

Mr. Anderson. She escaped. I don't think she was injured. A white storekeeper took her into his place and protected her.

Mr. Cooper. What reason was given---Any attempt at a reason for the killing of those unoffensive people?

Mr. Anderson. Simply that they were negroes.

Mr. Cooper. What was the method pursued in starting those fires? How did they start them?

Mr. Anderson. I didn't see any of that. I heard that they ~~[illegible]~~ had torches of some sort which they held against the houses until they caught fire, but I didn't see that.

Mr. Cooper. How many houses were burned?

Mr. Anderson. 312.

Mr. Cooper. Were bodies found in the ruins?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I saw three.

Mr. Cooper. How completely were they burned?

Mr. Anderson. Two of them were unrecognizable. One

was not so bad. I believe he could have been recognized by his family.

Mr. Cooper. Is it your judgment that with the burning of 300 houses, together with the number of killings that you saw on the street, and the actual number that you know of having occurred during that time, that there were only 39 or 40 people altogether killed?

Mr. Anderson. There is one element of uncertainty in that. I don't know how many were thrown into the river. I heard that a large number of negroes were thrown into the river from the Free Bridge, but mmmmym the majority of the houses that were burned were so small and flimsy that the fire couldn't last long enough to burn a body completely. I don't think there were many bodies burned up in these houses.

Mr. Johnson. Were any bodies ever recovered from the river?

Mr. Anderson. I don't believe---there was one recovered from Cahokia Creek several days later. That is a very small stream.

Mr. Cooper. Where is that?

Mr. Anderson. It runs through the city.

Mr. Johnson. After the third day that a human body is in the river, it rises and floats, doesn't it?

Mr. Anderson. I understand it does.

Mr. Johnson. And you didn't hear of any being discovered anywhere?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Cooper. Where was it you saw the body of the

little girl two years old?

Mr. Anderson. In the undertaking rooms of the Benner Brichler Company. She was being put to bed by her father and mother, in a district out considerably---ten or twelve blocks, if I remember correctly---and a crowd of white men passed and fired into the house through a window. She was hit twice, although the house was darkened for fear of that very thing.

Mr. Cooper. How many bodies did you say there were there at that one time?

Mr. Anderson. There were fourteen at one place and eight at another---negroes ---all negroes.

Mr. Cooper. What, if anything, did you see any policemen do that day by way of encouraging or interfering with the rioters?

Mr. Anderson. I didn't see any interference with it whatever. I heard the policeman who turned a man loose at the request of the crowd said later that he intended to turn him loose all the time, but the "damn fools" made him turn him loose in front of a whole crowd. He wanted to take him around the corner and turn him loose quietly.

Mr. Cooper. The policeman said that?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What had this man done?

Mr. Anderson. He had shot at a negro and hit a white man.

Mr. Cooper. This policeman intended that that man should escape?

Mr. Anderson. That is what the policeman said.

Mr. Cooper. He probably knew his own intentions?

Mr. Anderson. I imagine so. It hadn't been long enough for him to forget. It was immediately afterward.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know what the sources of revenue of this city are?

Mr. Anderson. I know some of them.

Mr. Cooper. What are they?

Mr. Anderson. Saloon license fees.

Mr. Cooper. What is each license here?

Mr. Anderson. I believe it is $750 a year.

Mr. Cooper. What other sources of revenue are there?

Mr. Anderson. That is the largest source of revenue, aside from the taxes.

Mr. Cooper. Is the Armour plant in this city?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; it is not.

Mr. Cooper. It is in National City?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; all of the packing plants.

Mr. Cooper. How many people live in National City?

Mr. Anderson. Well, that would be a pure guess on my part.

Mr. Cooper. Somebody said the other day here---one of the witnesses---about 200, he thought.

Mr. Anderson. Well, I think there is more than that. I don't think more than 1500, though.

Mr. Cooper. Well, that is quite a discrepancy. One of the witnesses testified here the first day that he thought there were only two or three hundred people.

Mr. Anderson. I don't know; I haven't any knowledge on the subject.

Mr. Cooper. Well, if there is only 200, or approximately that, "National City" is considerable of a name for

that municipality.

Mr.Anderson. Well, it is a considerable place,too, during the daytime when the people are at work there.

Mr. Cooper. But the tax payers, do they live there--- these people that you speak of---these 1500 the residents there?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that there are 1500; there are some people who live there.

Mr. Cooper. 1500 might be employed within the limits of that district?

Mr. Anderson. There is far more than that employed there.

Mr. Cooper. How many of them have homes there?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper. How many own real estate there?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper. How far from the limits of the city of East St. Louis is the Armour plant located?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think it is more than a quarter of a mile.

Mr. Cooper. Is the Swift plant within this city?

Mr. Anderson. The Swift plant is also in National City.

Mr. Cooper. So ~~the~~ neither of those great plants are in this city to be taxed in East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; neither is the Morris and Co. plant.

Mr. Cooper. That is another packing establishment?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is outside?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; right at the city limits.

Mr. Cooper. Are the stock yards outside, too?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Where is the Aluminum Company?

Mr. Anderson. The Aluminum Company is partly outside and partly inside. It is in the other direction.

Mr. Cooper. What large plant---that is, large when spoken of in the same connection that we speak of these others---is located in this city,---a large manufacturing plant?

Mr. Anderson. I believe the largest ones are the American Steel Foundries; the plant of the Missouri Malleable Iron Company; the Elliott Frog and Switch Company. I think those are the largest ones.

Mr. Cooper. About how many men does the Elliott Frog and Switch Company employ?

Mr. Anderson. I think about seven or eight hundred.

Mr. Cooper. And the steel company?

Mr. Anderson. In the neighborhood of 2000.

Mr. Cooper. And the other company?

Mr. Anderson. I think between 1000 and 1500.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know what revenue this city got from saloon licenses last year?

Mr. Anderson. I did, but I have forgotten.

Mr. Cooper. Are there any other excise taxes?

Mr. Anderson. No, not that I know of.

Mr. Cooper. Anything of that sort?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know what the total revenue of the city is?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir: I do not.

Mr. Cooper. What is the size of the police force?

Mr. Anderson. Well, the size of the police force has been greatly augmented since the riot.

Mr. Cooper. What was it before the riot,-at the time of the riot?

Mr. Anderson. If I remember correctly, it was about sixty men---sixty-five---something of that sort.

Mr. Cooper. Were you present at the hearing, the court martial here, conducted after the riot by military forces?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I was a witness at that hearing.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know anything about a soldier, or a man in a uniform of a soldier, aiming with a rifle at a group of negroes already intimidated and shooting one of them, in front of the Roger place?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

Mr. Cooper. Who presided at that court martial?

Mr. Anderson. I think Major Tollman, I believe. What I speak of was the Military Board of inquiry. There was a court martial held at the same time, shortly after that.

Mr. Cooper. How many of those were held---how many courts martial?

Mr. Anderson. There was one court martial to try a soldier who had killed a white boy several days after the riot, and there was an inquiry made by the Military Board, a military board appointed by the Governor in the riot

generally. It was that inquiry that I speak of.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you didn't then attend what might be called a court martial? You wouldn't be admitted to that.

Mr. Anderson. I attended the court martial of John McCafferty.

Mr. Cooper. What was he charged with?

Mr. Anderson. With killing a white boy?

Mr. Cooper. When?

Mr. Anderson. I think it was July the 10th.

Mr. Cooper. Killing him where and under that circumstances?

Mr. Anderson. He stabbed him with a bayonet.

Mr. Cooper. Where?

Mr. Anderson. One night---one Saturday night, about ten o'clock I remember correctly, the boy and the soldier both came out of an ally. They were in an ally down near Collinsville Avenue, and I believe that the soldier said the boy was drunk and refused to halt when he told him to halt, and then resisted arrest, and he stabbed him in the leg with the bayonet and he bled to death. The witnesses for the white boy said the soldier was drunk and stabbed him in his drunken frenzy.

Mr. Cooper. How old was the boy?

Mr. Anderson. I believe he was sixteen.

Mr. Cooper. What was done with that soldier?

Mr. Anderson. I have never learned. It was a court martial. But the finding has never been made public.

Mr. Cooper. The hearing was in secret and the findings kept secret?

Mr. Anderson. No; the hearing was not in secret; the hearing was made public.

Mr. Cooper. The hearing was public?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well then, wasn't the judgment or the verdict, whatever it was---wasn't that public?

Mr. Anderson. It was never announced.

Mr. Cooper. After a public hearing they went into executive session or secret session?

Mr.Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They arrived at some decision and never made it public?

Mr. Anderson. That is exactly the fact.

Mr. Cooper. Have you ever seen that soldier since?

Mr. Anderson. I never have.

Mr. Cooper. Who conducted that hearing that made that decision?

Mr. Anderson. That court martial was conducted, I believe, by Major John Bollington, the Advocate General.

Mr. Cooper. Who was with him---how many officers?

Mr. Anderson. There were about twelve or fourteen. They were appointed by the Governor.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know where this soldier lived who killed that boy?

Mr. Anderson. He lived in Chicago.

Mr. Cooper. His name was McCafferty?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.; John McCafferty.

Mr. Cooper. To what company or regiment did he belong?

Mr. Anderson. I think he belonged to the 6th Infantry, but I am not very certain on that point.

Mr. Cooper. If that soldier were drunk, taking that side of the case, by way of ~~example~~ example, and stabbed that boy to death, that boy 16 years old, that soldier was guilty of murder, wasn't he?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I would think so.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know of any reason why an innocent man, found innocent---if he were found innocent---that the verdict in that case should have been kept secret?

Mr. Anderson. I cannot conceive any reason for it.

Mr. Cooper. But if the man, in the opinion of the jury, were guilty of murder, they might keep it secret; is that it?

Mr. Anderson. If they didn't want to punish him.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. You don't know why an innocent man should not have been publicly exonerated, do you?

Mr. Anderson. I should think he should be, by all means.

Mr. Cooper. Can you think of anything that would justify keeping secret of a verdict if a man in the garb of a United States soldier stabbed that boy to death without sufficient provocation? Can you conceive of any reason that would justify keeping secret of a verdict of that kind?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I can not. All the other proceedings were made public. The fact that the crime was committed, death occurred, and the fact that the man was charged with it were all made public.

Mr. Johnson. There has been something here said about a large number of men on the day of the riot appearing upon the street wearing blue shirts. Did you see any of them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there was a large number of men wearing blue shirts.

Mr. Johnson. They were in their shirt sleeves?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. The shirts---were the shirts all exactly alike in color?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't remember that. They were just ordinary blue workmen's shirts.

Mr. Johnson. They were workmen's shirts?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Were all the industries---those industries were all in operation on that day?

Mr. Anderson. So far as I know.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, in your judgment who could have been these men who were wearing these blue shirts on the streets that day? They were evidently not at work.

Mr. Anderson. Well, I think many of them were men who laid off from work on purpose to engage in this rioting.

Mr. Johnson. Others perhaps were away from work for other reasons, but the rioters were not confined entirely to blue-shirted men.

Mr. Johnson. Well, it is your opinion, then, that the riot was a preconcerted thing, on the 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I think it was preconcerted. The plan was made that day. I don't think it was of long duration.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you have just said that you thought a number of those wearing blue shirts had laid off that day to be present at the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I would imagine so.

Mr. Johnson. Well then, they didn't go to work at all that morning?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. So if there was any conspiracy of which they were a part, they must have known of that before the working hour in the morning?

Mr. Anderson. Well, my opinion was that they had each done it on their own initiative; that they laid off from work that morning---those who had---not as a result of a plan.

Mr. Johnson. Were there any idle strikers around to m at that time?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know of any. I don't know that there was any strike in progress any place then. And the men whom I saw most active in the rioting were not that type of men, either. They are what we call "saloon bums". They were cadet type of fellows.

Mr. Johnson. Fellows who loaf around bar-rooms ?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; wine rooms and that sort of houses. Of the men who have been placed on trial so far, one was a switchman, one a chauffeur, one a messenger boy, and one an ice-wagon driver. They were not distinctively ---those are not distinctively union men.

Mr. Johnson. And do you know the occupations of any of the others who have been indicted?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there is a photograph supply salesman indicted. That is one I recall just now.

Mr. Johnson. In your judgment, there is no evidence at all of this rioting having been instigated by union workmen out of employment---union strikers out of employment?

Mr. Anderson. There has been some evidence of that sort, but that isn't my opinion. I think it was spontaneous.

Mr. Johnson. You say there has been some?

Mr. Anderson. There has been some evidence that there was a meeting that morning at the Labor Temple of some men, and the state authorities have considerable evidence on that subject that has not been made public.

Mr. Johnson. The Union Temple is owned by whom?

Mr. Anderson. I think it is owned by a private firm, but it is used as a meeting place by some labor unions.

Mr. Johnson. Is it rented by them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; and it is also used for other purposes--dances and things of that sort.

Mr. Johnson. And you don't know who had control of it on the day when this meeting was---on the occasion when this meeting was held at the union temple?

Mr. Anderson. So far as I know, the agents for it are the Smith Brothers, a real estate firm.

Mr. Johnson.. It was not under the control of union labor on that occasion?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think so. I don't think it ever has been.

Mr. Johnson. Therefore, the meeting was not a meeting of union labor upon that occasion?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. But just a place to which the crowd went for a meeting, is that it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; the state authorities have some evidence that there was a meeting there, and there was a leader---it was presided over by a certain man who is not at all a union labor man. He wasn't a union man at all.

Mr. Raker. Is he indicted?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What is his name?

Mr. Anderson. The evidence that I know about it is confidential and I don't like to publish it.

Mr. Johnson. Is he indicted?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Has it never been made public?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; in fact, the man that presided at this meeting is not known at all. I am perfectly willing to give it to the committee in confidence.

Mr. Johnson. Before asking you to give the name of the one to whom you refer, has he been arrested?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. If he has been indicted and arrested, I see no reason---with what offense did his indictment charge him?

Mr. Anderson. I think he is charged with rioting.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee would have hesitated, and perhaps would not have insisted upon your giving the name of this party, even though he were indicted, if he hadn't been arrested. Now that he is both indicted and arrested, I ask

you to give his name.

Mr. Anderson. His name is Richard Brockway.

Mr. Johnson. Were there at any time just before the 2nd of July, on the 2nd day of July, or immediately after that date---or at any other time---as a result of this riot, a large exodus of negroes from East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; there was.

Mr. Johnson. Tell us about that--- then it commenced and the extent of it & how long it lasted.

Mr. Anderson. It began on the morning of July 2nd, immediately after these first assaults took place. The negroes began leaving and going to St. Louis. It continued all that day and for at least a week or ten days thereafter. They went in droves and bunches---van loads.

Mr. Johnson. And by what rout did they get out of East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Well, a large number of the ones who went on the day of the riot went over the Free Bridge.

Mr. Johnson. Is there a street car track there?

Mr. Anderson. There is a street car track, but no street car line.

Mr. Johnson. They walked across?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see them getting across?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. You don't know, then, how many went across?

Mr. Anderson. No, I don't.

Mr. Johnson. How did others go?

Mr. Anderson. Well, others walked over the Eads Bridge the same day, and of course a large number went on street cars. And following the riot there were many of them taken over the river in auto trucks under guards of soldiers ---hundreds of them.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Anderson. That was in the week following the riot, that the exodus continued.

Mr. Johnson. They weren't being assaulted then, however?

Mr. Anderson. They were under strong guards of soldiers.

Mr. Johnson. But were any negroes being assaulted then around town?

Mr. Anderson. There was an assault committed the following day, the day after the riot. Three policemen and several guardsmen are said to have fired into a body of negroes, killing one or two men---I have forgotten---and shooting a woman's arm off.

Mr. Johnson. How long after---what day was that?

Mr. Anderson. July 3rd.

Mr. Johnson. That assault was made by a policeman and guardsmen?

Mr. Anderson. Policeman and guardsmen.

Mr. Johnson. At the time that the soldiers were escorting the negroes across the bridge, no violence was being offered to them, was there?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard of any.

Mr. Johnson. So then violence was being done, they helped

to do it, and when---I mean when violence was being done, the police and soldiery helped to do it, and encouraged it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And when the violence was all over and the negroes were no longer being attacked, then the police and soldiery came to the rescue?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; exactly.

Mr. Johnson. Did this exodus of negroes have the effect of stopping the work at these various industries around here?

Mr. Anderson. I understood that it did. The managers of several of the plants told me the next day or two they were seriously handicapped.

Mr. Johnson. Did it stop or in any way interfere with the operation of vehicles of any description---railroad trains or other sorts of vehicles carrying either persons or freight?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; all traffic was stopped because all street car traffic was stopped across Eads Bridge for a day or t o at night after the riots.

Mr. Johnson. And in that way, interstate commerce was not only interfered with, but stopped?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir: absolutely blocked. On the day of the riot all the cars traveling between St. Louis and East St. Louis were stopped and searched.

Mr. Johnson. By whom?

Mr. Anderson. By the rioters.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether there was any interference with the steam railroads' trains during that day or

not?

Mr. Anderson. There was a number of houses burned around the tracks down in the south end, but I don't know whether it interfered or not.

Mr. Johnson. During---it has been stated here that for some time after this riot, it was necessary that the laborers in these several industries located around East St. Louis were escorted across the river mornings as they came to their work, and were escorted back again in the evening as they went back to St. Louis from their work?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. They having ceased to live in East St. Louis---is that correct?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Please tell us, in your own way, what you may know about that and the extent of it.

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't know a great deal about it. All I know is that I saw the vans of some of the large packing houses taking men back and forth night and morning, with guards of soldiers on the vans.

Mr. Johnson. Did some of these negroes who worked over here, and who by this riot were compelled to abandon their residences here and to go over to St. Louis to live, make the trip back and forth on foot---do you know?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I think some of them did. But I don't know any particular instances.

Mr. Johnson. Were they escorted by guards? [illegible]

Mr. Anderson. I don't know of any of that kind.

Mr. Johnson. But some of the vans were escorted by guards?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, who were those guardsmen: were they soldiers?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; they were militia.

Mr. Johnson. The same crowd that was here, and which didn't protect the negroes when they were assaulted?

Mr. Anderson. Well, there were a whole lot more. After the trouble was all over and everything was quiet, there was a large number of soldiers put into the town.

Mr. Johnson. You have said that there were eight white persons killed during the riot?

Mr. Anderson. That is my recollection.

Mr. Johnson. Now two of those were killed on the night of the 1st up by the negro church?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And one was killed by a white man--- was accidentally killed by a white man who shot at a negro?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That accounts for three. How are the other five killed?

Mr. Anderson. One died as a result of being struck by a brick thrown by a white rioter at a negro.

Mr. Johnson. That is four.

Mr. Anderson. I have forgotten how the others--- my recollection is that most of them were accidentally shot.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know of more than two of the eight being killed directly by negroes?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; they are the only ones I know of.

Mr. Johnson. But you don't say that there were not more?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that there were not.

Mr. Johnson. You have neither knowledge or information upon that subject?

Mr. Anderson. That is correct.

Mr. Cooper. You say that on the 3rd, the day after the great riot, policemen and guardsmen fired into a company of negroes---a number of negroes---and shot some, and among other injuries they inflicted they shot off the arm of a woman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Cooper. Where was that?

Mr. Anderson. That was down on the levee near the Wabash freight house. These negroes, according to the indirect information that I have on the subject, were workmen from the freight house, who were in the habit of assembling in the rear of a saloon and drinking---"canning beer"--- about this time in the morning, and---

Mr. Cooper (interposing) What time in the morning?

Mr. Anderson. It was about---I think about seven or eight o'clock, something like that---and these soldiers were sent down there in charge of a police sergeant in company with two other policemen.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know the name of the police sergeant?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; Cornelius Meehan. They were

sent do m there to close a saloon that was reported open, and according to the stories of the soldiers, who were in charge of the policemen, when they saw these assembling negroes sitting in the rear of this saloon, Meehan ordered them to fire into them, and the soldiers say they fired at Meehan's orders. I understand that Meehan contends that he wasn't near, that he didn't shoot at all and didn't give any such orders.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know the names of the soldiers?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't know them, but they are in the possession of the authorities.

Mr. Cooper. Where was the girl whose arm was shot off?

Mr. Anderson. She was across the street---a pedestian. If I remember correctly, two of the men in this party were killed.

Mr. Johnson. Was the woman purposely or accidentally shot?

Mr. Anderson. The woman was shot accidentally. Her arm was apparently hit by/the/rifle bullet of a soldier.

Mr. Cooper. Now, let us see if I understand---or the Committee understands correctly--the reason given by the guardsmen themselves for killing those two men and shooting off that woman's arm. These soldiers say they were there--- of course, they were in the uniform of soldiers?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Under the command of a policeman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They came upon these colored people sitting

down were they?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr.Cooper. Sitting down?

Mr. Anderson. I believe they jumped up and ran when they saw the soldiers coming, and then they fired.

Mr. Cooper. And then this policeman, seeing them run--- ~~they were~~ apparently frightened---ordered the soldiers in the uniform of the United States Government to fire, and they obeyed orders and killed.

Mr. Anderson. That is my understanding.

Mr.Cooper. Well, that is pretty near murder, wasn't it?

Mr. Anderson. I thought it was entirely murder.

Mr. Cooper. Entirely murder; yes.

Mr. Anderson. Well, the soldiers said that the policemen also fired, that they each fired their revolvers.

Mr. Cooper. This was in the morning about seven or eight o'clock?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. There could be no excuse for intoxication at that early hour in the morning, unless they had been drunk all night, could there?

Mr. Anderson. On the part of whom?

Mr. Cooper. On the part of the soldiers or the policemen.

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I cannot see any other reason.

Mr. Raker. I didn't get that.

Mr. Cooper. What I meant was that they couldn't offer the excuse of intoxication,-not for intoxication.

Mr. Anderson. Not unless they had been drunk all night.

Besides, the saloons were supposed to have been closed since two o'clock the preceding day.

Mr. Cooper. These soldiers wouldn't, of course, attempt an excuse by saying that they were intoxicated when they did this firing.

Mr. Anderson. I understand they didn't make this excuse. They said they had been detailed, by their superior officer, in command of this seargeant, and they had to do what he told them.

Mr. Cooper. How many soldiers were there?

Mr. Anderson. I believe seven or eight.

Mr. Johnson. And what offense---with what offense were these negroes charged who were shot down upon that occasion?

Mr. Anderson. Not a thing on earth. The soldiers also said that one of these policemen going into the saloon found a negro porter hidden in the ice-box, apparently frightened to death. He dragged him out and clubbed him over the head with his revolver, and he was badly beaten.

Mr. Cooper. They were in the employment of the railroad company---these negroes?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is my understanding; employes of this freight house.

Mr. Cooper. And these soldiers said that they found one of them so frightened that he had gotten into the ice-box?

Mr. Anderson. No: that was the porter in the saloon near which they were, who had gotten into the ice-box.

Mr. Cooper. The porter of the saloon was so frightened th t he got into an ice-box, and these soldiers dragged him out?

Mr. Anderson. No; a policeman dragged him out.

Mr. Cooper. A policeman dragged him out and clubbed him over the head?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What for---for getting into the ice-box?

Mr. Anderson. I suppose so.

Mr. Johnson. And these negroes who were killed down there upon that occasion you say were the employes of the railroad handling freight?

Mr. Anderson. I understand that they worked at the Wabash freight house.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not that had such an effect upon the other negroes engaged in the same employment that they left?

Mr. Anderson. If I know that, I have forgotten it.

Mr. Johnson. That would be the natural effect of it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir: I think I found out that was the case.

Mr. Johnson. Well, it has been testified here that the negroes did quit that employment out of freight.

Mr. Anderson. Yes; that is perfectly reasonable.

Mr. Baker. This was now July the third?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. The next day after the main riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir

Mr. Baker. And along about seven or eight o'clock in

the morning?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was there more than one police officer, or just the one?

Mr. Anderson. There were three.

Mr. Baker. Do you know what the names of the other two were?

Mr. Anderson. I do.

Mr. Baker. What are they?

Mr. Anderson. James O'Bryan and Albert Wilson.

Mr. Baker. And they were in uniform?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That would be three policemen?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And about seven or eight soldiers?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What is that sergeant's name?

Mr. Anderson. Meehan---Cornelius Meehan.

Mr. Baker. Now, I am just going to recapitulate. The soldiers had their rifles?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Bayonetted?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. All indication of full equipment---ammunition?

Mr. Anderson. I didn't see them. They were on duty.

Mr. Baker. Did you get any personal observation of this yourself?

Mr. Anderson. I saw the woman with her arm off. That

is all I saw, being taken into the hospital with the stub of her arm, lying on the stretcher.

Mr. Baker. Now, what has been done with O'Bryan, Wilson and Meehan?

Mr. Anderson. They are indicted for murder.

Mr. Baker. The three of them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And they are under arrest?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And---but have not been tried?

Mr. Anderson. That is correct.

Mr. Baker. And what has been done with these seven soldiers?

Mr. Anderson. Nothing, so far as I know. They are held as witnesses against the policemen.

Mr. Baker. But no court martial?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard of anything of that sort.

Mr. Baker. But they actually did the shooting themselves?

Mr. Anderson. They said they did, I understand. The coroner's inquest was held secret. Most everything along about then was secret so far as we were concerned.

Mr. Baker. ~~My was~~ the necessity of secrecy in all this matter?

Mr. Anderson. I think there was a lot of facts being brought out that they didn't want the public to know. That was my idea, that they didn't want the facts known, and the inquest was secret and held in the police station.

Mr. Baker. It is an unusual thing, isn't it, to hold an inquest in secret?

Mr. Anderson. It is the first instance I ever heard of

it. However, there was a lot of things done in secret around here at that time. I couldn't have got in if it had been public, because I had been barred from the police station almost previous to that.

Mr. Baker. Why?

Mr. Anderson. Because I had ~~been~~ exposed the gambling in the city in my paper.

Mr. Baker. And the police excluded you?

Mr. Anderson. The Mayor did.

Mr. Baker. What mayor?

Mr. Anderson. The Mayor of East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Mayor Hollman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. By order?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That you couldn't be permitted to---

Mr. Anderson (interposing). Enter the police station.

Mr. Baker. Enter the police station?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What had you done?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I had done several things.

Mr. Baker. I think it would be very well to just find out this whole business. Something seems to be very peculiar, and I am going to ask you about it further before you get through.

Mr. Anderson. I had written a number of stories telling where gambling was going on just previous to that, and had also printed statements from the officials as to why they

didn't stop it. That was the only offense I had committed that I know of.

Mr. Cooper. You simply told the truth?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And for that you were deberred of even getting in the police station, let alone getting ~~him~~ information?

Mr. Anderson. I wasn't allowed in the station. They told me they would throw me out if I came in, and I was positive they would, so I didn't go in.

Mr. Baker. Well, is this the Mayor sitting over here (indicating)?

Mr. Anderson. That is the Mayor.

Mr. Baker. Well, did he ever talk with you personally about it?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. What did he say about it?

Mr. Anderson. Well, we had a sort of a fight---didn't say much of anything. He called me some names.

Mr. Baker. What did he call you?

Mr. Anderson. He called me a son of a bitch, I think. That ~~him~~ is my recollection.

Mr. Baker. Then what else did he say about your getting in the station?

Mr. Anderson. Well, he didn't say anything to me at that time. When I went to the station later in the day, the Chief of Police told me that the Mayor had ordered that I be kept out of there.

Mr. Baker. What was the Chief of Police's name?

Mr. Anderson. Ranson Payne.

Mr. Raker. Well, had this condition been going on for some little time then---six or eight months?

Mr. Anderson. About eight months.

Mr. Raker. Well, you were somewhat familiar, then, mix with the policemen? You knew them personally, some of them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I knew most of them.

Mr. Raker. Well, you didn't see any of the policemen on the day of the riot, that you remember of?

Mr. Anderson. The only one I remember was the one who turned the man loose. I saw some of them around the police station.

Mr. Raker. Did you see the Mayor that day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I saw him once.

Mr. Raker. What was he doing?

Mr. Anderson. He came out of his office and looked up and down the street and went back in. That is the only time I saw him. However, I wasn't around the City Hall a great deal that day.

Mr. Raker. No: I am just getting the reason as to where they were. Now, it only takes you about fifteen minutes to go from here to St. Louis, doesn't it?

Mr. Anderson. Hardly that long---ten minutes.

Mr. Raker. And over at the county seat, they have the sheriff and other officers here for the county?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir. There are sheriffs in this city. The sheriff has an office in the City Hall, with several deputies.

Mr. Raker. What about / United States martials--any

United States martials here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. How many?

Mr. Anderson. There is one, I believe.

Mr. Raker. Are there any deputies?

Mr. Anderson. He is a deputy, the one who is here.

Mr. Raker. Was he here at that time?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember.

Mr. Raker. Now, can you explain to the Committee how such a thing could occur in a thickly, densely settled community like East St. Louis, with a great city just across the river and within fifteen minutes' ride, besides these surrounding cities, and continue practically all day without aid being had by the officials in charge?

Mr. Anderson. I should think they would have been able to get aid. Of course, that is merely an opinion on my part. There was a complete break-down of every agency that preserves order in a community ordinarily. There was a suspension of all those things---all those means by which order is preserved. There was no evidence of any restraint of any kind. It was just a case of the persons who wanted to kill having a free and unrestricted opportunity to kill and nothing to prevent them, and apparently nothing to punish them afterwards. There was no means being taken there to find out who was doing the killing, except people like myself who saw it, and remembered what they saw.

Mr. Raker. Now, another peculiar thing strikes me, - that has not been dwelt on yet, and I am going to ask you about it: There is a very extensive car service---

that is, the street car service between East St. Louis and St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir:

Mr. Baker. Was that interrupted any during that day?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; very seriously. That night it was completely suspended.

Mr. Baker. That is, between the State of Illinois and the State of Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I had to walk across the river myself the next night in order to get to my home.

Mr. Baker. Why was that, Mr. Anderson?

Mr. Cooper. Let him just repeat that.

Mr. Anderson. I had to walk across the bridge to get home the night of July 3rd; there were no cars running.

Mr. Baker. There was suspended interstate transportation of street cars from Illinois to Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Also suspended on the night of July 2nd.

Mr. Baker. What is your explanation of that suspension? What caused the suspension?

Mr. Anderson. If I remember correctly, the explanation given by the officials of the car company at that time was that they didn't want to run the cars out into the residential district, for the reason that they didn't want men who would engage in rioting to have an opportunity to come down town. I think that is the reason they gave. They wanted to keep the people from getting down town, because that is where the rioting was, down town, and they said---they meant, apparently, that the persons who engaged in the rioting came from their homes down town to the down-town section,---

at night, to the riot, and they suspended the cars so they couldn't get down. They had to walk.

Mr. Raker. Well now, what police arrangements were made, or arrangements for the police made by the car companies to protect their own interests? Did they send over from St. Louis or bring in from these surrounding to ns any force to protect their cars during this whole day?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard of anything of that sort.

Mr. Raker. Why, somehow or other I can't grasp the situation that such a large number of people, with such a large traffic, how they could just permit their cars to stop---be stopped here in the City of East St. Louis, without some extraordinary effort of the police to maintain order.

Mr. Anderson. There apparently was nothing here to appeal to. As I say, all the agencies that are ordinarily appealed to to enforce order had broken down---had suspended operations. There was a complete state of anarchy.

Mr. Raker. How did this affect---commencing on July 1st on to July 3rd---affect this freight transportation that goes across the bridge here?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I really don't know that. I have no knowledge on that subject.

Mr. Raker. I suppose most of those men are white men that do the driving?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. Raker. What I wanted to know was, by virtue of this general rioting, whether or not there was a suspension---

whether these men were afraid and didn't go across and didn't drive, if you know?

Mr. Anderson. I really have no information on the subject. I know that on the night of July 2nd, no automobiles were permitted to cross the bridge, but I don't know outside of that.

Mr. Baker. Do you know who made that order,--where it came from?

Mr. Anderson. I think that the St. Louis police cooperated with the local authorities by stopping them at the other end, and that the militiamen stopped them over here from going that way. That is my recollection.

Mr. Baker. So there was not only an interference with the freight traffic between Illinois and Missouri; there was an interference with the passenger traffic; there was an interference with the street car traffic; there was an interference with the automobile traffic between the two states---in fact, every conceivable ~~such~~ mode of transportation you could think of was more or less for sometime, between July 1st and 3rd, interfered with by reason of this mob.

Mr. Anderson. Undoubtedly.

Mr. Baker. I wish you would just recur now to that incident and tell me where it was---where the street car came down and the negro was taken off of the street car. I just want a little more information.

Mr. Anderson. That was on Collinsville Avenue between Ohio and Illinois Avenues. The car was going from Alton to St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. And that is the case where the two were killed?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. The father and son killed, the mother severely wounded, and the little girl got away?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there were two other negroes on that car who were attacked, and I don't know whether they were killed or not.

Mr. Baker. And were there many people on that car before it stopped, do you know?

Mr. Anderson. There were some white people on it, and the leaders of the mob told them to get off; they said, "All you white people get off of there; we are going to kill these niggers". The white people got off and they came into the car and got them.

Mr. Baker. Was there any one apprehended for this particular murder?

Mr. Anderson..ell, yes; there is---there are three men indicted for that murder.

Mr. Baker. For this particular murder?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; they are being tried now on another murder charge, but they are also indicted on that one.

Mr. Baker. This grows out of the same incident---
is, the
that surrounding circumstances and occurrences which led up to the killing of Keyser?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; the bullet which killed the negro boy also killed Keyser, according to the State's theory.

Mr. Baker. as that train, or this car, rather, if it continued on its regular course, destined across the bridge?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; to Missouri.

Mr. Baker. I want to be particular with this. This is a street car where the negro father and son were killed, and the mother wounded, and the little girl got away, and two other negroes taken off the car. The car was stopped here between Collinsville Avenue and Ohio Avenue?

Mr. Anderson. Between Illinois and Ohio Avenues on Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Baker. And I understand from the witness that this street car was in interstate traffic. In other words, its destination would be at the west side of the Eads Bridge, which is in the State of Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Baker. Where the occurrence took place was in the State of Illinois?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And its destination would be across the river and into the State of Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; the destination of these people was their home in the State of Missouri; they lived in the State of Missouri--the people who were killed.

Mr. Baker. They were simply transients in Illinois returning from Illinois to the State of Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. Cooper. And right there, isn't it a fact that they had been fishing, or something of that sort?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; they had been fishing.

Mr. Cooper. Now, let's see---they had been fishing in a lake outside the limits of the City of East St. Louis.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Of the State of Illinois.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How far away?

Mr. Anderson. From here?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. I think that lake is eight or ten miles north of East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. And then they were on a car passing through this city?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. On their way across the river into another state---Missouri?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And they were killed in transit?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. I would like to know if the witness knows how this car system runs. Do they pay anything to the State of Missouri or to the State of Illinois, or how do they conduct their business between these two states; do you know?

Mr. Anderson. Do you mean, how they collect their fares?

Mr. Raker. No, I mean---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). You can get that from some of the officials of that company.

Mr. Raker. I wanted to know if it was arranged between

the states--if they had any traffic arrangements by which they conducted their business between the two states.

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that.

Mr. Raker. Well, we will get that from other parties.

Well now, at this place practically how many people were around, do you suppose?

Mr. Anderson. There was between 500 and 1000, I would judge.

Mr. Raker. Men?

Mr. Anderson. And women.

Mr. Raker. Young women?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Any middle-aged women?

Mr. Anderson. No; they were apparently young women of the street.

Mr. Raker. Oh: I didn't get that before.

Mr. Anderson. That is what they appeared. They appeared to be that type of women. They were engaging in the rioting, too. They helped tear the hair out of this woman's head.

Mr. Raker. Well----

Mr. Anderson (interposing). I saw the women climb on to the street cars, too, and search cars.

Mr. Raker. Evidently the same character of women?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well now, these men that were, so far as you could observe, participating in this particular work, were they--- what class of men were they, as you observed?

Mr. Anderson. Well, of course there was a large

number of them---probably every class of men in the crowd, but the men who seemed to take the most active part were the type that you would call saloon loungers; the kind of men who inhabit wine rooms and places of that character.

Mr. Baker. Were they dressed in any particular way?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; they were not; they were dressed every way.

Mr. Baker. Dressed in the ordinary every-day costume as you see them on the street here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and the man who is said to have killed the---to have taken the negro off the car and killed him---had on a silk shirt. He wasn't a blue-shirt man at all.

Mr. Baker. Was there any particular designation in the hats they had?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir: nothing

Mr. Baker. Nothing to distinguish them in that regard?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir: there didn't appear to be any distinguishing mark. They appeared just as they usually do.

Mr. Baker. Did you 'phone over to St. Louis---that is where your business is?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And you represent---

Mr. Anderson (interposing). The St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Mr. Baker. Did you get in communication with your paper during that day?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, many times.

Mr. Baker. Well, did they send anybody over here to assist you in this work?

Mr. Anderson. Well, they did later that night.

Mr. Baker. How late?

Mr. Anderson. I think the first man came over about--- let's see, now---I am not exactly certain about that, but I believe there was somebody that came over about noon. Then there were two or three men came over late that night.

Mr. Baker. But were there any moving picture men here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; there were some, and there were several newspaper photographers.

Mr. Baker. Here on the ground?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Could you give the Committee any information as to here these moving picture men could be found--- who they were, and what became of their pictures?

Mr. Anderson. I believe I could get that information. I have it.

Mr. Baker. Will you try and get it and give it to us later?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And the men here during that day were here--- in addition to the moving picture men, there were people here with their cameras taking pictures all day?

Mr. Anderson. There were newspaper photographers here. Some of them were arrested and some had their cameras busted. Some of them met with other misfortunes.

Mr. Baker. The mob even attacked them?

Mr. Anderson. The mob and the police. Some of them were arrested.

Mr. Baker. Now, just explain that. They were arrested by the police?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. For what purpose?

Mr. Anderson. I haven't the slightest idea. The only apparent effect it had was to destroy what would have been evidence against the rioters. I don't know that it was done with that intention. The only police official who explained it to me---the following morning we were taking some pictures, and a policeman took some plates away from my cameraman and destroyed them, and I asked him whose orders it was on, and he said the night chief. So the ~~fmmmmmm~~ night chief was across the street, and I asked him if he had ordered that done and he said they had said they wouldn't stand for any pictures being taken.

Mr. Johnson. What was the name of the policeman?

Mr. Anderson. His name, I think, was Frost.

Mr. Johnson. What was the name of the night chief?

Mr. Anderson. The night chief was Hickey.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, what has become of Mr. Frost? Is he under ~~mmm~~ indictment?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; he is not.

Mr. Johnson. Where is he now?

Mr. Anderson. I think he is on the police force. He did that upon orders. I don't think---

Mr. Baker. (interposing). I know that---excuse me: go on and make your explanation.

Mr. Anderson. I don't think that he did it upon his own initiative at all.

Mr. Baker. Can a man be ordered here to commit murder, even if he is a police officer?

Mr. Anderson. I suppose it is possible.

Mr. Cooper. And will he obey orders?

Mr. Anderson. I think so.

Mr. Baker. We will go on now. What did you finally find out from the night chief?

Mr. Anderson. I asked him what his objection was to our taking pictures, and he said the town had bad enough name already, and didn't want to give them that additional bad advertising. I told him that we were going to take them anyway, and he told me that we will probably get ourselves arrested if we did. We did continue on our way taking pictures, and another policeman followed us, and stopped us two or three times, and finally told us the next time he found us he would lock us up.

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know his name.

Mr. Baker. What I am particularly interested in is, what became of the pictures that were taken on July 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. Well, some of those pictures are still in existence.

Mr. Baker. Some of---did you take any that day?

Mr. Anderson. My photographer did.

Mr. Baker. What is his name?

Mr. Anderson. We had two different men over here. I think the man who took those pictures is Murphy.

Mr. Baker. Do you know his first name?

Mr. Anderson. Clint.

Mr. Baker. Is he still in your service?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I am sure he is.

Mr. Baker. He got a good many pictures that day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; he got several pictures.

Mr. Baker. And some of his plates were destroyed?

Mr. Anderson. Some of the plates of the other photographer were destroyed. I don't know whether Murphy lost any or not.

Mr. Baker. Have you had any of those pictures enlarged?

Mr. Anderson. Enlarged---do you mean developed?

Mr. Baker. Have any of those been enlarged?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether I understand just what you mean.

Mr. Baker. Developed them five or six feet or eight feet?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't think so. He still has those pictures.

Mr. Baker. What other newspapers or firms had pictures being taken here that day?

Mr. Anderson. Well, the Globe Democrat and the Republic and the Star all had photographers here that I know of. Several---two or three of those men had their cameras smashed, and the Globe Democrat man was arrested upon orders of the Mayor's secretary, I understood. I didn't see that.

Mr. Baker. What is the Mayor's secretary's name?

Mr. Anderson. Ahearn. There are some---the Globe Democrat men knows about that. I didn't see that occurrence.

Mr. Baker. I will try to get that. What became of the movie men?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't know. I didn't talk to any of them. I was pretty busy.

Mr. Baker. Yes, I know, but do you know whether or not

they did get pictures?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; they got pictures. I saw those pictures exhibited later---some of the pictures.

Mr. Baker. Where?

Mr. Anderson. I have forgotten where I saw them now.

Mr. Baker. Where could this picture come from? It so interests me that with the large picture it seems to me--- it is in a circular that I have received (exhibiting to witness).

Mr. Cooper. Here is the street car and the soldiers looking on.

Mr. Baker. Yes; it seems to me that if those moving pictures and pictures of this kind were enlarged, you could designate people there by the scores.

Mr. Anderson. I don't think that any moving picture photographer got away with any film the day of the riots. The ones that I saw were taken the following day apparently on the scenes of the ruins. That is a typical scene (indicating).

Mr. Cooper. In that you can see the soldiers standing looking on at that assault.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is just what it looked like.

Mr. Cooper. Doing nothing at all.

Mr. Anderson. That is what it looked like all day. The corner is shown here. As I told the Commission, I saw six dead negroes there. That is the corner there (indicating).

Mr. Cooper. What corner is that?

Mr. Anderson. Fourth and Broadway.

Mr. Baker. What effort was made by any one to stop this

rioting during any time of that day?

Mr. Anderson. There was a meeting called of some members of the Chamber of Commerce, but I don't know what they did.

Mr. Reber. Well, was there any effort that you noticed on the streets, or any place that day---except what you have told us now---to check this rioting?

Mr. Anderson. The only one I know of was made by another Post Dispatch reporter down at Fourth and Broadway that night. He lives in Missouri, too.

Mr. Cooper. Was any offer of assistance made by the citizens?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; not that I know of. I understood that some offers were made to the authorities by citizens, but I don't know who made them or anything about it. I think I know the witness who would know about that, if any such offers were made.

Mr. Cooper. Will you give it to the reporter?

Mr. Anderson. Richard M. Allison.

Mr. Johnson. As a matter of course, there was some provoking cause, either real or imaginary, which started this thing. Have you an opinion as to what that was?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Give it, please.

Mr. Anderson. The killing of these two policemen.

Mr. Johnson. The night before?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That was on July 1st?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir. That was the immediate cause.

Mr. Johnson. Now that, in your judgment, brought about the conditions which existed on the night before, whereby a

large number of negroes were assembled by the ringing of the church bell? What brought about that condition?

Mr. Anderson. The general condition when such things as that did happen, do you mean?

Mr. Johnson. Yes; there was some provoking cause for the negroes being under arms, and having evidently a pre-arranged signal for assembly? Now, what was the provoking cause for that, either real or imaginary?

Mr. Anderson. There had been a previous assault upon the negroes.

Mr. Johnson. That was in May?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. But had anything happened between May 28 and the assemblying of the negroes at the church on the night of July 1st. to augment the feeling of apprehension upon their part?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there is said to have been.

Mr. Johnson. What was that?

Mr. Anderson. There was considerable testimony at one of the recent trials that early on the evening of July 1st a band of white men road through the negro settlement several times shooting into the houses from both sides of the machine. There were several witnesses told that at the recent trial of Wood and King.

Mr. Johnson. Now then, is there any sort of theory going around as to what induced those white men in that automobile to fire into those negro houses. Was it race prejudice or what was it?

Mr. Anderson. I think it was a bunch of drunken joy riders.

Mr. Johnson. That was on Sunday?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Did this joy riding occur on the same day that the policemen were killed, later in the evening?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; the same night.

Mr. Johnson. What, in your judgment provoked the riot of May 30th?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I wasn't here then, nor had not been.

Mr. Johnson. What did you hear about it? What is your information about it?

Mr. Anderson. My information about it is this---that several of the large industrial plants were importing negro strike-breakers, with the plan---with the end in view of wrecking the unions---supplanting white laborers with negroes.

Mr. Johnson. Was there a strike then on?

Mr. Anderson. There had been some strikes previous to that---several of them. And there was considerable unrest generally among the large plants.

Mr. Johnson. Was the aluminum concern having a strike at that time, or not?

Mr. Anderson. They had had previous to that.

Mr. Johnson. And the complaint---there was a complaint--or, rather, a rumor to the effect that negro strike-breakers were brought here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; that was a very current report, and was accepted as fact by everybody.

Mr. Johnson. And that provoked violence?

Mr. Anderson. That created a great deal of animosity

towards the negroes.

Mr. Johnson. That animosity, upon whose part was it?

Mr. Anderson. The white man generally, I believe.

Mr. Johnson. The white man generally, or just the strikers?

Mr. Anderson. No; I think generally.

Mr. Johnson. You think that the white people became incensed at the coming of negroes here for that purpose?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I am sure that is true.

Mr. Johnson. Do you think that that feeling existed to a greater extent because they were negroes?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I doubt that.

Mr. Johnson. Did race prejudice have something to do with it?

Mr. Anderson. Of course, they were able to center their animosity more definitely because of the fact that these strike-breakers were exclusively negroes, but I think they would have been just as hostile to white strike-breakers---possibly more so.

Mr. Johnson. What damage was done by the strike of May 28?

Mr. Anderson. The riot of May 28?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. Well. I don't really know much about that. I was out of the city for more than a week after that.

Mr. Johnson. I understood that there were no fatalities?

Mr. Anderson. There were twenty or thirty negroes assaulted--badly beaten--but I don't think anybody died as a result of that.

Mr. Johnson. And by whom were they assaulted?

Mr. Anderson. By white men, I understood.

Mr. Johnson. Were those assaults made during day or night?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that. I think day and night both.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know of any effort to fasten those assaults upon any particular individuals or any particular class?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard of any prosecution at all in any of those cases.

Mr. Johnson. And something like twenty or thirty assaults upon negroes occurred here on the 28th day of May and no arrests were made?

Mr. Anderson. So far as I know, I never heard of any.

Mr. Johnson. And you were at that time---you weren't here then?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I was out of the city for more than a week after that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, were you out of the city at that particular time?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I was out of the city at that time, previous to then and after then.

Mr. Johnson. Who did your newspaper work here during that absence of yours?

Mr. Anderson. I really don't know. I could find out without any trouble.

Mr. Johnson. I was wondering whether or not any arrests had been made.

Mr. Anderson. Well, there are other reporters who could

know that.

Mr. Johnson. We will get that.

Mr. Cooper. I want to ask one question. A very important statement you have made, Mr. Anderson, was that the city administration, or the head of it, ordered you excluded from the police station headquarters, etc., because you had printed certain statements about gambling going on here.

Mr. Anderson. He didn't assign that reason for excluding me.

Mr. Cooper. Was there any other reason that you could think of?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I am sure that was the reason.

Mr. Johnson. What reason did he assign?

Mr. Anderson. I believe he said I wasn't his friend. That is the only reason I remember. That is what the Chief told me.

Mr. Cooper.. Now, what were the reports that were printed? What did you say in those statements---substantially what you said?

Mr. Anderson. With reference to gambling?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. I printed the fact that it was going on, and how the players were being induced to come there, and told where it was, and who was operating it; I gave the street address, and told what time it went on.

Mr. Johnson. What kind of gambling was it?

Mr. Anderson. Craps---dice.

Mr. Cooper. For money, of course?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Who was operating the game?

Mr. Anderson. A man by the name of Fritz.

Mr. Cooper. Do you think the police knew about it?

Mr. Anderson. I know they did. I printed it half a dozen times: told where it was. Then I went and told them myself personally where it was.

Mr. Cooper. Never any suits for libel brought?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now, I want to say here that every man who thinks and knows the nature of this Government believes, of course, this republic cannot continue without a free, a fearless, and an honest press. It is doomed to destruction if the press ever becomes controlled cowardly and dishonestly. In some respects you are in the most important business that there is in this United States, and this statement that you printed, the facts concerning a ~~murder~~ notorious violation of law,-a violation which was within the knowledge of the police authorities,-and that because you printed it in the discharge of your duty, as I think, you were excluded from police headquarters, denounced in such language as you repeated a moment ago--- which has led to the killing of more than one man---is a most astonishing statement. Does that fairly indicate the character of the city government you have here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think it does.

Mr. Cooper. According to that, you had a police force that was not only inefficient, but that was cowardly and cruel,---Violation of a sworn duty,-and permitted notorious infractions of the law. That is a fact?

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

Mr. Cooper. And that those having the power to remedy that situation, instead of applying the remedy, abused you for telling the truth?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was it charged that any official of East St. Louis was financially interested in this gambling house?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard any definite---of course, I heard what you will ordinarly hear in cases of that kind, but I never heard anybody say that they knew anything on the subject.

Mr. Johnson. It was regarded as a police-protected house?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was that charge in your newspaper article?

Mr. Anderson. We merely related---no, it isn't our custom to charge those things unless we know them. We told what the facts were and that the police knew it was going on.

Mr. Johnson. You just stated what were the facts and left the conclusions for your readers?

Mr. Anderson. We stated what we knew to be **him** facts.

Mr. Johnson. And left the conclusions to the readers?

Mr. Anderson. Exactly that.

Mr. Johnson. Was it a reasonable inference from your statement of facts that any official here was interested in it, or was being paid to permit it to run?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I would suspect that very strongly.

Mr. Baker. What action did the City Attorney take on these publications of yours?

Mr. Anderson. Not any.

Mr. Baker. Do you know the City Attorney's name?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Will you give it to the reporter?

Mr. Anderson. Thomas D. Yehete, now a captain in the United States Army.

Mr. Baker. Was he here in the city at East St. Louis during these riots?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Did he have any deputies, or assistants, in the City Attorney's office?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; he had one.

Mr. Baker. What was his name?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember the name of the assistant he had there.

Mr. Baker. Now further, what is the character of the government here in East St. Louis, as to the courts? I mean as to the municipal court?

Mr. Anderson. Well; it is a very unusual condition. There are four or five justices of the peace and a police magistrate, who all have offices in the neighborhood of the police station. It has been the custom up until very recently---I am not sure whether it still exists---but up any way till the time of the riots---for the police to distribute the business between the various justices. They distributed it arbitrarily, and the custom had always been that the justices who were politically opposed to the administration didn't get any police cases.

Mr. Baker. Now there is one city police---I mean city police magistrate?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And then there are four or five justices of

the peace?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Those come under the state law, do they?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well, what did they do on the day of the riot? Do you know of anything they did?

Mr. Anderson. No; I never heard of them doing anything.

Mr. Baker. Are they still in office?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Have you any way you call constables now outside of the police?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there are several constables. There is a constable, I believe, attached to each justice court, or one constable to each pair of justice courts, or some such arrangement as that. There are three or four constables.

Mr. Baker. He becomes a peace officer, a conservator of the peace, the same as the policeman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What did these conservators of the peace do,--the police officers---I mean the constables?

Mr. Anderson. I never understood that they did anything.

Mr. Baker. I mean, during these riots?

Mr. Anderson. I never knew that they did anything.

Mr. Baker. Now, does your general statement that you made a while ago that there was a breaking-down of all the administrative functions include the Mayor?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The police---the entire police department?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Raker. The justices of the peace court?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The constables?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Practically an absolute abandonment of law and order and power that these men had?

Mr. Anderson. Outside of the instance that I recall, the only case that I know where any official offered protection was that several deputy sheriffs took some people out of a burning house down on Broadway that night. The deputy sheriffs told me that they asked the policeman why he didn't get them out, and the policeman said he was busy guarding fire hose, and the soldier said he didn't want to get them out, so the deputy sheriffs went in and brought several out, I think ten men and women that were in a burning house.

Mr. Raker. Deputy sheriffs got those out?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Do you know what the deputy sheriff's name was?

Mr. Anderson. One was Oscar Roper; one was Dan O'Connell; I think Rufus Shepherd, and possibly one or two others.

Mr. Raker. Do you know approximately how many deputy sheriffs there are, or were, during that time in East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there were four or five.

Mr. Raker. Did the sheriff of this county---St. Clair County, is it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Has he sent for and did he come here during the riot?

Mr. Anderson. I understood he was in another part of the United States, but I don't know that, of course.

Mr. Baker. Well then, that covers this.

Had there been, now, from what you saw---taking in the first riot that you saw that morning---and that was about 10 o'clock, on what street?

Mr. Anderson. Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Baker. Had there been any effort at all on the part of the militia or the constables or the martial or the deputy sheriffs or the policemen---could that riot have been stopped?

Mr. Anderson. I think it could.

Mr. Baker. Now, would your answer cover practically all the other riots and the disturbances at the various places you saw that day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I didn't see as many men engaged actively in assaulting any one person as a dozen. I . don't think I saw as many as a dozen at one time, at any stage, actively assaulting some person. Of course, the crowds were large in some cases, but the majority of the killing in all the instances which I saw---and I saw about a dozen killed that day---and it was nearly always done by three or four men, with the others looking on.

Mr. Baker. Did these other men that you saw standing around and on the streets, who were not participating---were they armed with rifles that you could see?

Mr. Anderson. No; I didn't see any rioters armed with rifles all day, except there was one or two that took them out of this pawn shop.

Mr. Raker. Revolvers?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; some of them were revolvers and some were clubs.

Mr. Raker. But the weapons generally were clubs?

Mr. Anderson. Brickbats; that is what the weapons were generally---bricks. I saw more men killed with bricks than any other way.

Mr. Johnson. Is this gambling house still running?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't think so.

Mr. Johnson. Where was it?

Mr. Anderson. It was at--on Missouri Avenue right off Collinsville. I have forgotten the street number.

Mr. Johnson. Is it near a saloon?

Mr. Anderson. Over a saloon.

Mr. Johnson. Was the door kept guarded, or did people go in and out as they chose?

Mr. Anderson. Well, there was a watch over it in a sort of a way. You had to get an introduction to go up, but that was easy to get, or you could be introduced by card.

Mr. Johnson. Introduced to whom?

Mr. Anderson. To the man who watched the door.

Mr. Johnson. Did you know his name?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't.

Mr. Johnson. What was the system of getting in?

Mr. Anderson. They had some cards they would send out to young men over the city saying, in substance, "We have

opened up our new club rooms at this number, and you are invited to be present", and they had the name of the man who was running the game signed to it with his nickname. Everybody knew him by that nickname.

Mr. Johnson. What was the nickname?

Mr. Anderson. Mule Pole. He was a notorious gambling house keeper.

Mr. Johnson. Has prostitution been conducted here, openly conducted?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; it has not since about three months previous to the time that Mayor Hollman took office. The previous mayor closed the segregated district.

Mr. Johnson. The prostitutes were segregated, were they?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; they had been up to then.

Mr. Johnson. And where were they located?

Mr. Anderson. Just across Missouri Avenue from the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you were saying that under the next preceding administration, those houses had been closed?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Then you were about to say something else. What was what you were about to say?

Mr. Anderson. There were a number of cheap hotels here---had been---where men who were seeking that sort of thing could find what they wanted. There was no secret about that.

Mr. Johnson. Were the women living in the Hotels?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You say these club notices,--or notices of

opening of the club---were sent to young men through the city?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. I ~~xxxx~~ suppose the men were employed and getting wages, and the expectation was that they would come there and gamble them away, was it?

Mr. Anderson. The ones I got hold of were brought to me by the fathers of young men, who said that they were afraid of the effect of the temptation on their sons. They wanted to know what I could do.

Mr. Raker. Now, going on with the same line of questions that I was giving you a moment ago, had two or three strong men---or one---in authority, called to his assistance, under the law, the men there that day---25 or 30 of them---is it your belief that they could have quelled the riots, commencing with the first one?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Now, was there any effort of any man, or any woman, during that day that stood up and said, "I am a citizen of East St. Louis, a law-abiding citizen, and I command you, Mr. Jones and Smith and Brown, under the law, to come forward here and assist in suppressing this riot?"

Mr. Anderson. I didn't know of any instances of that sort.

Mr. Raker. Did you hear any during that entire day?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't hear anything.

Mr. Raker. Now, what is your deduction--from what you have seen, read, and heard of the condition here, was there a feeling abroad that this had to be done---this rioting on the negroes---to drive them from the city, or am I too strong

in my question? If I am, just give your general view of it.

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't think that the majority of the people thought on that subject. What they thought mostly was along this line: There had been a number of outrages of various kinds perpetrated upon white people by negroes shortly before this. I remember on one night there were five white people assaulted, and I think two of them killed, by negroes, and there was a feeling that something must be done.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Anderson. That was not long before. I don't remember just when.

Mr. Johnson. Was it before July 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; before May 28.

The majority of the people felt that something should be done to suppress lawlessness. That was the feeling of the people who understood the situation. It wasn't directed particularly against the negroes any more than against other lawless persons, but the negroes---there was a bad element, and they were very lawless and nothing apparently was being done to restrain them.

Mr. Johnson. That was prior to May 28?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Well now, you were up and down many of these streets that day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Let's take Missouri Avenue. That is where we are on now?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You would say that from this Collinsville Ave. running this way would be east?

Mr. Anderson. That is east.

Mr. Raker. Take, say, at 3 o'clock there was more or less disturbance on that part of the street, wasn't there?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did these business houses remain open during that day?

Mr. Anderson. Some of them did and some of them closed. I think that the large part of them closed.

Mr. Raker. Well now, would that apply to Collinsville Avenue, the thickly settled part where business is being done and where the rioting was occurring---were those places of business closed or open, do you know?

Mr. Anderson. Well, my memory on that isn't very clear. I think some of them were closed and some were open.

Mr. Raker. Now there are hotels, barber shops, dry-goods stores, hardware stores, furniture stores, millinery establishments, and all kinds of business houses right on the street where this rioting was going on during that entire day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; that is true.

Mr. Raker. Now, can you tell the Committee what these business men did during that time, that conducted these establishments?

Mr. Anderson. I didn't know of one single thing.

Mr. Raker. What did their assistants do---that is, their clerks?

Mr. Anderson. I knew some of them had negroes in their

basements to protect them. That is the only thing that I know they did.

Mr. Baker. Well, what about their second stories along these various places where this occurred? Did you observe people looking from the windows at any of these places--- ceased working and coming to the windows and watching?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't remember that.

Mr. Baker. You didn't observe anything of that kind?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether I did or not. I think I probably did, but I don't remember.

Mr. Baker. What was the condition---were there saloons along these various streets?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; very many of them.

Mr. Baker. What was their attitude as to being open or closed?

Mr. Anderson. They were closed that afternoon, but I don't know just what time.

Mr. Baker. But the rioting had commenced in the morning and continued until the middle of the afternoon, and they were still open?

Mr. Anderson. There were many people killed before they were closed.

Mr. Baker. Well, do you know whether or not these people shut up their places and went home and let it go on, or did they stay around on the streets?

Mr. Anderson. Well, of course I don't know a great deal about that. I think some of them did close up and went home because they were frightened. There were so many

stray bullets flying around that most anybody was liable to be killed, and, as I say, there was no restraint at all, and if a man wanted to go in and rob a store, they could do it without being prevented, apparently, and they did so in several instances; looted various places, and I think that is probably the main reason why some of them closed.

Mr. Cooper. A moment ago, or a few minutes ago, Mr. Anderson, you said that you had heard that some plants were importing negroes to take the jobs.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well, that opens up one of the most important subjects connected with this whole investigation. When did you hear that some plants here were importing negroes to take the jobs of these white men?

Mr. Anderson. I heard that that was done at the time of the packing plant strike last summer.

Mr. Cooper. A year ago?

Mr. Johnson. Which packing plant was that?

Mr. Anderson. All this was at three of the large ones---Morris, Swift, and Armour.

Mr. Cooper. Now, have you a reason to believe that those reports were well founded?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I think they were.

Mr. Cooper. So, in 1916, there was a strike here at the packing house plants?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; there was.

Mr. Cooper. And rumors were prevalent that laborers---colored people---were being imported from the South to take

the place of the striking white men?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That strike was ended, and in the fall of the same year there began and continued for some months a very marked influx of adult colored men?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And had you heard that some of them who came here, possibly induced to come?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; often. I heard that often.

Mr. Cooper. Who induced them to come?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I heard that the packing plants, and the Aluminum Ore Company, and the Missouri Malleable Iron Company, and the American Steel Foundries did.

Mr. Cooper ~~misrepresenting~~ And now you think that the reports as to the importation of negroes to take the places of white men in the summer of 1916 were true. What do you say, in your opinion, was the truth or falsity of the reports that last fall and during the winter and the spring of this year there were importations for the same purpose?

Mr. Anderson. My opinion is that that is true.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, Mr. Anderson, we come back, don't we, to the great labor question itself that confronts, and has for a long time confronted, not only the United States, but all of the nations---all of the civilized nations of the world?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. The men employed think that their wages

are not what they ought to be receiving in view of all the circumstances. Perhaps there has been a marked increase in the price of the necess ries of life. Some of them have wives and children to support. They think---and I am not saying whether they are justified in their belief or not---but suppose they do think that the men who employ them are getting an undue proportion of the proceeds of that business, which cannot be carried on without the labor of these men---these men think not only that they have insufficient wages under all the circumstances---for example, last year in Washington---I don't know how it was here---potatoes went to $1.40 a peck---they think not only that their wages under all the circumstances are not quite what they ought to receive, but that the conditions surrounding them during the hours in which they labor are not what they ought to be entirely. These men protest and finally stop work. Then the thing that enters into the minds of the white men in this city, if that is what they were thinking, was the fact that not only were they endangered of loosing their jobs, but that the men who employed them were importing men for the express purpose of giving their jobs to other men.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think that is it exactly.

Mr. Cooper. Was that one of the things that entered into this rioting?

Mr. Anderson. I think so.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. I have heard it stated several times---not on the witness stand, however---that the negroes upon

the one side and the whites upon the other were apprehensive that the other was going to make an attack upon the other on the mmmm 4th of July. Have you heard something of that?

Mr. Anderson. I have heard something of it, but I never heard anything of it until after the other thing happened---until after the real one.

Mr. Johnson. Until after the real rioting occurred?

Mr. Anderson. Yes. I was in pretty close touch with the situation generally, and I never heard any whispers of that kind previous to the riot.

Mr. Johnson. But after the riot, you heard it frequently?

Mr. Anderson. Yes: everybody seemed to know then the attack had been planned.

Mr. Johnson. Well, each side, I believe, to the matter is claiming that the other side was going to make an attack on the 4th of July.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, mmm; they are now.

Mr. Johnson. The rumor has it that the negroes were to make an attack upon the whites out at some park.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What is the name of that park?

Mr. Anderson. Jones Park.

Mr. Johnson. Where is that?

Mr. Anderson. Well, that is about two miles out. I would say, in the city, but about two miles from here.

Mr. Johnson. Well, have you heard as to where the rumor had it that the whites were to make an attack upon

the negroes on the 4th of July?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I haven't. I never heard that the whites had planned an attack on the negroes on the 4th of July.

Mr. Johnson. You just heard it was rumored that the negroes would make an attack on the whites at that particular place on the 4th of July?

Mr. Anderson. That rumor was circulated later, after this riot occurred. I never heard it before that.

Mr. Cooper. Now, Mr. Anderson, you never had heard, we will say---you were here on the ground every day, and had been for three years----- any of these alleged rumors, which it is now reported were in circulation, about the intention of one side or the other to attack?

Mr. Anderson. The only thing I had heard was various white men say that they ought to run the niggers out of town, but that was just talk; I am sure that didn't mean anything.

Mr. Cooper. But these reports that have been circulated since the riots, that the negroes had agreed to unite and attack the whites, and that the whites had agreed to unite and attack the blacks, you never heard of at all until after the riot?

Mr. Anderson. I never heard a word.

Mr. Cooper. Now, is it your opinion---and I am asking only for your opinion, of course---it couldn't be anything else---that there could have been this awful series of murder had it not been for this company of joy-riders riding through that negro quarter and shooting from each side of

their running automobile indiscriminately into the houses of these colored people?

Mr. Anderson. Well; I do not. There are too many elements of uncertainty there.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you say it was the killing of the policemen that led to it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well, the policemen would not have been killed if it had not be for the joy-riders?

Mr. Anderson. The policemen might not have been killed at that time, but there has been considerable evidence that negroes had been assembling arms at various places previous to this time. and I don't know the purpose.

Mr. Cooper. Of course, it is impossible to tell.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean that the killing of the policemen on the night of the 1st caused the riot, or that it hastened it?

Mr. Anderson. Well, that is a question, as I say.

Mr. Johnson. You are in doubt upon that?

Mr. Anderson. It was the spark, of course---I am certain of that--- which caused it. There might have been something else, and then there might not have.

Mr. Baker. Did you interview any of the men here in East St. Louis following the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. As to who did this work?

Mr. Anderson. As to who did the rioting?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. Oh, I suppose I asked a great many people if they saw anybody they knew in the mob?

Mr. Baker. Just following the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Baker. The next day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Baker. What was your general---what was the general response?

Mr. Anderson. The general response was that they didn't. Such information as I obtained, I turned over to the proper authorities. I obtained some information of my own, personally, which I also gave to the authorities, and indictments have been returned.

Mr. Baker. You did obtain some information that led to some indictments?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; several.

Mr. Baker. Have you obtained any from which no indictment has been returned as yet?

Mr. Anderson. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. On account of the absence of two members of the Committee, one having been called away by important business, and the other on account of the illness of his children, the Committee will stand adjourned until Monday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock P.M., the Committee adjourned until 10:30 o'clock A.M., Monday, October 22.)

Monday, October 22, 1917.

The Committee met at 10:30 o'clock A.M., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

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

STATEMENT OF MR. BEN BEARD (COLORED),

OF EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Give to the stenographer your name, place of residence, and your occupation.

Mr. Beard. My name is Ben Beard; I live at 1216 Division Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. How long have you been living there?

Mr. Beard. Four years.

Mr. Johnson. And what are you engaged in for a living?

Mr. Beard. I work at the Aluminum Ore---a laborer.

Mr. Johnson. Now, make to the Committee just such a statement as you choose to make relative to this rioting , or anything that pertains to it. Go ahead in your own way.

Mr. Beard. Mr. Brooks---Mr. John Brooks---he said he went to 8th and Walnut during the riot and said the way that they kept the negroes in the house during the riot, they had a basket of oily waste, and they would take it and throw it up against the house and strike a match to it, and would get back and shoot into the house and throw bricks in there to keep the negroes in there.

Mr. Johnson. Did he tell you that?

Mr. Beard. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. When?

Mr. Beard. The third day after the riot.

Mr. Johnson. Where did this conversation take place?

Mr. Beard. Why, he started from down here about Collinsville---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). But where was he when he told you this?

Mr. Beard. He was out there at work, at the Aluminum. He is a gas fitter---a foreman out there. He lives out--- he was at work the day he told me. He lives on Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. Has he ever been arrested?

Mr. Beard. Not as I know of.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether he has been indicted or not?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did he say to you that that is the way the mob did, or that that is the way that he did?

Mr. Beard. That that is the way the mob did. He said he didn't have anything to do with it. He says he was only looking on. I---

Mr. Johnson.(interposing). I thought you were connecting him with it.

Mr. Beard. He said he didn't have anything to do with it; just said that was what the mob did.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know anything else relative to the matter?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; no more than he said he was up there at 8th and Broadway when they burnt up the barber shop and grocery store there. And the picture man he went to take

the picture of the fire, and while he had his head under the curtain a fellow took his revolver and stepped up there and shot it all to pieces.

Mr. Johnson. Shot the camera to pieces?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Where were you that day?

Mr. Beard. At 12th and Division Ave.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see any part of the rioting?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; they didn't come down that way.

Mr. Cooper. You stayed at home all day, did you?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; I went to work that day. I came from work about 3 o'clock.

Mr. Cooper. Where do you work?

Mr. Beard. At the Aluminum Ore Company.

Mr. Cooper. And you didn't come down to see the rioting at all?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Then, all you know is what Mr. Brooks told you?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir ; that is all I know---just what he says.

Mr. Cooper. You say he is a gas fitter foreman?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. At the Aluminum works?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And he also told you about the shooting of the camera man---I mean camera, not camera man?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. You didn't see that yourself?

Mr. Beard. No, sir

Mr. Raker. That was at 12th and Broadway, he stated -you were out at the plant all day?

Mr. Beard. Till 3 o'clock.

Mr. Raker. Did you come down town at 3?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; the conductor gave us orders on the street car not to come any further than 10th and Broadway. I worked from 7 to 3.

Mr. Raker. Did you know that conductor?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. How long have you lived here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Beard. Four years the 25th of this last June.

Mr. Raker. Have you been writing to your people down south to come to East St. Louis?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Do you know of any of your negro friends that have?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; I don't know of any.

Mr. Raker. How does it come so many of your people came here in the last year and a half?

Mr. Beard. I don't really know; I don't guess there is so very much work down there, and they come here to get work. The crops have been awfully bad down there. There have been no crops to amount to anything for five or six years, and I suppose they had to come here to get a living.

Mr. Raker. Who has told them about this good field for work here?

Mr. Beard. Oh, I really don't know. I guess the fel-

lows/who come back and forth write to them.

Mr. Baker. That is all.

Mr. Foster. Where did you come from here?

Mr. Beard. I came from Jackson, Tenn.

Mr. Foster. How did you happen to come up here?

Mr. Beard. Well, I was staying down there and came up here.

Mr. Foster. You lived in Jackson?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir; that is not my native home, but I lived there six or seven years.

Mr. Foster. Did somebody write to you to come up here?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. How did you happen to come?

Mr. Beard. Just took a notion to come myself.

Mr. Foster. How did you hear of East St. Louis?

Mr. Beard. Oh, I had been hearing of it for quite a while---all my life pretty near.

Mr. Foster. You don't know of any colored people here that wrote to their friends down there to come up here?

Mr. Beard. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. You never heard of any?

Mr. Beard. No, sir; I don't think so.

Mr. Foster. Did you know any of these people that came here in the last year?

Mr. Beard. In the last year---I know a few from Jackson where I lived.

Mr. Foster. How did they tell you they happened to come up here?

Mr. Beard. Well, they didn't say; just got tired work-

ing for the small wages that they were paying down there.

Mr. Foster. The cotton crop down there has been pretty good in the last two years, hasn't it?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Didn't they get a good price last year for it?

Mr. Beard. Yes; last year they did in Tennessee and all around, but not very much made in Mississippi and Alabama. That is where most of the colored people live.

Mr. Foster. Why?

Mr. Beard. The boll weevil has been so bad.

Mr. Foster. It's a good price this year, isn't it?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. They have been able to make money a year like this out of cotton, haven't they?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And they did last year at the high price?

Mr. Beard. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You may step aside.

Is Mr. Anderson in the room? Mr. Anderson, please come to the stand.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF PAUL Y. ANDERSON,

OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Anderson, it has occurred to me since you were on the witness stand Saturday, to ask you another question or two. One of them is this: The Committee has heard a rumor to the effect that there were several negroes buried in the basement of the Opera House as those walls fell. Did you go into the basement of the Opera House for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not there were

any bodies in there?

Mr. Anderson. I went to the basement, but I didn't go inside. I looked inside from the outside.

Mr. Johnson. The basement didn't fall in?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; the first floor hadn't collapsed, except in a few small places. For the most part, the basement was still open.

Mr. Johnson. Your examination of the basement was sufficient to satisfy you that there was nobody in there?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and I was there several days ---more than a week after the fire, and there was no odor of any kind.

Mr. Johnson. And when did you visit the basement first after the fire?

Mr. Anderson. The first examination---thorough examination that I made of it was perhaps ten or twleve days after the fire.

Mr. Johnson. The first examination?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I had been around it, but hadn't looked closely at it before then.

Mr. Johnson. And then when----there was no odor then?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Did you make more than one inspection of the premises?

Mr. Anderson. That was the only real examination I made.

Mr. Johnson. At any time during 1917, or particularly immediately before or immediately after the July riot, were there any foreigners deported from this community?

Mr. Anderson. I don't recall any such case as that.

Mr. Johnson. In the spring or summer of 1917, was there a packing-house strike?

Mr. Anderson. Somewhere in 1916, there was.

Mr. Johnson. But none in 1917? That is, this year?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know of any.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you would have known of it if there had been?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think so. I know there was no general strike there.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know anything about some negroes being shot and thrown into the creek, or having been thrown in the creek and drowned?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't. I have heard several vague reports about things of that kind, but never anything that was serious enough---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). When traced down, they were found to be only rumors.?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is as near as I could ever get to it.

Mr. Johnson. And you were as active and as diligent as you could be in ascertaining all the deaths?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. Johnson. What is your age, please?

Mr. Anderson. Twenty-four.

Mr. Johnson. In the public prints, a Miss *Greuning*, -- or some similar name---has figured to some extent. Do you know who she is?

Mr. Anderson. She was here as a special writer for

Pearson's Magazine, I believe.

Mr. Johnson. What was her correct name, do you know?

Mr. Anderson. Greuning.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know from what city she came?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't. She came from the home office of the magazine, I believe.

Mr. Johnson. Then, the public prints had it that a Mrs. Cox saw a negro beheaded. Can you give us any information on that subject?.

Mr. Anderson. That is the first I ever heard of it.

Mr. Johnson. You said on Saturday that you actually viewed every dead body that was found in or around East St. Louis as a result of that riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think I did.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see anybody who had been beheaded?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Well, don't you think that such a gruesome thing as that would have attracted such local attention that you would have heard of it, in your earnest and diligent search for news?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I am sure I would have.

Mr. Johnson. You never heard of anything of that kind until now?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know who this Mrs. Cox is?

Mr. Anderson. That is the first time I have ever heard her name mentioned.

Mr. Johnson. Then, the Prints further have it that there was a large group of miners joined the mob with picks

and went about assaulting negroes with picks. Did you see anything of that?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I am sure that didn't happen during the day?

Mr. Johnson. If it had happened in your activities you would have found it?

Mr. Anderson. I think I would at least have heard of it.

Mr. Johnson. Then, again, the public prints charge--it has been stated, rather, in the public prints --- that part of the mob was armed with meat cleavers and pick axes assaulting negroes.

Mr. Anderson. I never saw any such mob as that, or any such arms.

Mr. Johnson. If there had been such, you would have seen it wouldn't you?

Mr. Anderson. I probably would have.

Mr. Johnson. And if you hadn't seen it, in your search for news you would have heard of it?

Mr. Anderson. I think so.

Mr. Johnson. Did you ever hear of that before now?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. Johnson. Were any children thrown into the fire here?

Mr. Anderson. I heard of such an instance as that, but I never could verify it.

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear of instances of that kind, or one instance?

Mr. Anderson. I think I heard of two.

Mr. Johnson. Did you undertake to verify that rumor?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I did, but I never could verify it.

Mr. Johnson. Were you active and diligent about it?

Mr. Anderson. I did the best I could.

Mr. Johnson. During how many days did your investigation into these matters extend?

Mr. Anderson. Well, it extended into several weeks.

Mr. Johnson. And during those weeks you weren't able to verify the throwing of children into the fire, although you heard the rumors?

Mr. Anderson. I believe that one reporter told me that he saw that.

Mr. Johnson. One instance, or more than one?

Mr. Anderson. One. I am not sure that he told me he saw it. He is here and he can tell us himself.

Mr. Johnson. Who is that?

Mr. Anderson. Mr. Popkess.

Mr. Johnson. Relative to Mayor Hollman, can you give us your opinion, and the facts upon which you base that opinion, as to whether or not he was frightened by the mob on that day and had cause to be frightened by them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I believe he was frightened, and I believe he thought he had cause to be frightened.

Mr. Johnson. In other words, the white people believe that he was at least somewhat in sympathy with the negroes before the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there had been reports charging him with activity which would have prejudiced white people against him. I don't know that those charges were true, but

there had been reports widely current here that he had in the South extended invitations to ~~an~~ negro laborers to come to East St. Louis, saying that there was plenty of work here. I think that he denied that later, and said it was not true, but I heard it repeated several times on the streets the day of the riots by men who resented what they thought was the truth about it, and there were some threats made against him.

Mr. Johnson. Was it not also stated publicly that he had attended a banquet given to negroes?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, that report had been repeated, too.

Mr. Johnson. Well, isn't it true that a picture of the banquet was taken while it was going on, and that his presence is shown there by that picture?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know that; I have never seen that picture.

Mr. Johnson. On Sunday night, July 1st, if I correctly understood you and all those who have preceeded you as witnesses, the only riot that night, which was Sunday night, was that made by those white men who road through the negro district in an automobile firing into the houses?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is all I ever heard of.

Mr. Johnson. And it was well past mid/night, and, therefore, on the early morning of July 2nd when the two police officers were killed when they went up to the negro church in the automobile?

Mr. Anderson. It was very shortly after midnight.

Mr. Johnson. But that was the only riot on that night ---on Sunday?

Mr. Anderson. That is the only one I ever heard of.

Mr. Johnson. The statement has also been made in the public prints that prominent bankers here were seen on the streets actively engaged in the rioting, and in assaulting negroes.

Mr. Anderson. I never saw any bankers assaulting anybody.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know the prominent bankers of the town?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think I know them all.

Mr. Johnson. And you were at each of these several scenes where the riot was worst?

Mr. Anderson. I was at the worst of it.

Mr. Johnson. While it was going on?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And if these men had been present, you feel that you certainly would have seen them and recognized them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I am positive I would have.

Mr. Johnson. Then you can say with equal emphasis that they were not present and were not engaging in the riot?

Mr. Anderson. I am certain they weren't. Not only that, but I am certain that there were not any business men of any prominence engaged in any such practice as that that day.

Mr. Johnson. And the charge has been printed and sent all over the country to the effect that this riot was the direct result of organized union labor. Now, in looking back over the riot, as you saw it, and over the conditions and incidents which led up to it, will you give, as your opinion, whether or not organized labor deliberately planned and prosecuted that riot?

Mr. Anderson. It is my settled opinion that they did nothing of the sort. I saw the men who were in that riot, all day long, and they were not distinctively union men. They were a loafer type of fellows.

Mr. Johnson. I wanted you to emphasize that, because you have stated it before.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is true. I am certain that there was no scheme of that sort. The general appearance of the rioting every place that day indicated that it was spontaneous; that it was just men who were running in to get a chance to kill somebody because they thought they could do it and not be punished for it. That was the impression that I received all day long.

Mr. Johnson. And you saw nothing at any time to indicate or to give you the opinion that organized labor instigated and conducted this riot?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I am certain that organized labor did nothing of the sort.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I asked you those questions, believing that you were perhaps better posted on the subject than anybody else here, that we might have your opinion upon the subject, and you base that opinion on your canvassing the town as a newspaper reporter for weeks and months before the riot and constantly since?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And in addition to that, you were present throughout the entire day of the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and further than that, I know most of the men who are active leaders in labor circles here.

Mr. Johnson. And if they had been present, you would have seen them and would have recognized them?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I am sure I would have.

Mr. Johnson. And you can state positively that they were not there at any one of these scenes of disorder?

Mr. Anderson. Well, if they were---I wouldn't like to state positively that they weren't, but I'll say that I was at most of those scenes and saw everything that went on, and I didn't see any of them, and I think I am sure I would have seen them if they had been there.

Mr. Johnson. And were you or were you not looking for those whom you might recognize?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I wasn't particularly looking for anybody that I might recognize, but I did recognize all the people that I knew.

Mr. Johnson. But if you had come across any prominent man in the labor organization, and he had been participating in it---that mob, or otherwise encouraging it, you would have seen him and would have recognized him?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; I would have remembered it.

Mr. Cooper. I would like to ask a question there, Mr. Anderson. I notice by this morning's paper that of the three men undergoing trial at Belleville,-the last three---Dow, Hanna, and Robinson---two were found guilty by the juries of murder, and the sentence was fifteen years in the penitentiary---Dow and Hanna, I believe.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Cooper. Were those men employed at the Aluminum Company works?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; neither one of them was.

Mr. Cooper. Was either one of them a union labor man?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I couldn't say that.

Mr. Cooper. What was Hanna?

Mr. Anderson. Hanna was a chauffeur. Dow drove an ice-wagon.

Mr. Cooper. Well, neither of them, then, was in the Aluminum Company's strikers?

Mr. Anderson. Oh no, sir; I am sure of that. I think both of them had been working at their present occupations for several years.

Mr. Cooper. Hanna was a chauffeur, you say?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now, the justices of the peace of whom you spoke the other day, in this city, receive no salaries?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Entirely fees?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. So that if, as you stated the other day, the police would only send cases, or take cases, before a justice of the peace whowas friendly to them---politically or otherwise. The justice of the peace couldn't earn a living unless he were inclined to take theview that the policeman did each time of the case---is that it?

Mr. Anderson. It would be a very strong inducement to him to take that view.

Mr. Cooper. He wouldn't get any money if he didn't, would he?

Mr. Anderson. He wouldn't from that source.

Mr. Cooper. That, then, to analyze it, would

amount to an opportunity for policemen to coerce the justice courts?

Mr . Anderson. Yes, sir; it has been shown conclusively that they did coerce them---that they have coerced them in the past.

Mr. Cooper. That is the next question I was going to ask. The opportunity is there, plainly, by the statement you make, and did they take advantage of it?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; there was shown at one time, a few years ago, where a secretary of the Chief of Police was instructing the justice what penalties to impose, merely making a notation, and the justice followed the notation; he imposed whatever penalty the secretary suggested.

Mr. Cooper. Now, almost as important in a republic like this as perfect freedom, fearlessness and integrity of the press, is the keeping of the administration of justice pure? Your statement would make the administration of justice in this city anything but pure, wouldn't it?

M.. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Corrupt and thoroughly despicable, wasn't it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. Cooper. In your judgment, were these facts pretty generally known among the law-abiding element here in the city---the way justice was administered here?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't doubt that it was generally known among the great body of the people. Most all of the men that ~~we~~ say are down town every day knew that.

The lawyers, of course, all knew it.

Mr. Cooper. The lawyers all knew it? Did the ministers know it, and the press?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. The ministers and the press all knew it?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I would think that they would. There was no trouble to find it out.

Mr. Cooper. Do you think that fathers and mothers having children---young men, and daughters---growing up in this community, knew about it?

Mr. Anderson. Some of them did.

Mr. Cooper. Reputable families?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Can you conceive of a worse example to set before young men and young women than a deliberate, corrupt mal-administration of justice?

Mr. Anderson. It is as bad as anything.

Mr. Cooper. As anything can be?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. It teaches them not only to have no respect for courts, but to have no respect for law?

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

Mr. Cooper. Or lawyers?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; that has been the result here.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. I was only showing what must have been the inevitable result. That is all.

Mr. Raker. Walking up and down the streets this morning---Collinsville Avenue and Missouri Avenue and the street coming at right angles as it comes from the main street

that comes off the bridge---what is that street?

Mr. Anderson. Broadway.

Mr. Raker. Broadway---and I saw many places of business---men sitting in the show windows working; girls in the show windows working; the Western Union offices there; barber shops; a bank---where they can see the streets from the windows---millinery shops, butcher shops---in fact, all kinds of business. Now, I want you to tell the Committee if, from your observation, those places of business kept open that day, that is, on July 2nd.

Mr. Anderson. The street to which you refer is Collinsville Avenue?

Mr. Raker. Yes; down Collinsville Avenue particularly.

Mr. Anderson. Well, to my best recollection, the majority of them did keep open. Some, I know, were closed, but I don't think the majority were.

Mr. Raker. I noticed on the corner a young lady sitting ~~in the corner~~ where she could see everything---in a cigar stand right on the corner. Up a little farther, a man was working in the window where you pointed out to a number of the Committee---I think it was Saturday---where you saw a man shot and killed right on the street.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Do you think that these places of business were running that day from morning until night?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; I know a great many of them were, and that cigar store, of which you speak, is just diagonally across the street from the place where I saw five or six negroes killed. I didn't point that out to the Committee.

Mr. Raker. I remember you didn't point that out. That was at what point?

Mr. Anderson. Fourth and Broadway. That is the first street east from the cigar stand to which you refer.

Mr. Raker. Fourth and Broadway?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. That would be up Collinsville Avenue east?

Mr. Anderson. No, east on Broadway. It is only about fifty or 100 feet east of that.

Mr. Raker. Well, did the people,--these business men and women of all classes of business that I have referred to--- did they go to lunch or dinner that day?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I know some of them did, because I did, and there were others there.

Mr. Raker. Where did you get your lunch?

Mr. Anderson. At Collinsville and Missouri Avenues, this main corner down here.

Mr. Raker. And the rioting had been then proceeding for hours?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Well, could one be on Collinsville Avenue or Broadway, or Missouri Avenue, within two blocks of it, without knowing that this riot was in full sway?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't think they possibly could.

Mr. Raker. Have any of these men or women come forward and attempted to identify any of these rioters?

Mr. Anderson. Very few of them---oh, no; a very few.

Mr. Raker. Have any from the territory I have named given their testimony, that you know of, before the Grand Jury or before the court, as to who participated in this riot?

M. Anderson. There has only been a small number, I am certain---of the business men---of the business people of which you speak. I am sure the number has been very small.

Mr. Raker. Well, can you account for why these men will not give this Committee the actual people that participated in this riot---the names of them---when they were doing business there for all day? Can you give us any reason why they would not?

Mr. Anderson. There is a great many reasons.

Mr. Raker. I would like to have you tell them. I think the Committee ought to know, if you will.

Mr. Anderson. A lot of them I don't know. I think a lot of them are afraid to.

Mr. Raker. Afraid of who?

Mr. Anderson. Afraid of the friends of the persons against whom they would testify.

Mr. Raker. Well now, if these were loafers, *macks and pimps* and prostitutes, why should any man living in this community, doing business and having a family here, hesitate to come before this Committee or come before the Grand Jury and tell who was devastating his town and killing people on the main streets---that element which has been the most powerful here and the most feared. It is strong enough that political parties would play to it for their support. And you think these people now are intimidated from coming up

or giving their testimony as to who did this act because of fear?

Mr. Anderson. I think many of them have been.

Mr. Raker. It has been charged in the public press ---the statement has gone broadcast that bankers' sons and business men's sons actually participated in this riot. What do you think about that?

Mr. Anderson. Well, there may have been some business men's sons, but there was no business man of prominence that participated in any of the rioting I saw. They weren't that class of people.

Mr. Johnson. Are you just admitting the possibility of bankers' sons being in it?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; there could have been.

Mr. Johnson. It is nothing more than a possibility? You don't know of any instance?

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

Mr. Raker. That is just the statement that was submitted to me and I was just asking you about it.

Mr. Anderson. Further than that, I think a large part of the people sympathize with the rioters, and are glad that the riot occurred. I have heard expressions on the street car, since I testified here Saturday, of a man who said it was a fine thing.

Mr. Raker. Do you remember any of those people that said that?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't know anybody that I heard say that. I heard a man say it on the street car only a few minutes after I left the Committee Saturday. He said that it

was the way to treat the niggers; that it was the way to teach them respect; and said it was the best thing that ever happened to the town.

Mr. Baker. Well then, this spirit of lawlessness, according to your view, has not ceased?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't think it has ceased at all.

Mr. Baker. Do you think that man lived over in Missouri or in East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. I think he lived in East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Did you go up and down the street in each one of these houses---places of business? Now commence--- I forget the name of the place---this long avenue---Collinsville Avenue---commence down at the corner and just go in each place and go up and ask the men and young ladies, that were working in there, what they saw and how many people they recognized in the mob on that day?

Mr. Anderson. Did I do that?

Mr. Baker. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Baker. Do you know anybody that has done it?

Mr. Anderson. I think some of the State investigators have made a thorough canvass of that kind. I don't know whether it was that exhaustive or not.

Mr. Baker. These young-lady storekeepers and telegraph operators, and milliners---do you think they have all been placed on the witness stand?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, no; I am sure nothing of that sort has been done.

Mr. Baker. Do you think it is possible for people to

be working and on the streets like they were, knowing the people of the town, without identifying many who actually participated in this riot?

Mr. Anderson. I think, collectively, the witnesses ought to be able to identify a great many. There ought to be a great many of them who could name a few---one or two. Those of us who have been before the Grand Jury have been able to name some.

Mr. Johnson. Indicted how many?

Mr. Anderson. Indicted about a hundred---in the neighborhood of 100. Most of the voluntary witnesses that have done that have been St. Louis newspaper men.

Mr. Raker. Have you talked with the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; I have several times.

Mr. Raker. They have been actively engaged in ferreting out what occurred, have they?

Mr. Anderson. I think they have done the best they could. Everything of that sort here is hampered and hindered by wire pulling---political for the most part.

Mr. Raker. When you answered Mr. Cooper, of the Committee, that the justices of the peace didn't receive a salary, and depended upon their livelihood by virtue of fees, you didn't intend to have us draw the conclusion that for that reason the justices wouldn't take any active part in quelling the riot, did you?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, no. I don't think the justices ever intended to enter in the prosecution.

Mr. Raker. Have you talked with any of them since---

interviewed them?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember that I have. I don't think I have.

Mr. Raker. And I take it from your statement this morning that your opinion is, after this investigation for months now, that this solely and entirely originated, and has not subsided, and grows out of a clean-cut race feeling?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't know whether the race feeling is so clearly defined. It is the natural result of a state of anarchy. People who wanted to commit lawless acts felt that they could commit crimes and not be punished for it. They just allowed themselves to---there was much other crime than assault upon negroes committed that day. A great many of the houses of the negroes were looted and their furniture was stolen and stuff carried away. Of course, the houses were burned too. And the stores---places of white people were looted too.

Mr. Raker. And stuff carried away?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was any store looted besides the pawn broker's shop from which pistols and guns were taken?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember of any other now.

Mr. Raker. That is all.

Mr. Anderson. Several pawn-shops were looted, however.

Mr. Cooper. I want to ask one question. The other day you were on the stand and I asked you all about the population of National City. Have you since learned more accurately what it is?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. What is it?

Mr. Anderson. I believe it is now in the neighborhood of 200.

Mr. Cooper. And they have a mayor? Do you know who the mayor of those 200 people is?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What is his business besides being mayor?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know who the mayor is now.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know how many aldermen they have?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't know that.

Mr. Cooper. They have a city treasurer---a regular city government, have they?

Mr. Anderson. They have a regular village government as provided for under the statutes of this state.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know what the revenues of National City are in the aggregate---approximately?

Mr. Anderson. Of the municipality?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

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

Mr. Cooper. Located in National City is the Armour Packing Co. and the what else?

Mr. Anderson. The Armour Packing Company, the Swift Packing Company, the Morris Packing Company, the National Stock Yards, and I am not certain but what there is one or two other big plants there. There is a cotton-seed oil plant in that locality, and I am inclined to think it is in National City. However, I am not sure.

Mr. Cooper. The big packing plants are in National City?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. Well, does the National City government tax their property?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether it does or not.

Mr. Cooper. Does East St. Louis tax their property any?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Not at all?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They have no fire department over there, have they?

Mr. Anderson. I think each one of the big plants has its own fire department, and the City of East St. Louis Fire Department always responds to calls there.

Mr. Cooper. The department of East St. Louis---fire department---responds?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir. The fire department of East St. Louis put out a fire that would have destroyed the entire lot of plants there only a few weeks ago.

Mr. Cooper. Well, had those plants contributed through taxes, or otherwise, to the support of the department that saved their property?

Mr. Anderson. I am sure they had not, outside of this fund which was recently donated to rehabilitate the police and fire departments.

Mr. Cooper. When did they contribute these funds to help rehabilitate the fire department?

Mr. Anderson. Following the riot.

Mr. Cooper. And do I understand you correctly in saying that these great plants are located outside of the city limits of East St. Louis, that East St. Louis does not tax them to

support the fire department and pay for the upkeep of the fire department of the City of East St. Louis, and yet that the City of East St. Louis through its fire department has protected their property?

Mr. Anderson. That is true.

Mr. Cooper. They have a city, then, of 200 people out there?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Pretty influential in the city departments out there, aren't they---those big plants?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes; I am very certain they are.

Mr. Cooper. Are they instrumental, do you think, in electing the mayor and chief of police and other officers?

Mr. Anderson. I haven't looked very closely at that, personally, but my opinion---my deduction---from the general situation would be that they would absolutely choose those officials.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; and after they had chosen them, they would control them, wouldn't they?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. Absolutely.

Mr. Anderson. I know the chief of police there took orders from the President of the Stock Yards Co. during the recent fire. He asked him what orders should be made; and what should be done. I heard that.

Mr. Cooper. Sometime after these riots, you say a fund was contributed by these plants? What do you mean?

Mr. Anderson. Not by these plants, exclusively, but by business men and plants in general in the city and in

National City.

Mr. Cooper. They contributed to that general fund?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; for the reason that the police and fire ~~department~~ fund was almost exhausted, and it was doubtful where the money was coming from to pay the departments, as they then existed, for the remainder of this year, and it was desired to put them in better shape. The fire department was fairly good, but the police force was demoralized. They did that, I think, merely as protection for themselves ---their lives and property.

Mr. Cooper. Speaking generally, what was the character of the quarters occupied by the colored laborers in this city?

Mr. Anderson. Generally the---do you mean the physical condition?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Anderson. It was very bad.

Mr. Cooper. Were they poorly built?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; they were poorly built; poor sanitary conditions surrounding them generally---very bad.

Mr. Cooper. They were such conditions and such surroundings as no human being of any complexion ought to be compelled to put up with for any great length of time, weren't they?

Mr. Anderson. Some of them were horrible.

Mr. Cooper. Then, it was the absolute necessity of keeping body and soul together that compelled even the black people to occupy them, wasn't it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; that was true in many cases?

Mr. Cooper. And people so poor that they are

content to occupy quarters insanitary, like those, will be apt to accept less wages than other people who insist that they have a right to be treated like human beings and live in better quarters?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Foster. I want to ask you one or two questions right on that line. Do you know who owns these buildings that you speak of as being bad quarters?

Mr. Anderson. I do not. My opinion is---my impression is that they are owned largely by local real estate men.

Mr. Foster. But you don't know who owns them?

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

Mr. Foster. They have existed there for a good many years?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; most of them.

Mr. Foster. The rents---do you know anything about them, whether they are high?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; they are high---exhorbitant.

Mr. Foster. They pay a high rent for those poor dilapidated buildings?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir. I heard a real estate man say here only a few months ago that if he was building houses in this town for rent for profit, he would build three-room houses without heat, bath or water in the house. That is the kind of house that was profitable here. That is what the demand was for.

Mr. Foster. For that kind of houses---three-room houses?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. Without any conveniences?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So that they could rent them to these people who would occupy such places?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; houses of that character rent here for from twelve to fifteen dollars a month.

Mr. Foster. Twelve to fifteen dollars a month?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; and bad sanitary conditions around them besides.

Mr. Foster. Now you talked awhile ago---you said something that this better element of people in East St. Louis knew of the conditions that were going on here, and had for some time.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Is that correct?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you know of any steps that were taken by the better element of the people in East St. Louis to correct these bad conditions that existed here?

Mr. Anderson. I suppose you refer particularly to this justice court situation?

Mr. Foster. Well, as to that or any other feature.

Mr. Anderson. Well, so far as that thing is concerned, I only knew of one instance: Judge Vandeventer, of the city court here, denounced that practice publicly at one time, but there was no result. It continued just as before.

Mr. Foster. Do you mean the practice of the justices of the peace?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. There are, I take it, a number of justices

of the peace here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; there are five or six.

Mr. Foster. And you think these justices of the peace were under the control and influence of the police force?

Mr. Anderson. Oh, there is no question about that.

Mr. Foster. They told them how---what ought to be done?

Mr. Anderson. I can cite you one instance of a plan of action they had. Previous to the riots, a justice who that week was getting the police cases, would sign a number of blank bonds and leave them at the police station. When arrests were made that night, if the persons could supply a bond, the bonds were filled out on this already signed blank, and the night chief of police collected a fee from the person who furnished the bond.

Mr. Foster. He would furnish the bonds, and all the police had to do was to fill them out?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. And collected a fee?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. And then the man appeard the next day---

Mr. Anderson (interposing). Well, whenever---

Mr. Foster (continuing) or was that the end of it?

Mr. Anderson. No; the police chief set the case. He decided whether the bondsman was qualified, and whether the man's case merited a bond, and he set the case .

Mr. Foster. And collected a fee?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. How much was the fee?

Mr. Anderson. I think that it was fifty cents. I be-

lieve that was the regular fee, although there were reports that if they were a party of prosperous looking joy-riders, they would get more.

Mr. Foster. More fee?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. They sized the man up at about what he could pay?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. They had a right to go through his pockets and see what he had after they arrested him?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. A pretty good chance to find out what he ought to be assessed?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; the actual fact is they took the money out of his pocket and counted it.

Mr. Cooper. To find out what justice demanded.

Mr. Foster. Well, how long has this condition existed?

Mr. Anderson. It was in existence when I first came to the city nearly six years ago, and I understand that it prevailed for a considerable time previous to that.

Mr. Foster. So it has been going on a long for a good while?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; it has.

Mr. Foster. And these bondsmen that the police had to sign up for a man who was under arrest, were they professional bondsmen, do you know?

Mr. Anderson. Most of them were; yes, sir. There was a time when a bondsman was tacitly considered the official bondsman, and other bondsmen were discouraged by the police

from coming around the station.

Mr. Foster. He had to get one of these official bondsmen?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. And what did they charge?

Mr. Anderson. Well, they charged anything they could get.

Mr. Johnson. A minimum and a maximum?

Mr. Anderson. No, I don't---I have known of them getting $2.00 for a single fifty-dollar bond.

Mr. Foster. Were they men of property?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I doubt that some of them were, but I expect most of them had some property. The preponderance of them have been saloon keepers.

Mr. Johnson. They weren't strictly speaking straw bondsmen?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I don't know whether I understand that term or not.

Mr. Johnson. Well, a straw bond around the court houses generally means to be one from which nothing could be made in the event it was forfeited.

Mr. Anderson. Well, I think that is true in a great many cases here, but I wouldn't be able to point out the particular cases where that is true.

Mr. Foster. Do you think most of them were saloon men?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Well, they had property, didn't they?

Mr. Anderson. Well, a bond can only be grounded on real property, and a saloon, of course, is personal property.

Mr. Foster. It is on a holder of real property?

Mr. Johnson. Is that the law here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That the surety on a bond must have real property?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Well, this condition, you think, has existed for at least six years to your knowledge?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; and I am certain it had existed for several years prior to that.

Mr. Foster. Do you know about the saloons---you have observed them here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And I suppose in that time you would be pretty well acquainted with the conditions---I don't mean that you are a habitue of saloons---

Mr. Anderson. (interposing) Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. (continuing). but that you observed these saloons.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Some of them, I suppose, are what are known as decent saloons, and some are as indecent saloons, if there are such kinds of institutions?

Mr. Anderson. Some are very very bad. There are some here---

Mr. Foster. (interposing). And there are some indecent ones here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. And some they call decent?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, that is correct; that is the division.

Mr. Foster. Where they are supposed to make a little better show of observing the law?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. And the others where they may do it, but in a different way?

Mr. Anderson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. How are those saloons---do you think they are any better or worse than they were when you came here ?

Mr. Anderson. Up to the time that Judge Landis came to town, they were just as bad.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Anderson. That was last November.

Mr. Johnson. November, 1916?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; November, 1916. They were as bad then as they ever had been, so far as I know. Since that time they have observed the law better.

Mr. Foster. Judge Landis took some little time to try and straighten some of them out?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; he used some very vigorous methods. He summoned the Mayor and Chief of Police and other city officials in his court and commanded that they enforce the law.

Mr. Foster. Up to that time, the saloons were open on Sunday?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and all night,-some of them,--- and all the other time, too.

Mr. Foster. All these tough characters gambled about the saloons, and there was hatched a lot of crime that was committed?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; Judge Landis stated that is

one of his reasons for calling these officials in; crimes against federal laws had been hatched in these places.

Mr. Foster. What, in your opinion, after six years' observation here as to the producing of lawlessness in the City of East St. Louis has the presence of these tough saloons---dives of that kind---has had to do with bringing about this condition?

Mr. Anderson. It has been a very potent factor, I think.

Mr. Foster. Non-observance of the law, and permitting these saloons---low-down saloons and other kinds---to harbor a lot of these individuals, has been a potent cause in producing the riots and crimes that have occurred here?

Mr. Anderson. I think the largest factor;-I think that has been the largest factor.

Mr. Foster. That if these low dives had been closed up---put out of business---and they had observed the law, that there might have been a tendency for better conditions?

Mr. Anderson. Yes: the general lawlessness is what was, I thought, the big reason for the riots, and it centered mostly in these resorts.

Mr. Foster. It was found around these resorts?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; breeding places for crime.

Mr. Foster. I believe that is all.

Mr. Raker. Now, just following that up, if the Chairman will permit, what has the Committee of One Hundred done to suppress this reign of lawlessness that you have described so graphically to the Committee?

Mr. Anderson. Well, the Committee of One Hundred appealed, in the first place, to the State authorities to come in and take charge of the situation and institute

prosecutions, and the State authorities did so---the Attorney General. They commanded that the Mayor discharge his old police board, his board of commissioners, and appoint a commission composed of men---business men---satisfactory to the business men who composed the Committee of One Hundred, and they forced that proposal through, and that change was done.

Mr. Raker. The Chief of Police and the police commission were changed?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; and they fought bitterly.

Mr. Raker. And also most of the police?

Mr. Anderson. Well, they haven't changed so very many policemen, but they have added a large number of new men to the force, and they have---the new Chief and the new Commission have established a better morale in the department, generally, and a higher standard of efficiency more or less, too.

Mr. Raker. What about the character of the saloons?

Mr. Anderson. I haven't had a chance to observe the conduct of the saloons, generally, very closely since the riots.

Mr. Raker. Have they closed up any?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think so. I don't know of any case of that kind. That can only be done by the Mayor. The Chief of Police can't do that. I haven't known of any saloons being closed.

Mr. Raker. Are they running full blast as before?

Mr. Anderson. I think they are obeying the law better now. Of course, you understand this new regime in the police department is very liable to fall as soon as this Special

fund runs out. Then the two departments will have to be supported again by the regular city funds, and the Mayor will have occasion to demand that the government of the police department be given back over to him. This new order of things was only forced because these men who forced it supplied the money for running these two departments.

Mr. Baker. Has the Mayor made any orders of vacation as to these saloon licenses?

Mr. Anderson. I haven't known of any case of that kind. I don't think there---there hasn't been any extensive order of that sort, I am sure. I would have known it.

Mr. Baker. What do you know as to the approximate number of firemen in East St. Louis, that is, what does the force consist of?

Mr. Anderson. Well, I am not well posted on that subject. I believe it is in the region of eighty.

Mr. Baker. Could you tell the Committee about how early in the day was the first fire that started, or caused the fire department to come out that day, on July 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. No; I don't know that. I think there were several calls through the day. However, the firing of houses didn't become general until about 5 o'clock. I think there were some isolated cases before that.

Mr. Baker. In the meantime, before the calls became general along towards five in the afternoon, you don't know what the fire department was doing?

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

Mr. Johnson. For the purpose of emphasis, I wish to go over with you again your statement as to the number of people

who were killed. How many were killed in the May riot?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think that any were.

Mr. Johnson. How many whites were killed in the July riot?

Mr. Anderson. If I remember correctly, including the two policemen, there were eight. I have noticed that in the "Public Printer", the different witnesses have recited the same killings, and the different recitals were added up and the number of killed seems to have been augmented in that way.

Mr. Johnson.
/In order to get at a correct understanding as to how many were killed, I would be glad to have you locate the places, as well as you can, where they were killed. Let us take the eight whites who were killed.

Mr. Anderson. It would be very difficult for me to do that. I don't think I would be able to review them satisfactorily in that way. The most accurate way---the way upon which I depended mmmmm to get at it exactly was to count the bodies in the undertaking establishments the next day.

Mr. Johnson. You did that both as to whites and as to blacks?

Mr. Anderson. Well, there weren't any whites, I don't think, the next day. There may have been one or two.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by that? I don't know that I understand you.

Mr. Anderson. I don't think there were more than two or three white people in the undertaking parlors---various undertaking parlors---the day after the riot.

Mr. Johnson. They were taken to their residences?

Mr. Anderson. I don't think there were many killed that

day. I don't think there were over two or three killed that day.

Mr. Johnson. On July 2nd?

Mr. Anderson. Yes; several of them died later from injuries. I made my list by watching the hospitals for their deaths, keeping a record of the ones who died.

Mr. Johnson. So, all told, there were eight whites who were killed, and how many negroes?

Mr. Anderson. I think killed and fatally injured, there were 32 or 33.

I believe the Committee wanted me to tell about a statement made to me by a militiaman. Several days after the riot on a street car coming over from St. Louis, a member of the National Guard---and I believe of the 6th Illinois Infantry---exhibited some clips of cartridges and remarked to a man on the back platform of the car that he had fired seventeen of those the day of the riot. I asked him if he had fired them into the mobs, and he said "No", that he couldn't hit anything except a black target---he couldn't see anything except a black target.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't know this militiaman?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. Did the court martial people ask you about that incident?

Mr. Anderson. I voluntarily told the military board of inquiry about that.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not they located the man?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether they did or not.

Mr. Johnson. Did they undertake to get you to identify him?

Mr. Anderson. No, I was never asked to identify him.

Mr. Johnson. Insofar as you know, the incident was a closed one after you stated to them this conversation?

Mr. Anderson. So far as I know, it was.

Mr. Johnson. I take it for granted that it is certainly within the range of possibilities that you might have identified this man--

Mr. Anderson. (interposing) Oh, I told them that I could.

Mr. Johnson. (continuing). if all of his command had been put in line before you?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I told the Board that I could do that.

Mr. Johnson. But you were never called upon to do so?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you remember what members of the Board were present when you told them that if these men were placed before you , you could identify this man?

Mr. Anderson. I remember some of them.

Mr. Johnson. Give their names, please.

Mr. Anderson. Major Tollman, General Hill, and Major Foreman, I believe are the ones that I refer to. However, there were several others present.

Mr. Baker. Let me ask, was Brigadier General Henry R. Hill there?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was Brigadier General James E. Stuart?

Mr. Anderson. I don't know whether he was or not.

Mr. Baker. Was Colonel M. J. Frohman?

Mr. Anderson. Frohman, I think; yes, sir, he was there.

Mr. Baker. Was Colonel Taylor E. Brown there?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember.

Mr. Baker. Major Edward B. Tollman?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Colonel William D. McChesney?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember.

Mr. Baker. And Major Richard J. Abbot?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember whether he was there.

Mr. Johnson. Where did they hold their inquiry?

Mr. Anderson. In the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; in the city court room.

Mr. Johnson. When did they do that?

Mr. Anderson. I don t believe I remember the date.

Mr. Johnson. About how long after the riot?

Mr. Anderson. Two or three weeks--I think about two weeks afterwards.

Mr. Cooper. What was this particular inquiry where you told these officers that? What was it called?

Mr. Anderson. The only thing that we ever heard it called was "military board of inquiry". It was a commission of officers appointed by the Governor to investigate the causes of the riot, I believe, and the conduct of the Illinois National Guard during the riot.

Mr. Cooper. That is what I wanted to get at. This Board was appointed by the Governor for the specific purpose, in part at least, of investigating the conduct of the soldiery while on duty here?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; I was a witness before it and

they inquired very particularly of me along that line.

Mr. Johnson. They stopped at the ascertainment of names?

Mr. Anderson. I never knew of any further action.

Mr. Cooper. You told them that you could identify this soldier who said that he fired seventeen times, wasn't it?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That he had fired seventeen shots not at the mob---not at any of them------ for the reason that he couldn't hit anything but a black target?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. When you told that Board that you could identify a man---a soldier---who made that statement, what did they say to you? Did they say anything?

Mr. Anderson. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. Cooper. At least, they never asked you at any time to furnish the name ormever afforded you an opportunity to identify the soldier, did they?

Mr. Anderson. No; they never did do that. I told them that, and they never asked me to do that. I think they seemed to be somewhat interested in it, but there was no aftermath, so far as I know.

Mr. Johnson. They were not interested to the extent of giving you the opportunity to identify the soldier?

Mr. Anderson. They never gave me any such opportunity.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether this incident came to the knowledge of the Governor, or not?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I don't, except that I know, in a general way, that the Governor reviewed the testimony obtained by that Board---that is, I heard he did.

Mr. Johnson. Did the Governor ever call upon you either directly or indirectly for the name of this soldier?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir. I don't know his name---I said I could point him out.

Mr. Johnson. Did the Governor ever take any steps that you know of towards having you identify this soldier?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. He did nothing that you know of?

Mr. Anderson. Nothing, so far as I know.

Mr. Johnson. And they could not do anything towards your identification of him without your knowledge of it?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir: they couldn't.

Mr. Johnson. That is all.

Mr. Cooper. Can you conceive of any reason why a soldier who would do a thing like that should not be identified?

Mr. Anderson. I think he should be punished if he was telling the truth; if he was not, he should be punished for lying about it.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know anything about the other soldier whom Mr. Rogger testified about? Do you know what Mr. Rogger testified---the President of the Grant Chemical Company?

Mr. Anderson. I think you stated it to me Saturday.

Mr. Cooper. He testified he stood twenty or thirty feet---thirty, I think it was---from some soldiers--one in uniform---with rifles, and one said to the other, "You couldn't hit anything with that gun"---substantially that. The other one said, "The hell I couldn't", and then he deliberately raised his rifle and shot at some negroes, two or three hundred feet away, who were doing nothing but apparently

were intimidated, and that one of them dropped as a result of that shot. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; I heard a report of that.

Mr. Cooper. But you weren't there?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You don't know whether this was the same soldier or not, do you?

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

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Popkess, will you please take the stand?

STATEMENT OF MR. G. E. POPKESS, 3027 WAVERLY PLACE, EAST ST. LOUIS, MO.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

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

Mr. Popkess. My name is G. E. Popkess; I live at 3027 Waverly Place, East St. Louis; and am a reporter for the St. Louis Times.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Popkess, you have heard the statement by the witness who just preceded you upon the stand that probably you had seen one or more young negroes thrown into burning houses on July 2nd?

Mr. Popkess. I did; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Just in your own way, now please go ahead and state what you saw on that occasion.

Mr. Popkess. Do you mean this negro boy or the whole riot in general---just this one case?

Mr. Johnson. Well, give us that particular case first,

and then anything else of consequence, after that, that you may have seen.

Mr. Popkess. It was about 8:30 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. Johnson. July 2nd?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; July 2nd, The day of the riot. As a small building directly across from the Public Library was being burned---that is, it had just been set on fire, and this negress and child came running out the front door and they were attacked by the mob, and the negress was either killed or knocked unconscious and also the child and the child was thrown back into the doorway. The building was just burning from the back then, and I was around there for fifteen or twenty minutes until the building had been burned, and didn't see the child taken out. I did see two negroes shot by militiamen as they attempted to run out of this building.

Mr. Johnson. Men or women?

Mr. Popkess. Men.

Mr. Johnson. Let us take this---the negress to whom you refer---what age woman was she?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, it was hard to tell her age---probably about thirty-five.

Mr. Johnson. What was the age of the child?

Mr. Popkess. The child couldn't have been over three or four years old---just a little fellow.

Mr. Johnson. Now, in what way were they assaulted as they came out of the front door of this house?

Mr. Popkess. They were beaten----attacked. Whenever the mob would see a negro, they would just attack them and beat them.

Mr. Johnson. Let us for the present confine ourselves to this negro woman and child.

Mr. Popkess. In this case here, I don't remember whether she was shot first, or beaten first. There was so much shooting there, I couldn't tell.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether she was shot at all, or not?

Mr. Popkess. No, I don't.

Mr. Johnson. With what was she beaten?

Mr. Popkess. Well, now I couldn't say that she was beaten with a stick or anything of the sort. They assaulted her---I don't know whether it was a stick or fists or anything else.

Mr. Johnson. But she was attacked?

Mr. Popkess. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Was she in the house or on the ground when she was attacked?

Mr. Popkess. She came out of the doorway and she hadn't gotten ten feet from the front door when she was attacked.

Mr. Johnson. Was she beaten down to the ground?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; both she and the child were unconscious, and she laid there and the child was thrown back into the house.

Mr. Johnson. She was not thrown back into the house?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What kind of a house was that---one of those small frame houses?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; it was a house---there was a negro restaurant---it was right on the street and there was a

negro restaurant on one side and a hairdressing parlor for negroes right next to it.

Mr. Johnson. ~~Was~~ One story frame?

Mr. Popkess. Yes---well, it was---yes, one store and basement; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And how far back into the house was the child thrown?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, apparently four or five feet.

Mr. Johnson. Just within the doorway?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; just in from the door.

Mr. Johnson. And how long did you remain there after the child was thrown into the doorway?

Mr. Popkess. Probably half an hour. I was around in that neighborhood.

Mr. Johnson. You saw the house fully consumed?

Mr. Popkess. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't see the child brought out?

Mr. Popkess. I am sure it was not brought out.

Mr. Johnson. Did you ever go back to see if they found the child's remains?

Mr. Popkess. I was back there the next morning, but couldn't find anything there, but at the back door of the house, where I saw these two negro men attempt to run from the house, I could see the remains of those two there. They were there up till 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning. Then I told one of the undertakers---I called him up about 10.30 or 11 o'clock, and I told him then about it. He said they had been notified and had gone to get these two men.

Mr. Johnson. These two negro men had been burnt, too?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And they were in the house in to which the child was thrown?

Mr. Popkess. No; they had just run out of the door--- just came out of the door.

Mr. Johnson. Well, how did they get burned?

Mr. Popkess. Well, they were shot, and they laid right by the door.

Mr. Johnson. They were just close enough to the burning house to be burned?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Not inside the house?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; right at the back door. And the negro woman and child came out of the front door.

Mr. Johnson. Did you ever hear of the remains of the child being recovered?

Mr. Popkess. I never have; no sir.

Mr. Johnson. The fire was not sufficiently hot to have entirely consumed the bones and all?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I believe it was, because, now, these two bodies that were right---they were not up in the fire, but right at the edge of the wall---they were very badly burned.

Mr. Johnson. You know it takes a very hot fire to entirely destroy a body?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; I have heard so.

Mr. Johnson. And that was a one-story frame?

Mr. Popkess. Let me explain to you: It was one story off of the street, but there is kind of a ---the street is built up to the level ten or twelve feet, and this particular

house had a basement---that is, there was no entrance from the front, but there was an entrance from the back. It was really a two-story house, but they went on to the second floor from the street.

Mr. Cooper. This child was thrown in on the second floor?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, the child was thrown in on the second floor.

Mr. Cooper. Some of it burned; it fell in and then the burning stuff would fall on to the body?

Mr. Popkess. Fall over it; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, what else did you see during the day, relative to the riot?

Mr. Popkess. One thing which came to my mind---speaking about the military board inquiry, when I was called before the Board, I told them of the affair.

Mr. Johnson. Of what did you tell them?

Mr. Popkess. Well, of the riot conditions in general, and---well, not particularly---talking with the militiaman at Broadway and Main Street on the morning of the riot about 10:30 or 11 o'clock.

Mr. Johnson. Did you say "militiamen" or "man"?

Mr. Popkess. Singular. I talked to several of them. This one, in particular, said that before the day was over he would "have" his nigger. There was general talk, you know. They would say, "Well, have you gotten your nigger today"?

Mr. Johnson. Militiamen would say that?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; and he said ~~xxxxxxx~~ before the day was over, he would have his nigger. That seemed to be the

spirit that prevailed among the militiamen generally, this man particularly. I told them about it, that is, that he would get his nigger before the day was over.

Mr. Johnson. Did they offer you any facilities to identify this particular militiaman?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Could you have identified him if you had been given the opportunity?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir. Also another officer at Broadway---no, at Collinsville and Illinois Avenue was given a camera by one of the newspaper men that I was with to keep for him, after the mob had said that they would break or destroy the camera if any pictures were taken. This officer held the camera for a little while, and then gave it to one of the rioters, and it was destroyed.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know the name of that officer?

Mr. Popkess. I did at the time. He was a military--- was in the medical department. I could have described him, and I knew his name at that time, but I have forgotten it now.

Mr. Johnson. In that military inquiry, did you give his name?

Mr. Popkess. I don't remember. I suppose so. I told everything I could about it.

Mr. Johnson. Did you tell them that if given the opportunity you could identify both of these men?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And they gave you no opportunity?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; we weren't called on at all.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not the Governor reviewed your testimony?

Mr. Popkess. I understand he did. Of course, I am not sure. That was the purpose of it; it was to be submitted to him.

Mr. Johnson. A report was to be made to the Governor?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; he appointed the committee, I understand.

Mr. Johnson. Did the Governor either directly or indirectly ever communicate with you relative to the identification of either of these men?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. mhen you went and testified before this inquiry---committee, commission, or whatever it is---and you stated that you could identify these men, and you were never given an opportunity to do so?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead with your recital.

Mr. Popkess. The attitude which the committee assumed?

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean the military committee?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, the military committee. After I had told part of it---that is some of it---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). Do you mean the Board of Inquiry?

Mr. Popkess. The Military Board of Inquiry.

After I had told part of the affairs, they said, "Well, now, don't you think that the white people and the business men of East St. Louis were equally guilty with the police officers for not taking the enforcement of the law into their own hands?" They seemed to think that the citizens of East St. Louis were to blame for the riot because they had not gone

in themselves to stop the rioting.

Mr. Johnson. If they had done so, they would have been nothing more or less than another band of rioters.

Mr. Popkess. That is true; but that is the attitude that they took. They said---they attempted to show me, to put into my mind to believe that the business men and the reporters as well---it came right down to myself---that I had committed an oversight by not attempting to enforce the law myself.

Mr. Johnson. And with that argument they were undertaking to condone the actions of their own soldiers?

Mr. Popkess. Apparently so; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What impression did their inquiry make upon you---that they were undertaking to ascertain the names of these men in order that they might be punished, or that they wanted to smooth it over; in other words, whitewash it?

Mr. Popkess. It appeared to me that they were attempting to free the military authorities of any charges which had been made against them of having been careless in the enforcement of the law, or not having enforced the law---a whitewash affair.

Mr. Johnson. That you mean were careless in not enforcing the law, or having participated in the riot?

Mr. Popkess. There is quite a distinction there.

Mr. Johnson. Quite a distinction.

Mr. Popkess. Yes, that is true.

Mr. Johnson. Which do you mean?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I don't know now whether they--- they apparently wanted to free their own military men of any

accusations which had been made.

Mr. Johnson. They wanted to exonherate them of all blame?

Mr. Popkess. Of the blame for the riot; yes, sir. It had been charged that they hadn't enforced their authority.

Mr. Johnson. Well, state what else of interest, now, that you may know.

Mr. Popkess. There is another point there: You were inquiring about the fire protection at the Stock Yards. I don't know whether that is particularly---I understand that the fire---that the stock yards people contribute a certain amount of money each year, or each six months, to the city administration---that is, they assist in paying for the upkeep of No. 6 Fire Department. That is the fire department directly across from National City, and there was a threat made---that is, an announcement made, rather---about three or four months ago by the Mayor that the fire department would be closed unless the packing-house interests donated more money to keep it going. The city finances were in such a state that the department couldn't be maintained. I don't know what was the outcome, but the department is still there.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see anybody killed, either white or black?

Mr. Popkess. During the rioting?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Popkess. I saw one man. This man was dragged at Broadway and 4th Street. He died afterwards. I saw another man hanged. There is one I saw killed.

Mr. Johnson. Was the man hanged to a post?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; at 4th and Broadway.

Mr. Johnson. How did they get the rope up sufficiently high on the post to hang this man?

Mr. Popkess. A man climbed up ten or twelve feet, and there was a transmission block, I believe they call it---anyway a projection out on the telephone pole---and they put a rope over there.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see the man climb?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know him?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Have you ever seen him since?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I was probably 75 feet from him. I don't suppose I would have recognized him had I seen him since that time. I haven't seen him that I know of.

Mr. Johnson. How many dead bodies did you see after the riot? In other words, I am undertaking to ascertain now what information you have as to the number killed.

Mr. Popkess. In making my rounds of the undertakers' shops, I should estimate 35 or 40 negroes---Not more than that. There were claims made that many were thrown into Cahokia Creek, but that could never be verified. Thirty-five or 40 bodies were all that I saw.

Mr. Johnson. Well, it is evident from you answer that you didn't make an actual count of them?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. Johnson. You are simply estimating. or approximating?

Mr. Popkess. That is the idea; yes, sir. I counted seventeen at one undertaker's shop.

Mr. Johnson. At whose undertaking shop was that?

Mr. Popkess. Benner Brichler's, on Collinsville near Division.

Mr. Johnson. Were they all men, or some women?

Mr. Popkess. Some were women.

Mr. Johnson. How many women; do you recall?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Any children?

Mr. Popkess. There was one little girl that had been shot right through the side of the head. She couldn't have been over four or five years old. That is all I remember---just the one little girl, particularly.

Mr. Johnson. Well, is there any other incident bearing upon the question, now, that you wish to tell the Committee of?

Mr. Popkess. No; I don't believe there is. I think that is all.

The fire department---you were asking for the total number of men in the fire department. There are 86 or 87 in the department now.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I don't care about that.

Mr. Cooper. You say that you told the military court of inquiry that you could identify the soldier who did this shooting?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And also those who had the conversation which you narrated---"Have you got your nigger yet?", and the other one said, "I'll get mine before night"---?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; that was down on Broadway.

I remembered that man particularly.

Mr. Cooper. Those weren't the same ones whom you had seen kill the negro?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; different ones. This was in the morning, and the shooting of the---I couldn't identify the military men who shot the negroes as they came out of this burning building.

Mr. Cooper. You could identify those that had the conversation?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. When you told the Military Board of Inquiry that you could make this identification if afforded the opportunity, what did they say, or what did any member of the Board say? What did they do, or how did they act?

Mr. Popkess. The thing that---when I came out of that Board I had the impression that I told you---explained to you. They seemed to whitewash the affair---attempt to whitewash it, at least, and to throw the blame of the inactivity of it---that is, the continuation of the riot, upon the residents of East St. Louis. They said that the business men and the people of East St. Louis had committed an oversight in not going out and attempting to enforce the law themselves. That seemed to be the spirit.

Mr. Cooper. Didn't they think that the people of East St. Louis had committed an oversight in inviting the assistance of militia of that kind? That would have been a fair question, wouldn't it. The soldiers were charged, as a matter of official duty, with the preservation of order, weren't they?

Mr. Popkess. Certainly.

Mr. Cooper. And putting down the riot?

Mr. Popkess. That is what I thought.

Mr. Johnson. This military board seemed to think otherwise?

Mr. Popkess. They seemed to think otherwise; yes, sir. They seemed to think that the citizenry of East St. Louis should have rushed to the front and assisted the soldiers, 100 of them, in quelling the riot. That was the opinion of the Board apparently.

Mr. Cooper. Now, just tell the circumstances of these soldiers killing those negroes who undertook to get out of that burning building.

Mr. Popkess. The two negroes in the back---they just attempted to run out the back door. This door was at the south and west corner, and they had just gotten out of the door as they were shot by the soldiers who were standing on the street level. The door---it is sort of an excavation there, and they had just come out out of the door, and the soldiers were standing on the street level and they shot down into them. There were several of them. I don't know how many.

Mr. Cooper. You mean there were several soldiers doing the firing?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now, let me see if I understand it. The house was built in an excavation, or the lower floor was considerably below the street level?

Mr. Popkess. That is the idea; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And then it was built up into a two-story building?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; and the door-sill of the second story was just about level with the street.

Mr. Cooper. Level with the street?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, these soldiers came out of the rear door?

Mr. Popkess. No, the two negroes.

Mr. Cooper. I would say the negroes came out of the rear door?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; the two negroes came out of the rear door.

Mr. Cooper. And they were down?

Mr. Popkess. They were down at the first-floor door.

Mr. Cooper. Down in the excavation?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And the soldiers stood up on the street level?

Mr. Popkess. Up on the street level right on 8th Street. That is 8th Street there right by the City Library---8th and Broadway.

Mr. Cooper. And this building was afire, was it?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; and they were running out.

Mr. Cooper. And these negroes in seeking to escape from this burning building were deliberately murdered by these soldiers?

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

Mr. Cooper. There was absolutely no excuse, whatever, for that, was there?

Mr. Popkess. None that I could see; no, sir.

Mr. Cooper. In other words, it was a deliberate premeditated murder of people escaping from a burning building.

and a murder by men wearing the uniform of the United States Government?

Mr. Popkess. I wouldn't say whether it was premeditated or not.

Mr. Cooper. Well, they sighted their rifles at them, didn't they?

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

Mr. Cooper. The negroes weren't attacking them?

Mr. Popkess. Not at all; no, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What was that if it wasn't premeditated?

Mr. Popkess. You're right.

Mr. Cooper. On the other side of this burning building ---the front of it---was a door, the sill of which was at the street level?

Mr. Popkess. That is true, and right up on the street.

Mr. Cooper. Close to the street?

Mr. Popkess. Right on the sidewalk; it opened right out onto the sidewalk.

Mr. Cooper. It opened right on the sidewalk---the door did?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And from that door of this same building a negress about 35 years of age, and a little girl or boy--- do you remember which?

Mr. Popkess. It was a boy.

Mr. Cooper. A little boy. How old?

Mr. Popkess. Three or four.

Mr. Cooper. Three or four years old---a little fellow came running---who attacked them?

Mr. Popkess. The mob. I didn't see any soldiers there at all.

Mr. Cooper. A mob attacked them and knocked them unconscious to the ground?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; to the sidewalk.

Mr. Cooper. They left the negress lying there and picked up the little boy and threw him back three or four feet inside the door?

Mr. Popkess. Inside the door.

Mr. Cooper. Of this burning building, and you were about there for half an hour or so and never saw the boy emerge?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You did see the building totally consumed?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And if that floor burned, that child dropped down ~~upon~~ one story?

Mr. Popkess. The floor did burn.

Mr. Cooper. And the burning debris piled on top of him?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. Which came out first---the negro woman and child, or the two negro men at the rear?

Mr. Popkess. The two in the rear came out first. I was back at the corner. I was watching particularly---it seemed that the library was going to catch on fire. There was ~~a~~ fire all around there. There were several flats occupied by negroes in the back burning, and there was fire all around and I was watching the library when I saw these come out back.

Mr. Johnson. About what time elapsed between the coming out of the negro men at the rear of the building and the

coming out of the negro woman and child at the front of the building?

Mr. Popkess. It was not very long. The fire had just started. It was not over five or ten minutes, I would say, and probably not that long. The fire started in the northwest corner, apparently.

Mr. Johnson. The negro woman and child came out there?

Mr. Popkess. On the southeast corner.

Mr. Johnson. Diagonally across the building?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir. And the two men came out on the southwest corner.

Mr. Johnson. Was the house burning vigorously, or not, when the negro men came out?

Mr. Popkess. I don't remember. There wasn't fire all around, of course.

Mr. Johnson. They didn't come out through the fire?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Had the house been fired from the bottom, or the second story which was on the level with the street?

Mr. Popkess. I don't know that.

Mr. Baker. This building was on the corner of 8th and Broadway, was it---on the corner of the block?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; 8th and Broadway; that is correct.

Mr. Baker. It was on the corner?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; directly across the street from the Public Library.

Mr. Baker. Then these soldiers stood on 8th Street?

Mr. Popkess. On 8th street; that is true.

Mr. Baker. And that would be back from the front of the building? They stood back at the side?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir: that is right at the side---back to the rear of the building.

Mr. Raker. And, of course, 8th Street continued the same height as Broadway?

Mr. Popkess. Yes---that is the level---it started to seek its own level.

Mr. Raker. It started to drop down?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; to drop down slowly.

Mr. Raker. But there was some height to 8th Street?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And these negroes came out. Were the negroes facing or did they have their backs to the soldiers when they were shot?

Mr. Popkess. I don't remember.

Mr. Raker. Have you any idea about how many soldiers were present at that time?

Mr. Popkess. There were three or four around there---four or five; a little group of them. They seemed to be patrolling. ~~they seemed to be patrolling~~ That is the negro district and they were going down/through there apparently attempting to get negroes and take them to the police station. That is what they were supposed to be doing.

Mr. Raker. To take them dead or alive?

Mr. Popkess. They were supposed to take them alive.

Mr. Raker. But it resulted in the other way?

Mr. Popkess. In many cases they didn't take them along. In this case, they left them there to burn.

Mr. Raker. Did you notice any soldiers on Broadway when this woman with the child came out?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir. You mean right up there?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Popkess. No; I didn't.

Mr. Raker. What time did you arrive in East St. Louis that morning?

Mr. Popkess. I live in East St. Louis. I lived there at that time. I arrived down town about 7:30, I should judge, in the morning, and went first to the police station where I made an examination of the automobile in which the policemen had been at the time they were shot.

Mr. Raker. Where were you on the afternoon of the 1st?--- That would be Sunday.

Mr. Popkess. Sunday afternoon; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Were you down town that day, too?

Mr. Popkess. I dont remember.

Mr. Raker. At the time the policemen were killed.

Mr. Popkess. No, that was Sunday night; about midnight Sunday night.

Mr. Raker. You didn't come down town then?

Mr. Popkess. No; I didn't know anything about it until the next morning about 7 o'clock.

Mr. Raker. And you came down on your regular beat to do your work?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You were still working for the paper?

Mr. Popkess. No, I was with the East St. Louis Journal at that time---a local paper.

Mr. Raker. And you went around to the police station?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And found the automobile standing there?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; I found it standing there and several men were around examining it and discussing the affair and predicting what would happen during the day.

Mr. Raker. What were the predictions during that morning?

Mr. Popkess. That the riot would take place and that the murders would be avenged, and there was a general spirit there that they would "get the niggers" for what they had done.

Mr. Raker. That seemed to be general conversation?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes. The riot was predicted, and some attorney said that he would---let's see, what did he say now ---well, now, I don't know whether I can tell his words exactly or not. He said he would defend any man that would avenge the murders of the two policemen.

Mr. Johnson. Who said that?

Mr. Popkess. An attorney.

Mr. Johnson. Who was he?

Mr. Popkess. His name was Seymour.

Mr. Johnson. What is his full name?

Mr. Popkess. John Seymour.

Mr. Raker. Does he live here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Who else do you remember that did make any remarks?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, there was---I don't remember anybody in particular. There is always a bunch of attorneys around the police station, and officials and the police and one thing and another. The police department generally seemed to be not anxious to defend any negroes in case any trouble took place. That is, their sympathies were with the men

who had been murdered.

Mr. Baker. That seemed to be evident from what you heard among the policemen that morning?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. Well, you knew at that time a good many of the policemen personally, didn't you?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, practically all of them.

Mr. Baker. Did you hear them making any remarks that morning?

Mr. Popkess. No, I couldn't name any particular one? That seemed to be just the general spirit.

Mr. Baker. But they were discussing it?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, they were discussing the affair, and it was apparent that they wouldn't enforce the law in case an attack was begun upon the negroes. That was very apparent.

Mr. Baker. Even that early in the morning?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, even that early in the morning. That early in the morning, another reporter and myself were talking, and he had just come through the negro district.

Mr. Baker. What was his name?

Mr. Popkess. His name is A. B. Hendry, of the St. Louis Star. He was explaining the way that the negroes were acting. His office had told him to go to the district. He said they were playing on banjoes and singing, and it appeared to be a general gala-day among the blacks, that they were celebrating---that is, it appeared to him---that they were celebrating the murderous attack upon the police machine. That was the word that he sent in. And all of the reporters

predicted a riot and sent for help.

Mr. Raker. In the morning?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did the assistance come over?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes. That is now, these other men had. I was with my local ~~pxmp~~ paper.

Mr. Johnson. There were reporters over here?

Mr. Popkess. There were reporters over here; yes. The St. Louis Times had a reporter over here by noon---by 10 o'clock,-and they hadn't a regular man over here at all. At that time they didn't have.

Mr. Raker. Do you know his name?

Mr. Popkess. Paul Grimes.

Mr. Raker. Do you know anybody else that was sent over early from St. Louis to watch the proceedings as they developed that day?

Mr. Popkess. No; not early in the morning, I don't believe.

Mr. Raker. Did you go back again after being there about 7 o'clock at the police station? Did you go back again to the police station that day?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; I was around there all day long.

Mr. Raker. ~~Was~~ Where were the policemen?

Mr. Popkess. Some of them had been called out early in the morning---that is, after the trouble broke out, they were called out and they had gone home to sleep, to take their rest. After the attack upon the police machine, it seemed that many of the policemen had been called out, and along about 8 or 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning they were given

some kind of a rest.

Mr. Raker. So they were privileged to go to sleep while the orgy went on?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I saw three or four policemen at Collinsville and Missouri Avenues when an attack was made. I remember one of them was ordered to move on by one of the policemen, with the military---two of the military men -- and a policeman had gone to the riots and had ordered him to move on, and he said he wasn't going to move on. He was standing on the Illinois State Bank corner, and they argued with him a little while and walked away. I said, "You have the law. Why don't you arrest him if he won't move on"? They talked it over and started back, and by that time the man had moved on. That is an example of how they felt apparently. They weren't trying to enforce the law, it didn't appear.

Mr. Raker. Did you call at the Mayor's office that day at any time?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes; I was there.

Mr. Raker. Did you have any discussions with him?

Mr. Popkess. Let's see; I was undoubtedly there, but I can't remember of any particular occurrence, that is, any particular subject that I talked to the Mayor about.

Mr. Raker. Well, there couldn't have been any subject on earth to talk about except the riot.

Mr. Popkess. I mean any particular portion of it.

Mr. Raker. But you talked about the riot?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, but I can't recall it just now. No, I don't remember any discussion with him at all that day. I undoubtedly had one, though. I see him every day, two or

three times a day.

Mr. Raker. Well, was any effort being made by the Mayor's office to quell the riot?

Mr. Popkess. I believe the Mayor had called up Springfield early in the morning---2 or 3 o'clock---and told them to send some military men down here, that there was going to be a riot, and along about 9 o'clock I saw---no, about 8 o'clock in the morning, Colonel Tripp had apparently come before the balance of the militiamen, and he had a conference with Chief Payne.

Mr. Raker. That is Chief Payne of the police department?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir. Later men kept coming in---that is, by noon there were two or three companies here. The companies that did come were very poorly equipped. Many of the militiamen that came had ---maybe wore the military suits and caps---that is, not military caps, but civilian caps,-and some of them had military blouses and civilian trousers, and were very poorly equipped all around. About the only thing they had were guns. They didn't even have shells for the guns we later found.

Mr. Raker. How did you find that out?

Mr. Popkess. Col. Tripp made---now let's see--he made the public statement some place, I don't know where, that they had only ammunition enough to fire two rounds of shots.

Mr. Raker. Well, I can't quite grasp that story. Now, just a moment; I want you to explain it, that when they saw a negro they had ammunition, but when the thing was over they didn't have any. I can't quite grasp that situation, and I would just like to have you explain it to the Committee

as you understand it.

Mr. Popkess. It would be pretty difficult to explain a thing like that, that is true. The Colonel claimed later,--- not to me that I remember of, but to some one---that they just had ammunition enough for two rounds.

Mr. Johnson. You don't have the information that their ammunition was limited, except from Colonel Tripp's statement?

Mr. Popkess. From his statement; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That is the only information you have?

Mr. Popkess. That is the only information; yes, sir. I remember seeing boxes of ammunition piled in the Mayor's office.

Mr. Johnson. When?

Mr. Popkess. During the riot.

Mr. Johnson. What time in the day?

Mr. Popkess. Well now. I don't know whether it was on the day of the riot or may be it was the day after that.

Mr. Raker. What kind of ammunition, cartridges?

Mr. Popkess. Cartridges; yes, sir. I remember seeing boxes in there, because they were the first boxes of cartridges I ever saw, and I remember particularly that they had tin tops on the box, and they would tear the tin top off to get the cartridges.

Also, to show that ammunition was on hand that could have been used if they wanted to, I was out to the camp at 10th Street and St. Louis Avenue---two or three other reporters and I---shortly after the riot, that is, either the next day or two days after that, and the officers---that is, the fellows we were out with---they were privates---showed us how

the bullets were made. That is, they would tear them apart and show us the gun powder inside of them. And there seemed to be plenty of ammunition there, or they couldn't have done that, I wouldn't think. They gave us the unloaded cartridges as souvenirs. They gave each one of us one.

Mr. Cooper. If they only had one cartridge or two, where do you suppose that militiaman who showed seventeen to Mr. Anderson, or spoke about having seventeen, in the clip--- where do you suppose he got those?

Mr. Popkess. I can't tell that. The two stories don't agree at all. It might have been later---that is, Mr. Anderson might have seen this militiaman a week or two later and he might have gotten more ammunition, but he couldn't have said that he shot seventeen on the day without ammunition.

Mr. Raker. Well now, no one knows that they were short, so far as any evidence has been presented, except what Colonel Tripp says?

Mr. Popkess. That is the only thing.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you notice those men that day, the rifles that the soldiers had?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Were bayonets on them?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr . Raker. And were their cartridge belts?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. They all had cartridge belts?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did you hear them complain during any of the day, at any time during that day, that "We are here now to quell this riot and haven't any cartridges"?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; nothong of that sort at all. They could have quelled the riot with their bayonets if they had wanted to.

Mr. Raker. I want you to just explain that. You think they could?

Mr. Popkess. Undoubtedly they could.

Mr. Raker. In your opinion, with the militiamen that were there, and what you saw at these various riots, if these militiamen had gone to work with their bayonets, without cartridges, they could have quelled the riots?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes; undoubtedly.

Mr. Raker. But instead of quieting it, they participated in it?

Mr. Popkess. Many of them participated in it, and those that didn't participate didn't attempt to quell it. By doing that I suppose you would call them participants.

Mr. Raker. Now, what about the policemen participating in the way of assisting in quelling the riot?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I heard---this is merely hearsay. Can you use hearsay?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Popkess. On the evening of the riot, the policemen were working around in the districts from what I heard. Now for instance, there was one man in the Department by the name of Harry Shetz; he is a motor-cycle man. He was operating in the negro districts and apparently---at least he claimed he was---trying to quell the mob, and the police had grave fears along about 9 o'clock in the evening that he had been

killed, because he didn't call in for an hour or and hour and a half, and finally he didn't call in till the next morning, I understand, and, in fact, there was some fear, and some of the reporters had already gotten pictures of this policeman as one that had been killed, when he reported in the next morning.

Mr. Raker. He couldn't have been sleeping, could he?

Mr. Popkess. Well, he might have been. That is very possibly true.

Mr. Raker. Now, did you notice a policeman on the street this day of the riot? You said you saw three of them there at the Illinois State Bank.

Mr. Popkess. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Were they armed with revolvers or anything?

Mr. Popkess. Why, I couldn't tell whether they were or not. They didn't have them in their hands.

Mr. Raker. And there was a riot going right on while they were present?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. And no effort on earth made to stop or quell it or do anything? Is that right---by them?

Mr. Popkess. That is true; yes, sir. I believe that is true. They seemed afraid to do anything,-either afraid or didn't want to, one of the two.

Mr. Raker. Well, what would cause them to be afraid? If their friends were busy, what caused them to be afraid?

Mr. Popkess. There wouldn't be any cause in the world, it wouldn't seem.

Mr. Raker. I am asking you from what you observed there.

Mr. Popkess. I never heard any policeman threatened.

The only white man I heard threatened during the day was the Mayor. He was the only man in the bunch that I ever heard threatened during the day.

Mr. Raker. How was that?

Mr. Popkess. Well, there were reports that they were going to "get" the Mayor at 4 o'clock and 3 o'clock. First, at three o'clock they were going to "get" the Mayor. They were all going to meet at the City Hall. Then it was to be 4 o'clock.

Mr. Johnson. Were those threats made on the part of the mob?

Mr. Popkess. On the part of the mob; yes, sir. There was a general opinion that they were going to "get" the Mayor. That seemed to be the next move.

Mr. Johnson. After the negroes, then the Mayor?

Mr. Popkess. That seemed to be it; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The Mayor stayed pretty close to the office that day, then?

Mr. Popkess. Well, he was there every time I was around; yes, sir; so far as I remember. I can't remember seeing him, talking to him that day at all.

Mr. Raker. Now, in addition to the police, did you observe or notice any of the citizens of the community of East St. Louis call to their aid or assistance others to quell the riot?

Mr. Popkess. I don't quite get the question.

Mr. Raker. Did you notice any of the citizens of East St. Louis on the 2nd of July, themselves or with others, trying to stop this rioting?

Mr. Popkess. No, very little. No, I don't know how a man would go about stopping a thing like that.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you hear anybody on the street saying, "Here, we ought to get a lot of these men together and stop this", and hollooing out to the mob to cease their beating or striking that negro woman or child or man?

Mr. Popkess. None at all; no sir.

Mr. Raker. Or to tell him to desist from trying to hang him?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. You saw them hang negroes?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did you hear anybody make any protest, whatever?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; absolutely not.

Mr. Raker. You are pretty well acquainted in East St. Louis, aren't you?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did you see anybody on the street that day that you knew at all---all day, now?

Mr. Popkess. You mean, in the mob?

Mr. Raker. No; I don't.

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes; many people I knew.

Mr. Raker. Any business men?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker. What were they doing?

Mr. Popkess. Apparently nothing; watching the crowd, watching the mob.

Mr. Raker. What were all these places of business down

on Collinsville Avenue doing? There is every conceivable legitimate business that you can think of down that street---millinery shops, butcher shops, banks, confectionery, and everything else---telegraph office---Western Union Telegraph office; girls selling cigars; shoe stores---what were those people doing?

Mr. Popkess. They appeared to be watching the mob; just watching what these rioters were doing.

Mr. Raker. Kind of a quiet easy watching, letting them go on?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; that is the idea. The white people then and now---that is, the greater number---the majority of the East St. Louis residents then and now are in sympathy with the rioters.

Mr. Raker. You think that is right?

Mr. Popkess. Absolutely.

Mr. Raker. The business men?

Mr. Popkess. Well, now the business men---

Mr. Raker.(interposing). I want to get right down to it.

Mr. Popkess. No; I don't believe the business men are.

Mr. Raker. Well, what do you mean by that?

Mr. Popkess. East St. Louis is made up more of working men.

Mr. Raker. I know, but I haven't talked about the working men yet. I have kept you directly and purposely to these business men. I have just observed up and down the street here that there are fine stores and banks and everything there, and I looked in and saw a fine lot of people all around in these stores. Now, what about those people?

Mr. Popkess. The business men were against the rioters.

Mr. Raker. But did nothing?

Mr. Popkess. Did nothing; that is true.

Mr. Raker. Did they close up their places of business, shut the doors and windows?

Mr. Popkess. The saloons did; the business men didn't--- so far as I know, they didn't.

Mr. Raker. They kept right on doing business?

Mr. Popkess. Apparently so.

Mr. Raker. Did men and women go in those stores and buy that day just the same as usual, as you observed?

Mr. Popkess. I should think so. If they hadn't, I would probably have noticed it.

Mr. Raker. They went to lunch as usual?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. The riots were going on up one street and down the other; shots being fired; a negro killed right in front of a store down here---in front of the hardware store.

Mr. Popkess. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Another one on the corner here; another one down in front of the chilly parlor; and they went right ahead.

Mr. Popkess. That is true.

Mr. Raker. Now let's get back to the classification. You believe those people who were conducting those businesses, generally speaking, were then in sympathy with the rioters?

Mr. Popkess. You mean the business men? I don't get the question.

Mr. Raker. Generally speaking, those people that were running these various establishments down on Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Popkess. No; they weren't in sympathy, generally speaking. Now, I will tell you why---

Mr. Baker (interposing). Just a moment. Specifically speaking then, that class of those business men and women---because there are women I notice engaged in business---were in sympathy with the rioters, as you observed it?

Mr. Popkess. Well, I don't know of any of the business men that I have heard express themselves, or ever heard them express as being in favor of the riot, that is, any of the more influential business men.

Mr. Baker. Right at the head of the street down here, Collinsville Avenue, I noticed a large furniture establishment with great big windows where you can see out in good shape. Now those people could see what was going on there for two or three blocks.

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

Mr. Baker. And out on Missouri Avenue and Broadway, how do you figure as to those people as to being in sympathy with the rioters on that day?

Mr. Popkess. Well, if they hadn't been in sympathy with the rioters, I should think they would have gotten out and attempted to stop it. On the other hand, you could hardly accuse them of being in sympathy with the riot. It might have been they were frightened, afraid to get out. They were either afraid or were in sympathy, one of the two, I should say.

Mr. Baker. Then they were afraid to get out, you think?

Mr. Popkess. Either afraid to get out and stop the mob, or were in sympathy with it.

Mr. Baker. Well, what class did you mean? What people did you mean that you thought were generally in sympathy with the rioters?

Mr. Popkess. The working class, generally.

Mr. Baker. Have you got anything to base that on?

Mr. Popkess. Well, the men that I saw ~~the~~ rioting all appeared to be working men---uneducated men; generally speaking, the working class. Now one thing I noticed when this mob came down Main Street about 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the riot, many of them were in shirt sleeves and two thirds of them wore blue shirts. Now I remember that particularly, because I said, "I wonder if that couldn't be called a 'blue-shirt army'?"; if there hadn't been some prearranged plan by which all of the rioters were to wear blue shirts on that day, but I finally dismissed that from my mind, but, nevertheless, many working men wear blue shirts, and a few prosperous men do.

Mr. Baker. Well, a man could slip on a blue shirt pretty easily?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; that is true.

Mr. Baker. But were you so you could identify any of those men with blue shirts?

Mr. Popkess. No; I couldn't call any of them.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you notice these blue-shirted men at practically all of these places of violence?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Baker. Participating?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; I did particularly on that day.

Mr. Baker. And they seemed to be participating from early in the morning till late at night?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. So far as light would go?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. But nobody tried to get a blue-shirt man or stop him in any way, shape or form?

Mr. Popkess. No.

Mr. Raker. Now you are just judging?

Mr. Popkess. Just using my judgment.

Mr. Raker. That because they had blue shirts on, they belonged to the working class?

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

Mr. Raker. Now, they may have been thugs.

Mr. Popkess. Why sure.

Mr. Raker. And saloon bums.

Mr. Popkess. Yes; and they may have been bank presidents.

Mr. Raker. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. But you don't believe they were?

Mr. Popkess. No; I think they were working men.

Mr. Johnson. What kind of weapons did you see used that day?

Mr. Popkess. Well, the first weapons I saw were revolvers. That is the first thing.

Mr. Johnson. Then you saw rifles?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes; rifles and revolvers.

Mr. Johnson. What other kind of weapons did you see?

Mr. Popkess. Sticks; they were armed with sticks. Many of these men that came down Main Street were armed with sticks. And I also saw a man hit with a cobblestone. And now let's see---I don't know of anything else. That just about covers the field.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see a lot of union men or any other men join the mob with picks?

Mr. Popkess. No; I think that is---there was a report around town on the day of the riot that the miners--- - there are several mining communities near---that the miners were coming to East St. Louis to go after the niggers also, that the people here would be reinforced by the miners before night fall.

Mr. Johnson. But they didn't come?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir; that was the report.

Mr. Johnson. If it has been stated by anybody that they were on the streets with their picks, that is not true?

Mr. Popkess. Absolutely not true.

Mr. Johnson. If it had been, you would have seen them?

Mr. Popkess. I believe I would---at least heard of them.

Mr. Johnson. And you were acting in your capacity as a newspaper reporter to get to all these places of excitement for the purpose of reporting for your paper?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. You reported no such instances as that to your paper?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. The reason is because it didn't exist?

Mr. Popkess. I don't believe it existed.

Mr. Johnson. Then, reference has been made to broad axes being used. Did you see anything of that kind?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Johnson. The reason for not seeing it is because

it wasn't there?

Mr. Popkess. I believe it wasn't there. I didn't see anything of it or here anything of it.

Mr. Johnson. Then we read a sensational report about somebody being beheaded. What do you know about that?

Mr. Popkess. Nothing; never heard of it.

Mr. Johnson. If anything of that kind had occurred, you would have hunted it up and reported it for your paper?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; sure.

Mr. Johnson. That would have been one instance of cruelty that you would have been after?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; that is true.

Mr. Johnson. And there is no foundation for a report like that?

Mr. Popkess. I don't believe so. I am sure there is no foundation.

Mr. Johnson. That grew out of somebody's vivid imagination?

Mr. Popkess. Somebody's fertile mind, I believe; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. How many shots were fired by the soldiers at the two negro men who ran out of this burning house, of which you have spoken?

Mr. Popkess. I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson. Well, I know you don't, but approximately how many?

Mr. Popkess. Maybe three or four or five.

Mr. Johnson. Enough to do the work?

Mr. Popkess. Enough to get both niggers.

Mr. Johnson. How many soldiers were doing the shooting?

Mr. Popkess. A little group of them there; four, five or six. They go in squads; there must have been eight.

Mr. Johnson. They probably fired a shot for each soldier there?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. And if they had only two cartridges apiece, each soldier shot half of what he had?

Mr. Popkess. On that one job; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you believe that it was prudent for the officers in command of that bunch of troops to permit them to come here to quell a riot of that proportion with only two cartridges each?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, it was undoubtedly poor judgment, if it is true they did come here with that.

Mr. Johnson. Isn't it more probable that that statement isn't true?

Mr. Popkess. I believe so.

Mr. Johnson. To know that they came here to place themselves at the mercy of the mob with only two cartridges apiece?

Mr. Popkess. I believe the story is untrue; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. The Chairman has spoken of the newspaper reports about the use of meat axes and picks and so forth. Did any St. Louis paper contain any statements of that kind?

Mr. Popkess. Not anything more than it was rumored they were coming.

Mr. Cooper. But did any newspaper say they had come?

Mr. Popkess. No; I don't believe so; as far as I know, no St. Louis paper said that they had come. I believe ---

no; it is probably that some paper said they might come. It was reported they were coming, just like it was reported that the negroes from National City and Brooklyn were coming to East St. Louis to attack the whites.

Mr. Johnson. You don't know even that such a statement--- that such a rumor appeared in the papers that they were coming?

Mr. Popkess. No; I don't.

Mr. Johnson. You have no information on that subject at all, that the miners were coming with picks?

Mr. Popkess. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What do you know about the influx of negroes into this city in the last year or more?

Mr. Popkess. It is true. Negroes have come here in large numbers; probably seven or eight thousand of them. That has been the estimate that has been made by men who were in a position to know.

Mr. Cooper. The Grand Jury reported approximately 8,000. Now, within what period of time, in your judgment, did that 8,000 come?

Mr. Popkess. Since the election last fall---during the election and since the election.

Mr. Cooper. During the election and since the election?

Mr. Popkess. Yes,sir.

Mr. Cooper. One witness has testified that that influx continued up until, say, April of this year, beginning along last fall.

Mr. Popkess. Yes: up to the riot. Even a week or two before the riot there were special trains, supposedly negro sight-seers, coming through East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. Now, which riot do you mean? May or July?

Mr. Popkess. The May riot was May 28th. Up right until the May riot, I would say.

Mr. Cooper. They came by trainloads here, did they, or carloads?

Mr. Popkess. Carloads; even trainloads; yes, sir. Now they were presumably coming here on week-end excursions--that is, they had a very cheap rate. They would come up here and they were supposed to use the return portion of their ticket, but many of them didn't do it.

Mr. Cooper. How many of those were employed after they came here, about? Have you any idea?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, all of them. Any negro that wanted a job could get a job.

Mr. Cooper. Where were they employed?

Mr. Popkess. At the various industries---the Aluminum Ore, the Cottonseed Oil, and the packing plants, and the steel foundries and iron works.

Mr. Cooper. Have you been in the Aluminum Ore plant?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Is it a dusty place?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; very dusty.

Mr. Cooper. How many classes of employes do they have there, do you know; that is, skilled and unskilled? Do they have any skilled labor there much, what you would really call skilled labor?

Mr. Popkess. Why yes, of course. Now I am not---no, I don't know about it actually---I should think they would have skilled and unskilled. They would need skilled laborers

for the machines that they have to operate there, but I don't know how many are skilled and how many unskilled.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Foster. It was generally known that trainloads of negroes came up here, wasn't it, from last fall up till May?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, yes.

Mr. Foster. Everybody seemed to know that except the agent down here?

Mr. Popkess. Well, we used a story on it.

Mr. Foster. Well, the agent didn't know anything about it, is the reason I asked.

Mr. Popkess. He ought to know that there were week end trains coming up here.

Mr. Foster. It is rather strange he didn't know it.

Mr. Popkess. Yes; if he had referred to his records, he could have found there were trains coming up here every week end.

Mr. Foster. You knew it?

Mr. Popkess. Certainly; everyone knew it.

Mr. Foster. Other people around here knew it?

Mr. Popkess. I used several stories on it.

Mr. Foster. You had it printed in the newspapers about bringing trainloads in?

Mr. Popkess. Yes; however, as week end excusions. We would say that 400 negroes from Chattanooga, or any place in the South, were in East St. Louis Saturday or Sunday, on a week end excusion. That was the way it was reported. Of course, we didn't know whether they went back.

Mr. Foster. You think these negroes just came up from Chattanooga, Tenn., and from Jackson, Miss., and probably as far as Alabama---just came up here on week-end excursions?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, and forgot to go back.

Mr. Foster. They bought round-trip tickets and they came and found conditions here that were all right and stayed here. Do you really think that that condition existed?

Mr. Popkess. That is undoubtedly true.

Mr. Foster. Well, you are more credulous than I am on that proposition.

Mr. Baker. There are just a few questions I have overlooked. Did you observe the way the street cars were running on the 2nd of July, from Illinois to Missouri?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Well, were there any interruptions in the street-car service?

Mr. Popkess. Oh, many of them, both on the first and the second riot. The cars were stopped, the trolleys were taken off and the cars searched for negroes.

Mr. Baker. Would the men get behind and pull off the trolley?

Mr. Popkess. That was the first thing. That would stop the car. Then many of the others would go through and they would ask the conductor if there were any niggers. Many of them jumped to the windows and looked in. In case they found a nigger, they would go and get him. I saw that in both riots, both the first and second.

Mr. Baker. These people that traveled ---

both negroes and white people that travel across the bridge, they have to get a ticket that takes them from Missouri to Illinois, going east?

Mr. Popkess. That is true.

Mr. Baker. And the same way going west, you have to get a ticket in Illinois that carries you across the bridge into Missouri?

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

Mr. Baker. Do you know what effort was made by the street-car company to keep their cars running on the 2nd of July?

Mr. Popkess. Well, instead of keeping them running, they stopped them of their own accord. I don't know whose recommendation it was, but the cars were stopped at 7 o'clock in the evening. No cars were run at all.

Mr. Baker. Well, during the day time?

Mr. Popkess. Well, during the day, so far as I know, there were no special instructions. The cars would stop whenever they met the mob and the mob would go through the cars.

Mr. Baker. Now just from what points were the cars obstructed from Illinois to Missouri? Just give us a list if you can.

Mr. Popkess. At Collinsville and Broadway.

Mr. Baker. Well now, from what points?

Mr. Cooper. Collinsville Avnue, you mean?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. From what points did these cars come?

Mr. Popkess. From St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. I want to get now from the east going west.

Mr. Popkess. Well, there were cars that came from State Street, Belleville---well, say from Belleville, from Collinsville, from Edwardsville, Granite City, Alton ---all of these little suburban towns, would have to pass that point.

Mr. Raker. And that entire line of street-car service was interrupted?

Mr. Popkess. Well now, of course I couldn't say whether Granite City cars were, but generally speaking it was interrupted.

Mr. Raker. Well now, you named an instance where they stopped a car, pulled off the trolley, went in the car, and pulled off a negro?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well now, what effect would that have on the entire system?

Mr. Popkess. That would undoubtedly stop and disrupt the system.

Mr. Raker. But did it? Did the cars block on the streets?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You saw it that day?

Mr. Popkess. Yes, sir; and the cars were also blocked by the mobs in the streets.

Mr. Raker. Well now, what I want to know is what effort was made to send these cars through as they ought to have gone to their destination in Missouri from Illinois.

Mr. Popkess. No effort at all that I know of. I never heard of any instructions being issued specifically of any kind. No effort was made in particular at all. Of course, the motormen and conductors probably as quick as they could they would go on through, but that was up to the mob as to whether or not they would let them.

Mr. Raker. You left East St. Louis after the riots, did you?

Mr. Popkess. Oh no, I have been here continually.

Mr. Raker. I thought you were living now in St. Louis?

Mr. Popkess. No; 3027 Waverly Place, East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. Oh, yes. Do you know anything about the interruption---the general interruption of transportation between the State of Missouri and the Sate of Illinois, by virtue of this riot?

Mr. Popkess. Well now---you mean outside of the street-cars?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Popkess. No; I don't know of any railroads that had stopped.

Mr. Raker. You don't know of your own knowledge?

Mr. Popkess. No, I never heard of any railroad having stopped.

Mr. Raker. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. You may stand aside.

STATEMENT OF MR. J. A. PATON, MANAGER, MORRIS AND COMPANY, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

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

Mr. Paton. J. W. Paton, Manager of Morris and Company.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Paton, if you have any knowledge or information relative to the interference with interstate commerce, either of passengers or freight, during the year 1917, please relate it to the Committee.

Mr. Paton. Well, the riots in East St. Louis were responsible for our house to not entirely close down departments, but almost, which prevented us from killing as we should, and shipping.

Mr. Johnson. In what way did the riots lessen your output? Was it because you couldn't get shipping facilities, or because of interference with your plant directly.

Mr. Paton. Because of the negro help there.

Mr. Johnson. Because of negro help, or because of the lack of it?

Mr. Paton. The lack of it.

Mr. Johnson. Just go ahead, in your own way, please, and tell us how shipments across the State line were interfered with, or lessened.

Mr. Paton. Well, we have five branch houses in the City of St. Louis, and the gang that loads those cars weren't there and we couldn't get them out as promptly as they should, and were delayed several days. And we load cars for the South, known as our peddler cars, that we were unable to get out on time, delaying them several days.

Mr. Johnson. Were the public carriers---was the help of the public carriers also lessened?

Mr. Paton. Yes; I understand so.

Mr. Johnson. That is your information?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. To what extent, please.

Mr. Paton. I am speaking of the information I received from the agents of the various railroads.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee is authrorized to take both direct testimony and hearsay also.

Mr. Paton. I was at a meeting on July 2nd when practically all of the agents of the various railroads in this town were present.

Mr. Johnson. What time of day was that?

Mr. Paton. That was about 2 o'clock, I believe.

Mr. Johnson. In the afternoon?

Mr. Paton. Yes; 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Johnson. July 2nd?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. That was the day of the riot?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; that was the day of the riot. Now I'll withdraw that---I'm not sure whether it was the 2rd or 3rd. I was at several meetings of that Hundred Committee and it may have been the 2nd or 3rd.

Mr. Johnson. Are you a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir. And they stated that they were unable to get the men. All of their negro help had gone, which meant that they simply had to stop loading.

Mr. Johnson. That the negroes that they had employed for loading the cars had abandoned their work, and in consequence they couldn't get the cars loaded?

Mr. Paton. They couldn't get the cars loaded.

Mr. Johnson. And those cars were intended for interstate shipment?

Mr. Paton. Interstate shipment; that was the talk of those agents at that meeting.

Mr. Johnson. And that condition lasted for several days?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; it lasted for several days.

Mr. Johnson. How did relief come about? It has been suggested that relief finally came by having the negroes guarded to and fro between St. Louis and East St. Louis.

Mr. Paton. I don't know that there was any direct guard, only that there were guards at the other end of the bridge, and also guards at this end, and we, of course, had our forces at the other end, at the packing houses.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by forces?

Mr. Paton. Our own guards.

Mr. Cooper. You have skilled and unskilled labor?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What do you pay your unskilled labor?

Mr. Paton. About 27½¢ an hour.

Mr. Cooper. You pay the same wages as Armour and Co?

Mr. Paton. They are practically the same all over the country.

Mr. Cooper. That includes Swift, of course?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir. We have some 25-cent help.

Mr. Cooper. Can you explain how it is all over this country there is a uniform rate of 27½ cents paid to unskilled labor in that business, unless there has been an agreement among the packers that they will pay that?

Mr. Paton. No, I cannot.

Mr. Cooper. You have agreed to ~~xkxxxxxxx~~ it, have you?

Mr. Paton. No particular agreement.

Mr. Cooper. Well, a general agreement, if it isn't a particular one?

Mr. Paton. We are forced to do it to enable us to get the men.

Mr. Cooper. You managers of these great corporations agree to pay a minimum wage, or a wage for certain labor, to your employes, of 27½ cents an hour, and that obtains all over the ~~xxxxx~~ United States, from what I learn. Mr. Conway said that was the general rate all over the United States, and that, of course, has come about by agreement.

Mr. Paton. Not particularly so.

Mr. Cooper. Well, accidentally you hit upon that as a price?

Mr. Paton. Conditions force a certain basis to work on.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; conditions force a certain basis to work on, and the plants take the same basis?

Mr. Paton. Not altogether. As I explained to you, we have---I believe Mr. Conway said the other day that his minimum was 27½ cents, if I am not mistaken, but I know we have 25-cent rate men in our work now---common laborers.

Mr. Cooper. Colored?

Mr. Paton. Common laborers.

Mr. Cooper. Colored, are they?

Mr. Paton. Both.

Mr. Cooper. Now, your plant is unorganized? You have no union labor?

Mr. Paton. No, it is open shop.

Mr. Cooper. Then whether there is a general agreement or a particular agreement, the fact is that the big plants pay the same wages, and you hold fast to those. You all stand by that rate, don't you?

Mr. Paton. I don't know about all. I know we have our scale that we work on, and we hire on that scale.

Mr. Cooper. Well, Armour has his scale that he works on and Swift has his scale that he works on, and it is all the same scale. Now then, in other words, you grnnh demand that you have the right---and you exercise it---to agree upon the wages obtained all over the country, but, in your judgment, the laboring men have no right to make any agreement that they will work for a minimum wage and attempt to enforce their demands if they don't get it. You don't think they have a right to do that.

Mr. Paton. I didn't say that.

Mr. Cooper. No, but what do you think about that?

Mr. Paton. You are asking my opinion?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Paton. I think it is a free and open country. A man has got a right to do as he wants to. That is, he can sell his labor for the best price he can get for it.

Mr. Cooper. Yes, and if he thinks that---how many hours a day do they work?

Mr. Paton. Ten hours a day.

Mr. Cooper. How many days a week?

Mr. Paton. Six days a week.

Mr. Cooper. But not one man does work six days a week the year through, do they? The common laborers don't all

work six days a week through the year?

Mr. Paton. Not always.

Mr. Cooper. But they don't ever, do they, all of them?

Mr. Paton. Some.

Mr. Cooper. Common laborers?

Mr. Paton. We have some.

Mr. Cooper. Very few?

Mr. Paton. I don't know just what the percentage is. We have got some there, very good substantial men. that are there all the time, and we want to keep them.

Mr. Cooper. But all of your common laborers don't work all working days through the year?

Mr. Paton. It all depends on the run of cattle and hogs coming in.

Mr. Cooper. About how long are they laid off on the average. each year, or how many days?

Mr. Paton. I will explain this to you, that recently there have been very large runs of cattle and hogs, particularly cattle, coming into the stock yards here, and we have had difficulty in getting men to enable us to get through. The larger the run in the yards, the greater our purchases, as a rule. Some markets have more cattle than others and we get our buying instructions what to do here, how many we can kill.

Mr. Cooper. These times, Mr. Paton, are not strictly normal. They are most unusual, they are unprecedented in the history of the world.

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now in normal times, say, how much of the time do your men work, unskilled labor, on an average?

Mr. Paton. It depends on his work.

Mr. Cooper. Well, unskilled labor?

Mr. Paton. Well, we have unskilled labor in every depart ment.

Mr. Cooper. Well, how much of the time does the unskilled labor work?

Mr. Paton. Just as I stated; it depends on our killing. If we purchase heavily, naturally we have got to go through the entire day; but if the runs of livestock are small, naturally we can't keep the men on.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. Well now, then how do these small runs---how numerous are they in normal times?

Mr. Paton. Well, in the spring of the year, as a rule, they are pretty small.

Mr. Cooper. About how long a time does that last?

Mr. Paton. Probably three or four months. Then they gradually increase.

Mr. Cooper. Three or four months?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Well, then that is a quarter of the time. Either a quarter or a third of the year, three or four months of the year, there are common laborers that are out of employment regularly, in normal times, according to that statement.

Mr. Paton. I beg your pardon.

Mr. Cooper. Three or four months of each year in normal times in your business, there are common laborers who are regularly out of employment.

Mr. Paton. Yes,

Mr. Cooper. How long have you been paying 27½ cents?

Mr. Paton. I think probably six or seven weeks, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. Cooper. A year ago you paid 17?

Mr. Paton. Yes; I believe it was about a year ago or probably two years, somewhere in there, we paid 17½ I think it was.

Mr. Cooper. Then in normal times, a common laborer---some of them---a percentage of them possibly---in your employ work only eight or nine months a year for a dollar and seventy cents a day. Is that a fact?

Mr. Paton. At that time; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They always had up to the time just recently?

Mr. Paton. I think the scale was about then.

Mr. Cooper. And that obtained all over the United States?

Mr. Paton. I don't know. That was our scale here.

Mr. Cooper. Well, and you don't know whether that $1.70 obtained over the country or not?

Mr. Paton. No; I do not.

Mr. Cooper. When the first two years of this war it continued at $1.70---that is, up till about a year ago?

Mr. Paton. I was under the impression that it was fully more than a year ago.

Mr. Cooper. As I understood, Mr. Conway---and I am subject to being corrected here---but that is my understanding, Mr. Paton, that Mr. Conway, Manager of Armour and Co., said that there had been four increases, each of 2½ cents an hour, during last year, which made an aggregate of ten cents. They increased it from 17 to 27 cents.

Mr. Paton. That is right, but just when those increases were given---I can't state whether it was within one year or not. It may have been one year or two years, I will say, if I remember right. And still it may have been within one year, the last year, that the four increases were given.

Mr. Cooper. Did skilled labor advance too?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. How much?

Mr. Paton. On various jobs we granted increases all through the house.

Mr. Cooper. I guess that is all.

Mr. Raker. Mr. Paton, could you tell the Committee the percentage of colored and white labor that you have had employed at your place of business?

Mr. Paton. I haven't yet; I can. In the neighborhood of forty percent, I should imagine.

Mr. Raker.. Forty percent colored?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And how is that percentage now, compared with last year?

Mr. Paton. I believe around the same percentage.

Mr. Raker. This year as to the year before?

Mr. Paton. I guess it must have been about the same.

Mr. Raker. In other words, have you been increasing your colored help the last year?

Mr. Paton. Both white and colored.

Mr. Raker. In proportion to the white help, have you increased the colored help?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Increased the colored help more than you have the white help?

Mr. Paton. Well, at times it has been that way, when we were short and couldn't get white labor. We have tried to favor white labor as much as possible.

Mr. Raker. Well, colored labor has been very plentiful, has it?

Mr. Paton. No, not altogether. It has been very scarce. We could have done with more of it.

Mr. Raker. You really had a demand for more colored labor than you had?

Mr. Paton. For all kinds of labor. I wouldn't say colored labor only.

Mr. Raker. Well, I thought it was stated that there had been a surplus both of white and colored labor here within the last year.

Mr. Paton. Oh, not at all.

Mr. Raker. But you have been short all the time?

Mr. Paton. We were short right along.

Mr. Raker. Well, what effort have you taken relative to building up your colored labor?

Mr. Paton. Why, we have made no particular effort other than to try to find any kind of labor that would do the work. We have our own labor agency in the interest of the packing house that handles that, and when the departments call for help, they notify him.

Mr. Raker. Well, haven't you made any--- he is the man that handles it?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Who is the man that handles that particular

branch of your business?

Mr. Paton. We had our timekeeper handling that.

Mr. Raker. What is his name?

Mr. Paton. We had a man by the name of Simpson at one time.

Mr. Raker. During the last six months who has been handling it?

Mr. Paton. Martin Houlihan.

Mr. Raker. And he is still in your employ?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Have you sent any advertisements out in any way?

Mr. Paton. Absolutely none.

Mr. Raker. Any calls?

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. How does Mr. Houlihan get this help when he wants it?

Mr. Paton. At the gate in the morning.

Mr. Raker. He donsn't go out any place?

Mr. Paton. No, he is right there. As a rule in the morning, there are people there looking for work---that is, when there is a surplus of men, there is usually a big crowd there.

Mr. Raker. Both white and black?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Men and women?

Mr. Paton. Men and women; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. What do you do for your men and women after they get in the gate as to segregation? Do you segregate them?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; we have a colored place and a white place.

Mr. Raker. You have a place for the colored men and a place for the colored women?

Mr. Paton. Practically; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. How, do you maintain two separate places?

Mr. Paton. They have their own dressing room. We have a colored dressing-room and a white dressing-room.

Mr. Raker. For both men and women. Do you make any other provisions in your yards for either men or women, for your help, except the waiting room there where they can change their clothes?

Mr. Paton. That is all.

Mr. Raker. No others?

Mr. Paton. Well. we have a restaurant where we make coffee for the help, and the colored people have their place where they can get it and the white people their place.

Mr. Raker. You make no provisions for them when they are outside?

Mr. Paton. Not on the outside; nosir.

Mr. Raker. Have you hot and cold shower-baths for your separate departments there?

Mr. Paton. Yes; for the white and colored.

Mr. Raker. Both men and women?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Where were you on the day of this riot?

Mr. Paton. I was in East St. Louis; right in this city.

Mr. Raker. How early did you come down town?

Mr. Paton. I came down town about 2 o'clock.

Mr. Raker. How long did you stay that day?

Mr. Paton. I stayed all the afternoon.

Mr. Baker. What car did you come down town on?

Mr. Paton. Cam down on the stock yards car---no, I will withdraw that. I believe I came down in an automobile, but whose I can't remember. Coming down from the yards I happened to board it as it was passing our place. I was coming down to the meeting. I had been called up by the Chamber of Commerce to come down to the meeting.

Mr. Baker. Was there a meeting here by the Chamber of Commerce that day?

Mr. Paton. There was a meeting called, I presume, by their initiative, and they called me and asked me to come down, and I went.

Mr. Baker. And you came out and left your business and came down?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Baker. In an automobile?

Mr. Paton. I think so, but whose I can't remember. I very frequently do that.

Mr. Baker. You came down Collinsville Avenue?

Mr. Paton. Down Collinsville Avenue.

Mr. Baker. Well, did you meet with the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Paton. Yes; we met in the meeting. That is, I don't know that it was actually the Chamber or Commerce, or a general meeting of the business people of this city.

Mr. Baker. Well, about how many people were present?

Mr. Paton. It seemed to me there would be fifty or sixty.

Mr. Baker. Where did you meet?

Mr. Paton. In the Chamber of Commerce over in the Arcade

Building.

Mr. Raker. Did you see any acts of violence as you were coming down?

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. You then immediately went to the Chamber of Commerce building?

Mr. Paton. Right straight there.

Mr. Raker. Well, what was your business---did the business of the Chamber of Commerce, or the meeting there, have anything to do with the riots then going on?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. That was for that purpose?

Mr. paton. It was called for the purpose of doing what should be done, as one man stated that he had heard it stated that the town would be burned tonight.

Mr. Raker. Who was the man that stated that?

Mr. Paton. Mr. Maurice Joyce.

Mr. Raker. Well, how long did you stay there?

Mr. Paton. We stayed, if I remember right, two or three hours in that place.

Mr. Raker. Well I know, but that was 2 o'clock?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You were there two hours, two and a half. The conflagration and the marauding/and rapine and murder and arson and the other category of crime---

Mr. Paton. (interposing) Hadn't started then.

Mr. Raker. (continuing)—were in full sway.

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Raker. Hadn't it?

Mr. Paton. No, sir; the fires didn't start until I was home. I got home about 5:30, I believe, or around 5 o'clock somewhere.

Mr. Raker. Well, but you had heard that they had been progressing from fairly early in the morning, hadn't you?

Mr. Paton. I had heard about the rioting.

Mr. Raker. Well, I used too many words. They hadn't killed negroes, shot them on the street?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Raker. And took them off the street cars?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. You heard of that?

Mr. Paton. I heard of it; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Now what did your meeting do before you left relative to stopping that?

Mr. Paton. Why, they tried to get hold of the Mayor to see what could be done.

Mr. Raker. Just tell us what you did, as near as you can, about the Mayor. Let's hang on to him for a little while and find out what was done with the Mayor.

Mr. Paton. I don't know; there were several meetings. There was that meeting that day, and for several days afterwards we had meetings.

Mr. Raker. I want to confine myself in this examination right now, if I can, to what occurred on July 2nd, while the riot was going on.

Mr. Paton. Well, I cannot state positively whether that was the day that the Mayor was brought in or not, but I remember there was, or presumed to be, some difficulty

at first in locating him, and I am not sure whether it was July 2nd or 3rd that he came over to our meeting.

Mr. Baker. Of course, if you can remember now whether it was that day, I would press you a little further, if you cannot, I won't.

Mr. Paton. I cannot remember whether it was the 2nd or 3rd.

Mr. Baker. We are very anxious to know. Now, refresh your mind. It was serious with you men as to what could be done that day?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. It was reported there that the whole town was going to be destroyed?

Mr. Paton. It was reported that in the meeting.

Mr. Baker. You had heard that men had been shot on the streets?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Baker. That street cars had been stopped and men taken off and killed?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Now, were those things in your mind, knowing you had a mayor, and chief of police? Just refresh your mind now, if you can, and see whether or not you can remember what was done by you men before you left, to stop this orgy of murder, as near as you can tell us.

Mr. Paton. I think two of the men put in a long-distance telephone call to either the Governor or Adjutant General Dimon.

Mr. Baker. Right there from the room?

Mr. Paton. yes.

Mr. Baker. You got a response from that?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What else did you do?

Mr. Paton. It was more talk and suggestions as to what should be done than any accomplishment. There wasn't very much done.

Mr. Baker. Well, the thing was going right on right down underneath you on the street, and here is fifty men, ---and I suppose they were the leading citizens and business men of the town here, of the city there---what did you men determine to do before you left that building, if you know?

Mr. Paton. I can't remember just what was decided on at that meeting. Of course, every man had a different opinion, or had a different suggestion to make.

Mr. Baker. Well, what was the discussion as to the cause of this riot that was then proceeding right here in your city?

Mr. Paton. Well, that really came up all right, the discussion of what was the real cause of it. I can tell you that.

Mr. Baker. All right, tell us.

Mr. Paton. It was decided at that meeting---it was the opinion of all in that meeting that it was caused by the extreme labor agitators in connection with the Aluminum works. They were blamed at that meeting.

Mr. Johnson. Who were they, these extreme labor men?

Mr. Paton. I don't know them myself, only from the papers and hearsay. Two of their names that I can remember---

one was the name of Lehman and the other was named Wolf. Those are the names that were very pronounced at that time.

Mr. Johnson. Were they local men or brought in here?

Mr. Paton. Presumed to be local men. They had worked for the Aluminum people. They were strikers. At least, that was the way it was put to me. I don't know the men myself at all. That is simply hearsay.

Mr. Johnson. And you don't know what foundation there was for the report, either?

Mr. Paton. No, sir; I don't know. I can also state that at that time---a week previous to the riot that took place on July 2nd---Moyer, of Moyer and Heywood fame---I. W. W.---was here in the city.

Mr. Johnson. One week before?

Mr. Paton. One week previous to the riot.

Mr. Johnson. The July riot?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; and I am told he registered at the Illmo Hotel. He was here to meet various labor leaders. I don't know Moyer; didn't see him. I am only giving you that as hearsay.

Mr. Raker. Well now, is that all you determined at that meeting that day?

Mr. Paton. I presume it was. It was just a case of getting together to see what could be done.

Mr. Raker. I know. Now you stated to the Committee that there was determination among you men there present, about fifty, that Lehman and Wolf, of this organization, were responsible for a good deal of this work.

Mr. Paton. That is what was said.

Mr. Raker. That is what was discussed. Now, did you come to any other determination except that?

Mr. Paton. Yes; the determination was that we should try in every way to assist the mayor in handling the reins of the government in this city.

Mr. Raker. That day?

Mr. Paton. And from then on.

Mr. Raker. Well now, I am confining it to on that day.

Mr. Paton. I believe at that first meeting that was brought up, to assist the Mayor.

Mr. Raker. What else did you determine, anything?

Mr. Paton. The Mayor had stated that he had done everything he could, that the police force had got away from him, and that he had no control over it.

Mr. Raker. Well, when did you learn, now, that it came from the Mayor that the police force had gotten away from him? Did you learn it that day?

Mr. Paton. I am not sure whether it was July 2nd or one of the subsequent meetings, now. It must have been July 2nd or 3rd. I really cannot remember whether it was the first meeting or not.

Mr. Raker. Well now, did you understand on that day that the police force had absolutely broken down here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. I certainly did. I am a tax payer in this town and live in this city, and I knew that it was.

Mr. Raker. That there was being no protection given to the residents here, to their lives, or to their property---

Mr. Paton. None whatever.

Mr. Raker. By the police force?

Mr. Paton. None whatever.

Mr. Raker. It was absolutely broken down?

Mr. Paton. Absolutely broken down; yes.

Mr. Raker. Did you understand further that the policemen were assisting the rioters instead of trying to quell them?

Mr. Paton. I didn't see it.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you understand it that way?

Mr. Paton. I understood that that report was made.

Mr. Raker. That is what I am getting at. And you had fifty men or more in there in that hall that day?

Mr. Paton. I am not sure it was that day. /Mr. Raker. I want to be particular as to that day, if I can. /Mr. Paton. I am awfully sorry but I cannot be particular about that, but I know at some meeting that came up.

Mr. Raker. Well, what about your constables here? What was their attitude---the constables you have in town here---that you discussed that day? You people were discussing law and order, and now you were going to stop this riot.

Mr. Paton. That was not brought up.

Mr. Cooper. Was this before or after the fire?

Mr. Paton. The fire was on the 2nd.

Mr. Cooper. Was your meeting before or after the fire?

Mr. Paton. The meeting was before, I stated.

Mr. Cooper. That was on the 2nd?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Then yourmeeting was on the 2nd?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; there was a meeting on the 2nd, I

believe; one on the 3rd, and various days afterward.

Mr. Baker. That you and I may not be apart on the questions, and thoroughly understand, I am going to confine you exclusively to the 2nd, and when I get off of the 2nd I am going to tell you, so that my questions and your answers will confine ourselves to the 2nd.

Mr. Eaton. All right.

Mr. Baker. It saves a good deal of time.

Did you discuss there about the fact that the militia was then in town, at this meeting?

Mr. Eaton. We were discussing that; yes.

Mr. Baker. Well, hadn't you heard up to that time, and hadn't it been reported to your committee, that the militia were standing in with the rioters?

Mr. Eaton. I can't remember whether or not, previous to that day or not?

Mr. Baker. Now at the meeting, it had been stated in that meeting that the whole town may be destroyed; how many people might be killed nobody knew. Here you were a citizen and resident; it was going on at the time; you were there--- I want to impress that on your mind---did you discuss about the fact that the militiamen were then in your city, at this meeting?

Mr. Eaton. I believe we did.

Mr. Baker. You knew they were here, didn't you?

Mr. Eaton. Yes; I think we knew that.

Mr. Baker. Now, what aid and assistance were these militiamen giving the people of East St. Louis during this time?

Mr. Paton. They didn't seem to give very much.

Mr. Raker. Well, was it reported by you men there to that meeting that they weren't giving you any aid or assistance?

Mr. Paton. That came up in the meeting.

Mr. Raker. It was discussed?

Mr. Paton. Well, I mean as far as the militia were in town---that is, the State militia that had come to town. They were talking about it, but whether or not it was mentioned at that first meeting that they weren't giving proper assistance, I cannot remember. But that was July 2nd.

Mr. Raker. Well now, you have other officers here besides these. You have a sheriff and deputy sheriffs?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. What did you do, you people there that day, to call on the sheriff of this county with his deputy to have sworn in at least 5,000 men if it had been necessary?

Mr. Paton. I believe that was taken up with the Mayor. I don't know that this committee that had been formed had any power at all at that particular meeting, and I think--- I am sure it was on that day that they took up with the Mayor to see what could be done.

Mr. Raker. Well, was anything done as a consequence of that to get the sheriff and his deputies to come here and assist in quelling the riot?

Mr. Paton. It was debated at the meeting, and I believe there were several sub-committees formed, which I was not a member of, to handle such matters. I was one of the first

lot that came down, the first 100.

Mr. Raker. Well now, you also had in town a deputy martial and his assistants, didn't you, in East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. I don't---I believe so.

Mr. Raker. Well, they are stationed here, aren't they?

Mr. Paton. Well, I believe they are.

Mr. Raker. Well now, what effort was made by this committee to call on the martial, or the deputy martials here, to assist in enforcing the law?

Mr. Paton. I believe the sub-committees were empowered and instructed what to do in that, and that I am not versed in.

Mr. Raker. Well now, can you tell the Committee why it is that after there were sub-committees appointed and this was discussed with the sheriff and his deputies, the marshal, or the deputy marshals, and the Mayor, because the police force had fallen down and nothing was done whatever during that afternoon and that day until midnight, when thirty or forty people had been killed and at least 320 houses destroyed---can you tell now why some of these things weren't stopped? Give it to us in your own language.

Mr. Paton. Well, I don't believe that they really thought ~~as~~ the expression made by Mr. Joyce at the time, that it was going to be so serious. I personally didn't think so. I didn't think they would go to firing; in fact, I was astonished when I heard of it, when I had reached home, that the fires were going.

Mr. Cooper. Now, that shows that the meeting was on the 2nd.

Mr. Paton. It may have been.

Mr. Cooper. It must have been if the fires hadn't taken place.

Mr. Paton. Of course, the fires took place on the 2nd, but I can't remember---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). But your meeting was before the fires.

Mr. Paton. But his first question he asked here was if that was on the 2nd, and I wasn't sure.

Mr. Cooper. You were saying at that meeting that somebody said the town was going to be burned up.

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; Maurice Joyce, but the town hadn't been burned up.

Mr. Cooper. But was going to be burned up, and if it was going to be burned up, it was on July 2nd at your meeting.

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. How can you tell us why you, a good strong--- not only physically, but mentally, exceptionally strong man mentally---and I say that from my observation and with your experience---why you didn't call on those men to go down there and stop that rioting youselfes, the fifty of you?

Mr. Paton. That came up at the meeting as what could be done. How had I, with several from that committee, gone down there, we don't know what might have happened to us, so enraged was the populace then.

Mr. Baker. That is just what I am trying to get at now. And you discussed that very thing in your meeting.

Why didn't you organize, the fifty of you, get you fifty good rifles and six-shooters, and go down there and stand in front of those innocent men and women, and let those street-cars run? There is some reason. I want you to tell it. That is what I am asking you for. I am not trying to cross-examine you; I am just trying in my way to get you to tell the real, actual conditions as they existed in East St. Louis on that day.

Mr. Paton. I agree with you, Mr. Raker. I think probably a half a dozen men with half a dozen rifles, had they taken a stand that day, there would have been no riot.

Mr. Raker. Exactly. Now that leads us on to this: why wasn't it done?

Mr. Paton. That is the idea exactly. We felt---at least I felt---that our mayor and our police force should have done that.

Mr. Raker. Well, you say they were not doing it. You knew that the police force was absolutely disorganized, were sleeping, most of them; those that weren't sleeping were hid; that is the testimony---that is, I mean off some place from the police headquarters doing nothing---and the Mayor you couldn't find. Now why didn't you proceed? You have got some reason and I want you to tell us.

Mr. Paton. I had no particular reason myself.

Mr. Raker. Now isn't this a fact, weren't you---and didn't you discuss it---weren't you people afraid of your lives if you went down on the street; that you thought the thing had got to such a point that those men would kill anybody they came in contact with?

Mr. Paton. I will be honest about it; I was rather afraid to walk down the street.

Mr. Raker. Well, wasn't that the general feeling in this gathering?

Mr. Paton. That was it; I believe there was a whole lot of timidity. There was fear, and in certain bunches of men or a clique of men doing anything, they were afraid of their lives.

Mr. Raker. In other words, it is your analysis of the situation that the thing had become so thoroughly disorganized/ the civil authorities from the justices of the peace, the constable, the martials, the Mayor's office, the police and all/ that it was unsafe for a man to try to interfere?

Mr. Paton. There isn't any doubt about it.

Mr. Raker. Now if any particular blue-shirted men had pre-arranged from their own organization to attempt to do a thing like that, it would have been impossible to have gotten this entire community with them, wouldn't it?

Mr. Paton. I don't say that it wouldn't.

Mr. Raker. Well now, wouldn't it?

Mr. Paton. Why certainly not. I don't see it that way. Would you give me that again, please?

Mr. Raker. Well now, I say, from your statement---and that is the reason I went to some length in getting it--- that if a few blue-shirted men came down on the street---

Mr. Paton (interposing). Who are those blue-shirted men?

Mr. Raker. I don't know.

Mr. Paton. I believe I had one on that day myself.

Mr. Raker. I don't know who they are. It has been testified that there seemed to be a number of blue-shirted men on the street participating in the riot.

Mr. Paton. There was very little, you remember, that I saw. I didn't see the crowds at all. I was up in that Chamber of Commerce meeting.

Mr. Raker. I get the viewpoint now. I didn't know you had a blue shirt on. (laughter).

Mr. Paton. I am particularly fond of them.

Mr. Raker. Well, I can readily see why you answered me as you did.

Mr. Cooper. He kept his coat on all day.

Mr. Raker. What I meant was this---and you will appreciate it now---that if there happened to be 25 or 30 or 40 men dressed in blue shirts on the streets that day---

Mr. Paton. (interposing). Any particular kind of blue shirt, or the blue shirt that the working classes as a rule wear?

Mr. Raker. Blue shirts that the working men were wearing. It has been testified to that there appeared to be a good many blue-shirted men on the street that day---that if they themselves had attempted to have started this mob, and this rioting, it would have been an impossibility to have disorganized the Mayor's office and police office and every other civil organization in the city, wouldn't it?

Mr. Paton. The reason for the Mayor's office being put in such a shape was because of the rioting.

Mr. Raker. What do you mean by that?

Mr. Paton. I mean that the Mayor was threatened, according to all reports---I am judging from the newspaper reports only---

and naturally that was the reason, and the killing of the policemen, that the police officers here felt as they did. It was natural for them to have a kind of feeling. Still, they ought to have known what their duties were.

Mr. Baker. Well, isn't it---wouldn't a man have to draw on his imagination extremely strong to think that one particular class of men could have so thoroughly taken charge of the entire city so that even men like yourself felt unsafe to be on the street?

Mr. Paton. They did. They certainly did. They just took the town.

Mr. Baker. Well, from what I have heard so far, there was no distinction. Everybody participated.

Mr. Paton. The crowds assembling naturally would have the appearance of being in the mob..

Mr. Baker. Whether they actually participated or not?

Mr. Paton. Yes, whether they actually participated or not. I got in my car and came down within four blocks of it just to see the fire, but I thought I had gone far enough, in case of a stray bullet, so we returned.

Mr. Baker. That is all, Mr. Paton.

Mr. Foster. I just want to ask one or two questions. You live in East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And are manager of Morris and Co?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir, manager of Morris and Co.

Mr. Foster. Packers. How much population is there in National City?

Mr. Paton. I should judge 350 to 400.

Mr. Foster. Is the town growing?

Mr. Paton. Yes.

Mr. Foster. How much of the property of National City do the packers and National Stock Yards own?

Mr. Paton. Oh, I should judge they own ninety per cent of it anyway. I should imagine so. I can't positively state.

Mr. Foster. Well, are there people living within the city who own property there, other people?

Mr. Paton. Yes; various railroads.

Mr. Foster. What is the valuation, approximately, the valuation of the property owned by the three packing houses and the National Stock Yards?

Mr. Paton. I can't state that.

Mr. Foster. Can't you give the approximate valuation?

Mr. Paton. No, I couldn't. It depends on the---I couldn't state.

Mr. Foster. Several millions, though, isn't it?

Mr. Paton. Oh, yes; naturally. Their buildings alone would be---

Mr. Foster. (interposing). Probably one hundred million?

Mr. Paton. I couldn't state how many millions at all. Can't state that, but I should imagine that National City is worth ---referring to the ground belonging to not only the packers but to the various railroads and private interests--- the terminal railroads, for instance, comprise, I believe, a good portion of it.

Mr. Foster. The tax rate in National City is not very high, is it?

Mr. Paton. That I don't know; it is not handled by me.

Mr. Foster. Well, wouldn't you think it would be low, Mr. Paton?

Mr. Paton. It ought to be pretty low.

Mr. Foster. Much lower than it is in East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. That I don't know. It doesn't come under my jurisdiction.

Mr. Foster. You don't know how many dollars on the thousand or the hundred it is rated here in Illinois?

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

Mr. Foster. But your idea is, with all the packing houses and stock yards and terminal railroad association property and other railroads, that to maintain a city there of 200 or 400 inhabitants, it wouldn't be very high?

Mr. Paton. That would be my opinion.

Mr. Foster. So that all this immense wealth that is located in National City really escapes taxation by being in a municipality of its own, not connected up with East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. I believe the taxes, if I am not mistaken, are based on a certain township, Stites Township, which goes further than National City.

Mr. Foster. Well, I don't know about that, but I judged that the city taxes ---you have state taxes and county taxes and township, of course? You have township taxes, road and bridge fund and town fund?

Mr. Paton. There ought to be.

Mr. Foster. And so on. Now, you have that, and then you have, of course, your city taxes. Do you have school taxes out there?

Mr. Eaton. Oh, yes.

Mr. Foster. You have a schoolhouse there within the City?

Mr. Eaton. Yes.

Mr. Foster. So that you pay those taxes?

Mr. Eaton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. But the tax rate, I should think, must be lower than it is in the City of East St. Louis.

Mr. Eaton. Well, I am just like you, Mr. Foster, I presume that way too, but I can't state because it doesn't come under my jurisdiction. I haven't got a thing to do with the taxes , nor do I know anything about them.

Mr. Foster. That is a village, isn't it?

Mr. Eaton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Who is the village president?

Mr. Eaton. The Mayor. I can tell you his name. His name is Mr. Shepherd, I believe.

Mr. Foster. Well, that is the village president. That is about the richest municipality in the United States, isn't it?

Mr. Eaton. The papers say so at times when they are giving it a write up.

Mr. Foster. You wouldn't want to be annexed to East St. Louis, would you?

Mr. Eaton. Annexed to East St. Louis? Well, I don't know.

Mr. Foster. Well, they didn't when that municipality was

organized, did they? They must have organized it for some purpose.

Mr. Eaton. Yes; there were others that wanted---I heard Mr. Conway's testimony. I had nothing to do at that time---that is, I had no power of knowing anything about it. I wasn't manager at that time.

Mr. Foster. So, living right here by it---adjoining the City of East St. Louis---East St. Louis if has been stated was hard up for money; couldn't get sufficient funds to carry on its proper functions as a city to pay an adequate police force at all---it would have been of some benefit if they could have had that property for taxes, wouldn't it?

Mr. Eaton. I don't know.

Mr. Foster. Don't you think it would?

Mr. Eaton. Not with the kind of politics that we have had around here for years.

Mr. Foster. But we are not talking about politics now. We are talking about the financial condition, the city revenue. You are a manager of a big house, and I take it you are satisfied or you wouldn't be there, and you know something about financial conditions. Don't you think that it would have been?

Mr. Eaton. Well, I should feel like you. I do believe so myself, but I can't talk authoritatively, because I am not versed on that.

Mr. Foster. But that would be your idea? I am just going by your idea.

Mr. Eaton. Well, of course mine might not be good.

Mr. Foster. But I am trying to get it from you. Your idea was that that would have helped to maintain a better police force?

Mr. Eaton. Well, ... weren't in a position to know anything about that. When in a position to know anything about that end of it, I would be very glad to tell you.

Mr. Foster. I am just getting your opinion as a business man.

Mr. Eaton. It would be very natural, just as you state.

Mr. Foster. You are a member of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Eaton. I am not a member of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Foster. There has never been any voluntary offer of the packing companies, the National Stock Yards, and the other industrial institutions out there to annex themselves to East St. Louis in order to help build--furnish them more money, has there?

Mr. Eaton. No, if there had, I guess they might have had to do it all.

Mr. Foster. They couldn't tax them any more in proportion than they could the man with the little house, could they?

Mr. Eaton. Well, probably not.

Mr. Foster. The law governs that?

Mr. Eaton. Yes, sir; I presume it does.

Mr. Foster. And the same rate would apply to one as applies to the other?

Mr. Eaton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. So that they really have a hundred-million

dollars or more property out there that is joined up to the city and don't help to pay the expenses of the city, and have for a good many years?

Mr. Paton. Well, they don't. It is a separate and distinct municipality.

Mr. Foster. Now, the fire department, it is stated here ---whether you know anything about it, whether there is some arrangement---that the packing houses are contributing to the support of the fire department---at least out by the line of East St. Louis, located near your packing plant? Do you know whether that is true?

Mr. Paton. I don't believe that is true.

Mr. Foster. Are you contributing anything to the fire protection of East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. Not that I am aware of. Now, I might state that I don't know what the arrangement was before that fire department---that is, No. 6, as they call it, I believe---before it was built. It may have been an arrangement.

Mr. Foster. Is it right close to the line?

Mr. Paton. It is in a part of East St. Louis that is close to the line.

Mr. Foster. Right close to the line where it is very accessible?

Mr. Paton. Very accessible to the stock yards, and, at the same time, the proper location for East St. Louis in that district.

Mr. Foster. You have your own fire protection?

Mr. Paton. We have.

Mr. Foster. Do you have your own water system?

Mr. Paton. Why, we have several wells on our property.

Mr. Foster. I mean, for instance, with a fire where do you get your water?

Mr. Paton. It comes from East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. You get water from East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. Yes; we buy it.

Mr. Foster. So that you depend on East St. Louis for fire protection practically?

Mr. Paton. To a certain extent, so far as water is concerned.

Mr. Foster. You have your own fire engines out there?

Mr. Paton. We have our own---not a fire engine. We have our own crews at our plant; our own fire brigade.

Mr. Foster. Now, the municipality of National City, do they support the fire department?

Mr. Paton. No, I don't think they do.

Mr. Foster. So that whatever fire protection there is out there comes from each individual plant and from the City of East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir; if we have such fires that we are compelled to call on the East St. Louis department, why we do, just as East St. Louis would call on St. Louis if they have such fires that they feel they will not be able to control.

Mr. Foster. I just want to ask you another question.

When you increased the wages out there 2-1/2 cents an hour in the last year or two---there have been four increases---did all the packing plants increase the wages at the same time?

Mr. Paton. I don't know whether they were on the exact

day or not, but I know that we had for quite a time a lower scale than Armour had. We had about 2-1/2 cents an hour lower.

Mr. Foster. Did you ever get any communications in reference to the increase of wages, from your head office?

Mr. Paton. Oh, we put it up to them and tell them what we are compelled to do to get the labor. Now, we have heard many times that the Aluminum were paying such wages that when the labor was xxxxxxx scarce we could hardly get enough.

Mr. Foster. Did you notify your house that Armour and Co. had increased their wages, and it was necessary for you to do something?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And so that you followed Armour and Co. in increasing wages?

Mr. Paton. We had to.

Mr. Foster. You didn't talk about the matter among yourselves out there?

Mr. Paton. Not here.

Mr. Foster. I mean the different plants out there.

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Nothing was ever said about that?

Mr. Paton. No; we simply keep our people advised of what is going on. Now, I am constantly telling them what is necessary to do when we are up against it for men.

Mr. Foster. The house didn't notify you to increase the wages 2-1/2 cents an hour before you reported anything to them?

Mr. Paton. We reported that, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxx to Chicago first.

Mr. Foster. Before they increased it?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir. We kept them advised just what was being paid. We have got to do that.

Mr. Foster. What is being paid by others?

Mr. Paton. By others, not only packing houses industries, but all other industries.

Mr. Foster. You report to your house, then, the general conditions of labor?

Mr. Paton. Absolutely, if we are running short.

Mr. Foster. And do they tell you to employ colored people whenever you could?

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. They never made any such statement to you?

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Did you have many applications for labor about the time these excursions were coming in?

Mr. Paton. None other than the men at the gate.

Mr. Foster. They would make their applications to them?

Mr. Paton. Yes; that is, they come up there and stand in line and if we need a dozen or fifteen men for one department, we tell them---they are notified accordingly.

Mr. Foster. You had more than usual those times?

Mr. Paton. Why, I don't believe that there were very many more than usual, because of conditions. What I mean is this, that we were forced to increase our help. They were taking on more before the whistle blew, as it were.

Mr. Foster. Let me ask you this, did you ever know of these firms or corporations taking any action, united action, or singly, to secure more labor from the South among

negores?

Mr. Paton. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Would you know it if that was done by a corporation?

Mr. Paton. It is not done by us anyway. I would know it if it were.

Mr. Foster. There was no effort, no contribution ever made?

Mr. Paton. Absolutely none.

Mr. Foster. To bring in any one?

Mr. Paton. No.

Mr. Foster. The Chamber of Commerce didn't do anything of that kind?

Mr. Paton. That I am not a member of.

Mr. Foster. I thought you were a member. You are a member of the Committee of One Hundred, however?

Mr. Paton. Yes; they mentioned my name then, but I haven't been since the rioting to the meetings.

Mr. Foster. Do you know who owns this property that these cheap houses are rented to in the City of East St. Louis?

Mr. Paton. I understand they are owned by various people. Mr. Joyce, I believe, owns some.

Mr. Foster. Where does he own them?

Mr. Paton. That I can't tell you. I only heard--I believe the remarks at that meeting mentioned that fact. Someone mentioned the fact, but who mentioned it I can't remember, stating that Mr. Joyce owned some houses.

Mr. Foster. He is quite a property owner?

Mr. Paton. Oh, yes, a very wealthy man, and a good business man; a worthy citizen.

Mr. Foster. I believe that is all.

Mr. Cooper. You said the Mayor's name was what at National City?

Mr. Paton. Shepherd.

Mr. Cooper. What is the name of the assessor?

Mr. Paton. Mr. Shepherd was the assessor; then he was elected mayor.

Mr. Cooper. He is elected by the township?

Mr. Paton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Where does he live?

Mr. Paton. He lives in National City.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Baker. How many saloons do you license in National City?

Mr. Paton. I think the hotel there is the only one.

Mr. Baker. That is all.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will take a recess until 3 o'clock. Thank you.

(Whereupon the Committee at 2 P.M. adjourned for recess).

AFTER RECESS.

The Committee reassembled at 3 o'clock P.M., pursuant to recess.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Anderson, will you come to the stand?

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. PAUL Y. ANDERSON, REPORTER FOR THE POST DISPATCH, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Anderson, the Committee has been advised that a party here in town has approached you since you testified

before the Committee last Saturday, and has perhaps undertaken to intimidate you---to reprimand you for giving that testimony, and to intimidate you from giving further testimony. If anything of that kind has happened, please recite it.

Mr. Anderson. After I left the stand this morning, I went down to the Arcade Building and stopped for a moment in the office of Smith Brothers Real Estate firm, and as I was starting out a justice of the peace by the name of T. C. Brady called me back, called me inside the enclosure, and said, "Anderson, I hear you have been telling a lot of stuff up before that committee about the justices of the peace here". I said, "Yes, I have.". He said, "Well, I want to tell you right now, you will get in bad if you don't cut it out". He said, "You are telling a lot of lies". I said, "No, I told them about a condition which had existed here for fifteen or twenty years previous to the riots, and which you know existed". He said, "It's nothing but a bunch of lies, and God damn you, I'll tell you right now I don't want to hear of you going up there and shooting off your mouth any more about the justices of the peace". I said, "Well, I'll tell what the truth is without regard to what you think about it", and walked out.

Mr. Johnson. That was today?

Mr. Anderson. That was about 12 o'clock.

Mr. Johnson. Today?

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir.

Mr. ~~Chapman~~ Baker. I want to ask the young man if anybody was present and heard the conversation.

Mr. Anderson. Yes, sir; Mr. Robert Smith was present, and

I think Mr. Theodore Smith.

Mr. Baker. What are these two men's business?

Mr. Anderson. It is their office; it is a real estate office.

Mr. Johnson. You have recited that he used oaths and---

Mr. Anderson (interposing). His manner was very threatening.

Mr. Johnson. And ugly language. Now, as to his manner.

Mr. Anderson. It was very threatening.

Mr. Johnson. And there is no other construction to be given it, except to censure you for having testified, and to intimidate you from further testifying?

Mr. Anderson. No, sir; impossible.

Mr. Johnson. There is no other construction to be given his words and actions?

Mr. Anderson. It would be impossible to take any other meaning.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee was anxious to have Mr. Brady here when these questions were asked you, but he hasn't come yet, and when he comes in we will have these questions and answers read to him.

You may be excused.

Mr. Albertson, will you take the stand?

STATEMENT OF MR. ROY ALBERTSON, OF EAST ST. LOUIS.
(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson).
Mr. Johnson. Please give the stenographer your full name, your residence and occupation.

Mr. Albertson. Roy Albertson, 1117 Pennsylvania Avenue, East St. Louis, a newspaper reporter for the East St. Louis Journal.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Albertson, the Committee would be glad to have you, in your own way, tell just what you may know about the rioting in or about the City of East St. Louis at any time during the year 1917. In other words, in testifying about it, if you know anything concerning the May riot, begin back with that and come along down, and tell the Committee everything that you may know about it, whether it be direct--- whether you know it of your own knowledge or whether it is information that you have gotten from hearsay.

Mr. Albertson. I would rather begin with the presidential campaign of last fall.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead, take everything leading up to the present condition.

Mr. Albertson. At that time, I was upon the St. Louis Republic. I was born and reared in East St. Louis, and have some knowledge of the political conditions and other conditions this side of the river.

In the middle of October, a Chicago newspaper sprang a story about thousands of negroes being brought north to be colonized in Illinois and Ohio, to be used in the election for one side or the other. And East St. Louis was supposed to be one of the centers of the colonization, because of my knowledge of conditions over here, they sent me over here and I spent seven or eight days in the negro districts.

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Albertson. In October, about the 1st or 2nd week in October. And I was to learn what they were brought north for, whether they had been colonized down there and brought here to be voted, or whether it was just a natural trend northward

of the labor movement. I found that it was a labor movement and not a political movement---an economic situation. The negro found he could better his chances up here, and every one who would come up would send word back to ten others and in that way they just flooded East St. Louis with their kin. And coming here they found the freedom of the North more extensive than that of the South, and they took full advantage of it,and due to the laxity of law enforcement here---that is, regarding the negroes---they are a great political factor and were always given leeway by any administration that was in power, regardless of how good that administration might be or might have been otherwise, and they would be up here only a few weeks until you would discover by the police records and other ways that there were"stick-ups"and holdups and everything else, and everything was being committed by negroes. That kept up all last winter; it started in the fall. So many of them came up here---they came up in thousands---and there was not enough work for all of them, so they had to resort to some other means to obtain a living or obtain money. There were lots of negro gambling places in certain parts of the city. Although gambling had been stopped and abolished in other sections of the city where whites lived, the negroes had colonies of their own in different sections of the city to themselves. In that way this feeling of unrest and discontent and hatred towards the whites was allowed to spread, and particularly in what is known as the "black belt". That is a section in the southern part of the city where all this rioting broke out, where this alleged conspiracy of the negroes to slaughter the

whites was hatched. Down there was a hotbed all last winter of trouble. The negroes were arrested for murders and stick-ups and everything else---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). What do you mean by "stick-ups"?

Mr. Albertson. Hold-ups, highway robberies. That is a common term. They all seemed to belong down in that neighborhood. And it got so that every night it was a joke in East St. Louis if we didn't have a murder committed by a negro, while he was trying to perform a stick-up or stage some kind of a robbery, and all winter kept the whites infuriated towards the negroes. Women were afraid to go out on the streets, and men were arming themselves, and the Aluminum Ore Company strike came along in April, and negroes were imported by the hundreds as strike-breakers. They replaced the whites by the hundreds, and that further aroused the feeling here, because East St. Louis is a very strong labor town ---that is, organized labor---and such an overwhelming majority of sentiment of that kind went strongly against the negroes. Conditions got so bad in May that the labor unions decided to call a mass meeting at the City Hall Auditorium to discuss this; take it up with the city officials and proper authorities and see if there couldn't be some remedy, and to take up the subject with southern cities, through the Mayor and newspapers, and try to discourage niggers as much as possible coming North, especially to East St. Louis, due to the fact we had an oversupply of negroes. That meeting was on May 28 in the City Hall Auditorium, and was addressed by several men.

Mr. Johnson. By whom was it addressed?

Mr. Albertson. Well, there were two or three union men spoke.

Mr. Johnson. Who were they?

Mr. Albertson. I don't recall just now. Mayor Hollman addressed the meeting.

Mr. Johnson. Were you there?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir. Mayor Hollman addressed the meeting, and he warned them against any outbreak. He told them to remain calm; that there would be some solution, and tried to prevent trouble, because it was right on the brink then.

Mr. Johnson. Try to recall the names of the other speakers.

Mr. Albertson. Well, I could find them in my newspaper files, but, only there was one other speaker I can remember off hand and that was Alexander Flannigan, an attorney. He was the one and only one that all those present can remember, because it was to the sentiment there he appealed, and that was by informing them that there was no law or rule or anything else to curb mob violence. He wound up the meeting. That was the climax. It was ringing in their ears when they poured out of the auditorium. "No law against mob violence", and they poured out.

Mr. Johnson. He so advised the crowd there, did he?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Was a stenographic report of his speech taken?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir, there was no particular importance attached to the meeting. That is the reason there was no

stenographic report made of the speeches. And they got out in the streets.

Mr. Johnson. That was after the speaking was over?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir. A few minutes before the meeting ended, I had gone on to police headquarters to see if there had been any negro murders, as I had been away for a couple of hours, and being our station at East St. Louis had to keep in touch with everything. So when I came back---

Mr. Johnson.(interposing). Came back where?

Mr. Albertson. Back to the City Hall. The crowd was just coming out, and there were one or two detectives standing in front of the place, and they told, several fellows, of a negro operating at that present minute at the central part of the city; he had committed several hold-ups already and had shot at one man, and,of course,to make it"good"one of them exaggerated to the extent of saying that he had killed a white man. So the crowd took it up and most of them walked east to Collinsville Avenue, which is the main street of the city. Then they got to the corner of Collinsville and Missouri Avenues, which is the most prominent and conspicuous corner in town, they discovered a negro going along about his business, as I understand it, and without any provocation whatever, they just took after the nigger.

Mr. Johnson. Where was Mr. Flannigan, who had made this speech to which you refer?

Mr. Albertson. I think he was across the street in his favorite retreat, a saloon.

Mr. Johnson. You mean he was in a saloon immediately by where this crowd had congregated that assaulted the negro?

Mr. Albertson. About a block away; a good block.

They took after that negro, and there happened to be a couple of policemen on the corner, and the policemen waded in the crowd and rescued the nigger before there was any act of violence committed. They got the nigger to police headquarters, with the aid of several other policemen that were rushed over there from headquarters, and they---there must have been fifteen hundred in the crowd then---and it was augmented in a few minutes by several hundred more attracted by the shouting and cheering---"lynch him", "mob him", and everything else.

Mr. Johnson. What did they do with him?

Mr. Albertson. They got him into police headquarters and put him in a cell. He was safe then. He had been pretty well handled and punched.

Mr. Johnson. Didn't they kill a negro that night?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir; there were no fatalities during the first riot.

Mr. Johnson. The Committee has been told, not from the witness stand but by others, that a negro was killed that night.

Mr. Albertson. Not that I know of.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you would have known it if there had been one?

Mr. Albertson. Certainly, because I kept check on it. There might have been several that died from after affects, but there was no way of keeping tab on them.

From police headquarters, the mob moved down Main Street and split up in two or three factions, and decided to take the niggers off of every street- car line.

Mr. Johnson. That was in May?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; especially the Alta Sita and Broadway lines, which are largely patronized by negroes. At Collinsville and Broadway that night between the hours of 10:30 and 12 o'clock, there were a great many negroes beaten. In that mob there were eight or ten soldiers in uniform.

Mr. Johnson. Was that back in May still you are talking about?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. These soldiers were in East St. Louis that night on furlough, and two or three of them being East St. Louis boys, were over here, although they belonged to the Missouri National Guard; they hadn't been called into the Federal service yet.

Mr. Johnson. They weren't armed at that time?

Mr. Albertson. No, merely on furlough. But the uniform attracted a great many people, and their soldiers leading the mobs they just surged right on behind them. The soldiers did very effectual work in pulling trolleys and pulling negroes off the cars.

Mr. Johnson. Well, were they the same soldiers that were afterwards summoned here to quell the mob?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir; those soldiers were arrested and court martialled, or handled in some way by the military authorities.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know what punishment they got?

Mr. Albertson. Well, I think one of them got thirty days in the guard house, and $30.00 fine, a month's pay. And the others were punished in some way or other.

The crowd got kind of tired beating negroes about midnight

that night and it was dispersed without doing any murder or committing any murder. But the feeling was there and it was all pent up, and it had to come out. So the next night they started again and beat up a good many more negroes. Lots of shots were fired that night, but I don't think there was any one wounded.

By that time there were fully 700 soldiers in town, and they were scattered about the city in such a way that they could hold things down pretty well. They were placed in the most strategic points---down in the negro districts to keep the niggers down, and down in the white districts to keep the whites down. The soldiers remained here I guess fully three weeks.

Mr. Baker. This is the 29th of May?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; dating from the 29th of May, or the 29th.

Things cooled down considerably, but there was always that undercurrent; always the rumor that each side was preparing to get the other; that they were going to have a regular Roman Holiday. The niggers down in the black belt were supposed to be arming, and the whites were supposed to be arming, and you might say three or four days before the real riot of July 2nd there were rumors that the niggers were going to break loose on the 4th of July, because they wouldn't be noticed that day if they fired any shots or if there was any shooting, due to the fact that there would be so much---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Fire works?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. But there was little attention paid

to that. They just figured it was the imagination of somebody. But on Sunday night, July 1st, I was at police headquarters at five minutes to 12. I was in the telephone room, and the telephone operator---the man that handles the telephone switchboard---was very busy when the telephone rang. To help them out I picked it up and answered it, and the party on the other end of the line explained that he was a grocer named James Reidy at 16th Street and Boismenue Avenue. He explained that the negroes were rushing in every direction down there and seemed to be gathering for some purpose or other, and that they were all being summoned by the ringing of a church bell. He said, "If you listen you can hear it". But I couldn't hear it, and he said, "I want to tell you, if you get some men down here right away you will disperse them before there is any trouble." I communicated the word to the night chief, Con Hickey, and he ordered detective sergeant Coppedge and his walking partner, Wodley; two patrol men, patrolmen Hobbs, and Cullinan, and chauffeur Hutter to go down to that corner, 16th St. and Boismenue Avenue, and see what was going on. That is about a mile and a half, or you might say two miles, from police headquarters. And as the machine started away, I scented a good news story, and I thought I would go along. I climbed into the machine and we started south on Main Street---that is the street on which the City Hall is located---then we turned east on Broadway; Broadway to 10th; then south on 10th street to Bond Avenue. At that intersection, 10th St. and Bond Avenue, very many negroes lived, especially on Bond Avenue. That street, Bond Avenue, is broken up there; it doesn't run connectedly, but

Bond Avenue at 10th breaks, and starts again about fifty feet south of the 900 block. There is only one arclight there, and as we went around the corner from 10th into Bond, we ran right into an organized body of negroes, between, you might say, 125 or 150 negroes. They were all armed in some way.

Mr. Johnson. Name some of the arms they had.

Mr. Albertson. Well, the lights on the machine were very poor and the street at that point was dark, but what light was thrown on the niggers I saw all kinds of revolvers---automatics, and blue steel, and cheap revolvers; Winchester rifles, Springfield rifles, and sawed-off shot-guns---every thing except a cannon on wheels. Some of them not only had revolvers and rifles, but were carrying bludgeons and clubs of various kinds. As we turned the corner we were going pretty good clip, fifteen or twenty miles an hour---the chauffeur had to slam on the emergency break to keep from running into them. We came to a dead stop, and the sergeant, detective sergeant, was seated on the right.

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Albertson. Coppedge. He was seated on the right side of the machine in the front seat. He said, "What is doing here, boys?" Some of them hollered, "Mone of your damned business". "Well", he said, "We are down here to protect you fellows as well as the whites. We are officers". "We don't need any of your damned protection".

Mr. Johnson. That answer came from the negroes?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. Then they all laughed and guffawed

around, and there was another one of them hollored, "Go on and get away from here. Pull out of here. We don't need you." Well, he knew what he was up against and he turned to the chauffeur and said, "Let's get out of here, Frank". as the machine pulled away---it had gone about five feet, I suppose---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). Had you completely turned around?

Mr. Albertson. No, going in the same direction; going east on Bond Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. Well, how did you get away, by continuing in the same direction?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Well, wouldn't that take you right in the midst of them?

Mr. Albertson. Well, we ran right into the head of the column. We turned the corner from 10th right into Bond Avenue and here was the organized body marching west on Bond Avenue.

Mr. Johnson. Were they out in the middle of the street where your automobile was?

Mr. Albertson. They were in the middle. They were sort of spread out, too. Those in front appeard to be two or three abreast.

Mr. Johnson. The best way to get away was to go right on past them?

Mr. Albertson. Well, as the machine turned the corner a good many of them stepped to one side, but the head of the column---we would have run into them if we hadn't stopped, because there was such a great number that there was no chance to avoid all of them. And the machine had gotten just about

five feet from where it stopped when there was one shot fired. I thought one of the niggers had stuck a bayonet or knife or something into one of the tires. It was a Ford machine; the tires were not very thick. And with the one shot it brought a volley of all kinds. Then there was another one. Then it looked like they just turned loose and tried to empty their guns as fast as they could.

Mr. Johnson. They kept shooting at those in the automobile?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. That is a 400-foot block from 10th to 11th street, and I noticed that we had passed the arclight, the street lamp at 11th St., before the shooting stopped, and when we got by the street, the chauffeur said something, "Sam is shot"--that is the first name of Sergeant Coppedge. I said, "Well, we'll keep going on".

Mr. Johnson. What part of the car were you sitting in?

Mr. Albertson. At that time I was stretched out on the running-board. I had been sitting on the left side, on the left rear door. As we turned the corner, I sized up the situation in about one-tenth of a second, and got down on the running board, which cleared me. And we went out Bond Avenue to 15th St. We didn't notice any more negroes. We got to the Deaconess Hospital, and on the way out I told the chauffeur to shut down a little at 12th Street and Missouri Avenue, there is a fire engine house located there; and I said, "I'll get off here and give the alarm to headquarters"---the police station. I called them there and notified them what had happened and that Coppedge was dead, and Foule, and Hobbs shot.

Mr. Johnson. How long did this man live after he was

shot?

Mr. Albertson. He seemed to have been killed instantly.

Mr. Johnson. Where was he shot?

Mr. Albertson. He was shot in the jugular vein, the neck, it severed the jugular vein.

Mr. Johnson. He bled to death?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. I then went to the hospital, and the doctor there pronounced him dead. They operated on Dudley and he died in two days.

Mr. Johnson. Where was he shot?

Mr. Albertson. He was shot in the kidneys, I think, and bladder. Hodges was shot in the right arm, and he was back on duty in a few days.

Mr. Johnson. Three of them were shot?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Three officers were alone, and all three of them shot?

Mr. Albertson. Five officers and myself. Three officers were shot, and the chauffeur and the third patrolman escaped. I was out to the hospital till about 1:15, I suppose. There was the dead wagon which came for Coppedge's body. No cars were running down town, so I decided to ride down on that. I got down to the police headquarters about 1:30.

Mr. Johnson. You were gone, all told, about an hour and a half from the police station, police headquarters?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. When I got down there I suppose every member of the night force had been called in, and they had been instructed to come to police headquarters. They were going to mobilize and go down in the south end and see what was

going on.

Mr. Johnson. That is where this attack had been made?

Mr. Albertson. That is where the attack occurred, because I figured that the niggers intended to overrun the south end that night and kill everybody in the city. And some testimony that has been produced up above tends to show that they were going to the east approach of the free bridge to shoot two or three white men that had attacked an innocent nigger early in the evening. It seems like they knew who they wanted and they were going there to get them.

Mr. Cooper. Two or three white men who had done what?

Mr. Albertson. Two or three white men, I believe, were employed at a gasoline filling station there. They had beaten up a negro chauffeur early in the evening. This negro was innocent of the charge they accused him of, so they were going down there to avenge him.

Mr. Johnson. Where do you say that testimony was brought out?

Mr. Albertson. I think it was up in the Circuit Court.

Mr. Johnson. At Belleville?

Mr. Albertson Yes.

Mr. Johnson. It was brought out before the Grand Jury or in the trial of some of these cases?

Mr. Albertson. The Grand Jury, I think. Of course, it may not have been given, but it was offered---that is, it may not have been accepted.

I said I got down to police headquarters about 1:30, and I suppose that twelve or fourteen uniform men were there that night. The police force had been greatly reduced for the last

year in an effort to economize in different ways, and there were not a great number of men there. So about that time, there was a report came to the station that there was a crowd off on Collinsville Avenue, the next street east of Main Street.

Mr. Johnson. Whites or negroes?

Mr. Albertson. Whites gathering in front of the chilly parlor, and that they intended to go up and wreck Dr. Bundy's office. Dr. Bundy is a negro leader and the one that is now accused of having led that mob that killed Coppedge and Yodley. He has a dental office in what is known as the Boul Building, and they intended to go up there and see if Doctor Bundy was there, and get him.

Mr. Johnson. He was brought back from Ohio several days ago?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

They intended to go up there and wreck his office. It was lit up and they figured there was somebody in there. And two or three fellows in uniform, who hadn't been accepted in any service yet---later became members of the 3rd---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Military uniform?

Mr. Albertson. Yes---later became members of the 3rd Field Artillery, and were wearing the uniform merely to aid recruiting---local fellows. One of them had a rifle of some kind, and they were going to lead the crowd up the stairway up to the second floor to Doctor Bundy's office. They figured on putting on a real storm up there. But they got up there and discovered nothing except an electric fan in operation. Everybody else had fled. So they figured that he was around close and they were beginning to search the building when the policemen

marched over there and broke them up. So that crowd came over in front of the police station. Now there was no more trouble that night that was reported. The police were kept around headquarters---that is, most of them---instead of going out on their beats, and when I got down to police headquarters at that time, about 1:30, the first one I saw was Mayor Hollman, who was speaking to the Chief of Police, who also had been summoned from his home, and the night chief was there too, I think, and I had sent my story in to the paper, and there was a 2 o'clock dead line, and I wanted to get some statement from the Mayor as to what he intended to do, because I knew there was going to be some trouble that day for the killing of Coppedge. I asked him what he intended to do, and he didn't seem to realize the seriousness of the situation at that time. I told him that I thought that the first riot---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Where did you find the Mayor?

Mr. Albertson. In front of police headquarters, at 1:30 that morning---about 1:30. I told him that I thought the first riot would be a joke compared with what he would have on his hands that day. I said you had about 600 or 700 soldiers here on May 28 for that riot, "But", I said, "it will take double that number now to even try to handle what is going to turn loose today". Well, he began to see light then, and he went into his office---I guess that was about 1:40---and he called for the Adjutant General, I think. Being as he was in Washington, he called for his next ranking officers.

Mr. Johnson. At what place?

Mr. Albertson. Springfield. He got hold of Dick Shann---

that is another adjutant, assistant to Adjutant General Dickson. Shann had been down here on the first riot and was in touch with the situation. As soon as he got Shann, Shann got busy and started calling all Southern Illinois towns that had companies of militia and organize them to get to East St. Louis as quickly as possible. The Effingham company was the first to arrive, about 9 o'clock, I think.

Mr. Johnson. Nine o'clock on the morning of the 2nd?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. But they came as they could; they didn't come fully equipped as soldiers---some in overalls, some without any semblance of a uniform, some merely brought their rifles, and the company should have been about 75 men, and they didn't have any more than 45. They reached City Hall about 9 o'clock, and Colonel Clayton, who had handled the first riot, was in St. Louis on that Sunday night, and of course when he read it in the morning paper, he rushed to East St. Louis. I met him about 9 o'clock, just about the time the company got in, and asked him what were his plans. Well, he said that the rest were due to arrive slowly, but he hoped to have enough in town by noon to cope with the situation. But I don't think there were more than 200 or 250 soldiers in town by noon, and there were three or four companies arrived during the afternoon, but they weren't full companies. They weren't organized in any way; they were just raw recruits ---farmers' boys---and what they saw just overwhelmed them---amazed them. They couldn't do their duty, seemingly. Furthermore, they were blocked by not having orders from Colonel Tripp, who had been sent down that day and who superseded Colonel Clayton in power, in authority.

Mr. Johnson. What time did he get here?

Mr. Albertson. I think I first saw Colonel Tripp in the Mayor's office about 10 o'clock. It seems like Shann had sent him down here. He caught the first train out of Springfield.

Mr. Johnson. He was the principal officer on the 2nd?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir, he was the head officer, over Clayton.

Mr. Johnson. You say the troops were handicapped by him in some way?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; he couldn't give orders to shoot or give any drastic order of any kind. He wouldn't give any order that would serve only as a bluff to terrorize the rioters without doing any harm to them. But I heard him in conversation with the Governor once or twice during the day---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Over the telephone?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. He gave him assurance that he had the situation well in hand and everything would be all right ~~in~~ that night. So there was a meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce to devise some ways and means to prevent trouble that night, because every one knew that it was coming.

Mr. Johnson. What time were these telephone messages sent by Colonel Tripp to the Governor?

Mr. Albertson. Well, now I don't really know, because things were breaking every second on that day, and I don't remember everything---just the minute details.

Mr. Johnson. But while the indiscriminate killing was going on, he was telephoning the Governor everything was all right?

Mr. Albertson. Well now, that is what he said. He gave assurance that he had the situation well in hand.

Mr. Johnson. Notwithstanding they were being killed all around him?

Mr. Albertson. Mayor Mollman was insisting on martial law being declared, and Colonel Tripp was against that, and to further his argument in being against it, he gave the Governor assurance he could handle it without martial law.

Mr. Johnson. And the Mayor wanted martial law?

Mr. Albertson. Mayor Mollman insisted upon martial law. He even went so far as to give it in written form---to get it down in black and white. The time and all I think is stipulated in the official order---or, rather, the demand that be made upon Colonel Tripp. Then he went up before the Chamber of Commerce to represent the business men of East St. Louis---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). The Mayor did?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. They insisted upon it. They backed the Mayor up, to a certain degree. Of course, there were some afraid of it. They didn't realize what martial law was.

Mr. Johnson. Was Colonel Tripp up there?

Mr. Albertson. He attended the meeting, I am sure.

Mr. Johnson. He was ~~present~~ present when the Mayor was there before the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Albertson. I wouldn't swear to that, because newspaper men were barred from that meeting, and I don't know what went on, but I am sure ~~him~~ Colonel Tripp was there, because I later heard of him standing up before the men at the telephone and telling the Governor that martial law was unneces-

sary, and I think the Mayor took the telephone out of his hand and pleaded with the Governor to declare martial law. But it seemed like the Governor was confident to abide by Colonel Tripp's decision, so he let it go at that.

As the day wore on, the rioting grew more serious, particularly in the down town district, along Collinsville Ave. and Main Street. They were just running around there promiscuously from one end of the street to the other, surging from Broadway up to Missouri; then they would get tired of beating up negroes there and they would look for some new game up at St. Louis Avenue, and go along taking negroes off the street cars. They finally ~~main~~ centered their violence about 1 o'clock at Collinsville and State Street.

Mr. Johnson. There were the soldiers all this time?

Mr. Albertson. They were scattered around. In fact, they were scattered too much to have any force. The number of soldiers that were together were too small to have any effect on the mob. And the soldiers did a little too much talking. They informed the members of the mob that they had no cartridges, no orders to shoot, or anything else; had no orders to charge with fixed bayonets,and they just got to be looked upon by the mob as an Indian would---an Indian statue out in front of a cigar store, that is, all they were doing was standing around. And the mob---I suppose there has been previous testimony---killed a negro and his wife or his daughter up at Collinsville and State, after they had taken them off a street-car. They were going from Alton to St. Louis, or going from St. Louis to Alton---I don't know which. And it was at that time that the white man was killed by a stray bullet---William Keyser,

a hardware merchant.

Mr. Johnson. Wasn't that a boy taken off of the car there instead of a girl?

Mr. Albertson. It might have been a boy because there was a girl escaped, I think. And in fact I didn't see much of the rioting during the afternoon, because I was worn out from the night before and was content to stay around my office. I knew there was a great deal of shooting going on and the safest place for me was where that wasn't going on.

I suppose it was about 5 o'clock when the first fire alarm was sounded during the day. The firemen had been preparing all day for a good many runs, and everything was keyed up for lots of fires that night. They figured that they were going to touch off a lot of negro homes. So the first alarm sounded about 5 o'clock for four negro houses at Main St. and Brady Avenue. They set back in the field. It seems like one part of the mob had broken up and had gone down there just to pick out those four houses. They knew it was not in a thickly settled negro district, and what they could do to those negroes would be a finish. As I understand it---I didn't see it---but I understand that they killed four negroes there by shooting them.

Mr. Johnson. Were any soldiers there?

Mr. Albertson. (continuing) They set the houses on fire and two or three negroes who fled from the houses as they were burning were thrown back into them.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't see that?

Mr. Albertson. No; but I got down there about the time they were supposed to have thrown them in. I heard several

shots after I got down there, but there was so much smoke.

Mr. Johnson. Were there any soldiers there at that time?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. What were they doing?

Mr. Albertson. They were just standing up against the wall. They couldn't do anything. They had their rifles and I think those soldiers had cartridges, but there was no ranking officer there---no sergeant, no lieutenant, or anyone else to tell them what to do. They were just like lost babes in the woods. They got down there and were overwhelmed by the sight themselves. It was such a novelty to them that they just fell into the humor of it themselves, and there was nothing done there.

Mr. Johnson. "Fell into the humor of it"---do you mean sympathized with it?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; and one or two of the men---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). Was there any open expressions of that sympathy, either by word or action?

Mr. Albertson. No, except by inaction; by permitting what went on. Of course, they must have sympathized or were cowards, either one or the other. I saw two or three men try to cut a section of fire hose through which water was running at the time to put out the fire. The soldiers did nothing to prevent that.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know who it was that tried to cut the hose?

Mr. Albertson. No; I don't remember. They were young fellows, youths about eighteen or nineteen. But they were bluffed away by some fireman coming running along there with a

nozzle and told them he would knock their head off if they didn't cut it out, so they decided they better not try it.

And I think it was about 5:40 the alarm for the big fire was sounded. That was on Walnut Avenue, the real negro street of East St. Louis, down in the negro segregated district. I think that was about 5:40, and from then on they were having a great time on Broadway, which is the first street running parallel to Walnut, north of it.

I never bothered about that fire alarm, because the office had sent over several more men and all I had to do was to detail them, send them out to the different parts where the rioting was strongest---fiercest.

I got down to 4th and Broadway, which was the center of the rioting during the evening. I got down there about 7 o'clock and saw several white women beating negro women carrying a baby in her arms. She was shouting at the top of her voice for them to have mercy on her child. Several of them hit the child, a baby about a year old. She begged them not to hit the child, but to lay their welts on her. They had broomsticks. One had just a rough piece of board and they were laying it to her. She fell down two or three times, but managed to hold on to the child. And one or two of the women tore most of her clothing off of her. She ran screaming up Broadway and managed to get away finally.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know any of these men women?

Mr. Albertson. No, they were women of the street.

Mr. Johnson. Prostitutes?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. How do you know that?

Mr. Albertson. Well, because I remember seeing them two or three times before, and there is no doubt about their character at first sight.

Mr. Johnson. There were no reputable mamm women engaged in that?

Mr. Albertson. No; and there was considerable shooting at that time.

Mr. Johnson. How many of those women were there there?

Mr. Albertson. Well, there were three women working on that one negro woman. They just knocked her right and left, from one side of the street to the other; wherever she would go they just kept following her and beating her and clubbing her.

Mr. Johnson. Where was that?

Mr. Albertson. Fourth St. and Broadway. That was the center of the rioting that night. That is where one nigger was lynched.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see her come out of the house?

Mr. Albertson. No. The first I saw of her was fleeing north on 4th Street. She ran north on 4th to Broadway, and they attacked her in front of a saloon. They were waiting there for somebody else, it seems, to chase some more up that way. They had beaten up two or three negro women. And, as I said before, there was considerable shooting at that corner, and up Broadway east of there. I decided it wasn't a very safe place for me, and went back to the office, in the Arcade Building, and I didn't see very much of the rioting then after that.

Mr. Johnson. Did you see anybody killed?

Mr. Albertson. Oh, I saw several negroes' bodies lying in the street.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't see them when they were shot?

Mr. Albertson. No; I saw one negro killed. It was at Main Street and Broadway.

Mr. Johnson. How was he killed?

Mr. Albertson. First a shot, and that didn't kill him instantly, so they decided to club him to death. They hit him two or three times over the head and finished him.

Mr. Johnson. Hmmm There were the soldiers?

Mr. Albertson. The soldiers were all around.

Mr. Johnson. Not undertaking to prevent any instances of violence?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir. I spoke to Colonel Clayton two or three times that afternoon. I said, "Colonel, you established a reputation for yourself on the first riot". I said, "A good soldier knows when to disobey orders. It is time you were taking the situation in hand, and not be trying to handle it with kid gloves the same as [illegible] a certain other man is". He just laughed. He said, "Well, I am superseded".

Mr. Johnson. And who did you mean by that other man?

Mr. Albertson. Colonel Tripp.

Mr. Johnson. Did you remonstrate with him about his conduct?

Mr. Albertson. With Colonel Tripp?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Albertson. No, sir, he was crashing people promiscuously that day, and I decided reporters would be included if

they went too far. I didn't push the case with him.

Mr. Johnson. Who was he grabbing?

Mr. Albertson. Well, there were two or three newspaper photographers grabbed that day. I think one or two cameras were confiscated.

Mr. Johnson. Do you think he had anything to do with that?

Mr. Albertson. No; but the men under him were doing it.

Mr. Johnson. Well, you used the expression that he was "grabbing".

Mr. Albertson. Well; on different things.

Mr. Johnson. You don't mean he was doing it with his own hands, but having other people do it?

Mr. Albertson. He had the power, and he was the moving force.

Mr. Johnson. I understand you now. Who did do it?

Mr. Albertson. Some of the soldiers. They arrested the negroes that they found with revolvers on them, and some whites too.

Mr. Johnson. You said something about cameras.

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. What about that?

Mr. Albertson. Well, if I remember correctly, there were two or three cameras seized on Monday.

Mr. Johnson. By whom?

Mr. Albertson. By soldiers in one instance, I think, and by the regular city police in the other.

Mr. Johnson. What was the ostensible object of seizing those cameras?

Mr. Albertson. Why, because the city authorities claimed it would be xx bad advertising for East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. To show the real situation?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir. Then there were several more seized on Tuesday, the following day. On that day, one of our men happened to be arrested, or taken int custody, and they claimed he was never arrested. When an officer places his hand on you, though, you are arrested. And the Republic photographer---I was working for the Republic at that time--- they took him and the reporter with him to the police headquarters. I happened to walk in their about the time. Lieut. Beebee of the State militia---

Mr. Johnson. Who arrested this man?

Mr. Albertson. Lieutenant Beebee.

Mr. Johnson. He was not a policeman, but a soldier?

Mr. Albertson. He was a soldier. I asked Beebee why he had brought them in. He said he had been ordered to do so. I said, "What for?"

Mr. Johnson. Did he say who ordered him?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; he told me it was Ahearn.

Mr. Johnson. And who is he?

Mr. Albertson. Secretary to Mayor Mollman. Lieut. Beebee said, "I won't book these men if you go and get this straightened out". And I asked the two men what they had been brought in for, and they said that that "red-headed secretary"---that is all they knew him by---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing) Is that the Mayor's secretary?

Mr. Albertson. Yes. They said that "red-headed secretary" caused their arrest. They had started to take some pic-

tures in front of the City Hall of negro refugees brought in. So I went over and found Ahearn in the Mayor's office, and I said, "Marsh, you have got a couple of our men over there". He said, "Yes", and I said, "What are you going to do with them"? "I don't know", he said, "they are not going to take any pictures". I said, "There is no law to prevent them from doing that. If you want to put a charge against them, we want to get them out on bond right away so they can get these pictures taken". Well, he kind of backed down then, and he went over, and about the time he went over there, the Chief of Police interfered and released the men. When I got to the door, Lieut. Beebee said it was all right, and the two men walked out. That is all that I know officially about any photographers.

Mr. Johnson. What became of the cameras?

Mr. Albertson. They never took that away from them. In that instance, they merely tried to prevent them from taking pictures.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know of any instance when a camera was broken?

Mr. Albertson. No, except from hearsay. I heard that the Times man had lost a valuable camera in the mob at Collinsville and State, right after Keiser had been shot and killed. It seemed like he tried to take a picture of the actual killing, or right around the time, and they grabbed him the camera.

Mr. Johnson. Who was it that demolished his camera?

Mr. Albertson. Well, he never knew, or no one else has been able to find out. It seemed like when the mob started to grab his camera, he hurled it to an officer. The officer held it for a little while, but they finally took it away from the

officer.

Mr. Johnson. Did they demolish ~~him~~ it, break it up, take it away, or both?

Mr. Albertson. I don't believe they even recorded it. I don't know what became of it.

Mr. Johnson. Did you undertake at any time to ascertain how many people were killed in the July riot?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; we tried to check up on that. On Tuesday morning, the undertakers' department didn't seem to know how much they did have. They were just thrown in like you would gather up so many dead hogs up in the yard; just thrown in the morgue.

Mr. Johnson. You didn't go in and count them as Mr. Anderson did?

Mr. Albertson. No.

Mr. Johnson. Have you any further statement to make?

Mr. Albertson. No; nothing in particular that I remember.

Mr. Cooper. What time of night was it you started out with Lieut. Coppedge?

Mr. Albertson. We left the station at 12:10.

Mr. Cooper. Before you left the station, had you heard about an automobile going through the negro quarters and the occupants shooting indiscriminately?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir; no, that was supposed to have occurred on Market Avenue. There was never any definite number of the street given---that is, in what block the shooting was supposed to have occurred. I inquired there, I think, the following day, but there was no one on Market Avenue from Main Street to 10th Street that had heard that shooting.

Mr. Cooper. Well, the claim of the negroes was, was it not, that an automobile occupied by somebody, joy riders or somebody else, had been through and fired into their houses before the bell was rung?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, but anyone that knows Market Avenue and the condition of ~~him~~ it couldn't figure out where joy-riders would pick that street for a joy ride, even to shoot up a place. It is almost impassable.

Mr. Cooper. Well, men that want to shoot at negroes, if they had that feeling, fired with whisky, or any other sort of enthusiasm, if they wanted to shoot, they would go to the street and shoot, wouldn't they? Do you doubt the story of the negroes that there was an automobile up there before Coppedge went up?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, I do, because I had gotten down there within 36 hours after that accusation was made.

Mr. Cooper. Thirty-six hours after?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir; and that was before it got out in the newspapers that they had gone down there that night. Before the people---a good many people, I find, read a thing in the newspaper, and they go around and discuss it as having known that themselves. And seeing such a thing in the newspaper, people might say, "Yes, I heard them go by", or something like that. But I couldn't get any line on it.

Mr. Johnson. Whom did you ask for information on the subject? Did you go to the residents of the street?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; I asked---it was in the summer, and I saw a lot of women on the porches and just asked them. They said they hadn't heard anything.

Mr. Cooper. Colored women?

Mr. Albertson. No; white people.

Mr. Cooper. Well, but did you ask any colored people who claimed their houses had been shot up?

Mr. Albertson. No; I didn't venture into the colored district.

Mr. Cooper. Well,---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Did colored people live in that district where the shooting is alleged to have come from the joy-riders?

Mr. Albertson. I don't know, because it has never been definitely stated just where the shooting occurred. Market Avenue runs from Main Street to the eastern city limits, approximately two and a half miles. There are negroes along that street at different intervals.

Mr. Cooper. Now, it has been said in the newspapers repeatedly---I never heard any report to the contrary until you made it just now---that an automobile filled with men, and they having revolvers, went up some street here where the negroes lived upon one side---or perhaps on both sides---and fired away into their houses.---

Mr. Albertson. (interposing) I remember at the time---

Mr. Cooper (continuing). And witness after witness has gone on the stand and assumed that to be a fact right here in this hearing, and nobody has ever questioned it until you question it. Do you doubt it?

Mr. Albertson. Well, I say only by personal investigation do I doubt it. I was down there.

Mr. Cooper. You went thirty-six hours afterwards, and you

asked white women?.

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Well, the white women didn't live in the negro houses, did they?

Mr. Albertson. Certainly not.

Mr. Cooper. Did you ask negroes?

Mr. Albertson. No. No, the women that I asked would all refer to the shooting of Sergeant Coppedge and Wodley.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly; they were very angry at the shooting of the white men.

Mr. Albertson. No; I mean they said they had heard that shooting. That is all they knew about.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, this bell rang and you received word by telephone here---you heard it?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And you and the officers entered the automobile and started up there. The officers weren't in uniform?

Mr. Albertson. There were two in uniform.

Mr. Cooper. Who?

Mr. Albertson. Patrolmen Hobbs and Cullinan.

Mr. Cooper. What was the uniform?

Mr. Albertson. Regulation police uniform.

Mr. Cooper. Was Sergeant Coppedge in uniform?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And the other man?

Mr. Alberton. His partner; neither one of those were in uniform. Neither was the chauffeur or myself.

Mr. Johnson. All of you in the same automobile?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They were private detectives, were they?

Mr. Albertson. No; city detectives.

Mr. Cooper. They don't wear uniforms?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. So he was in ordinary civilian costume?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Did he have on a straw hat?

Mr. Albertson. I am certain Sergeant Coppedge had on a straw hat. I know Wodley had a straw hat on; they took that off of him out at the hospital.

Mr. Cooper. Wodley and Coppedge were the two men killed?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And they both were in civilian costume with straw hats on?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; but when he got to that mob, both Coppedge and Wodley flashed their police badges. They wore them on the inside of their coats and just turned them back, and they both had them on the right, the same side. In that way there was no difficulty whatever for the negroes to see the stars.

Mr. Cooper. And you turned that corner going about how fast in your automobile?

Mr. Albertson. About fifteen miles---between fifteen and twenty.

Mr. Cooper. You were going fifteen or twenty miles and hour when you turned the corner?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You said at that corner there was only an arclight.

Mr. Albertson. I also---in saying that, I said the street was broken up there---Bond Avenue. The arclight was fifty feet north of the corner which we turned. In that way it made the spot unusually dark. It was between two buildings, a brick building on one side and a frame building on the other.

Mr. Cooper. When you turned the corner, was this arclight behind you?

Mr. Albertson. Yes; and it was to the side of us, too---the left side.

Mr. Cooper. Behind you and to the side; and the negroes were facing toward the arclight?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir; they were going west.

Mr. Cooper. And that was up over your head that way (indicating); you turned here at fifteen or twenty miles an hour and came on to them; your faces were in the dark then?

Mr. Albertson. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Well, a man looking toward an arclight fifty feet distant, wouldn't the face in an automobile---they wouldn't be able to distinguish a countenance very well, would they?

Mr. Albertson. But they don't see the arclight. It was up in the other part of Bond Avenue, fifty feet north of this corner.

Mr. Cooper. Well, it was dark then when you turned the corner?

Mr. Albertson. It was dark; you couldn't see the arclight going west.

Mr. Cooper. Well, they couldn't see distinctly faces, could they, of people?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. This Colonel Tripp arrived here about what time?

Mr. Albertson. I should say about 9 o'clock, or 9 or 10 o'clock. I think it was around 10 that I saw him.

Mr. Cooper. In the morning. Did he come alone or had the troops arrived before he came?

Mr. Albertson. The Effingham company was here, I think. It got in about 9 o'clock.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know of Colonel Tripp calling any company and getting it into military array, giving them any instructions?

Mr. Albertson. No.

Mr. Cooper. Did you see him take any number of men?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir; except at night, about 7 or 8 o'clock, he marched a body---I suppose about 75 or 100--- soldiers down to 4th and Broadway. That was the scene of the rioting.

Mr. Cooper. But that was after the killing---after a good deal of it had been done?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How many troops do you think were in the city at that time?

Mr. Albertson. At 7 o'clock that night at the height of the rioting, I don't think there were more than 600.

Mr. Cooper. How many were here at noon of that day?

Mr. Albertson. I don't think there were more than 200--- two or three hundred.

Mr. Cooper. Was there any reason why he couldn't have

taken those 200 men, got them into line, and given them instructions to use their bayonets on any mob which interfered with their passing up and down this street?

Mr. Albertson. I think not.

Mr. Cooper. And walked up and down the street and cleared them?

Mr. Albertson. Why no, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well, if an officer had the power to do that and the men to accomplish such a thing, what do you think of his efficiency or lack of efficiency for not doing that thing?

Mr. Albertson. Well, when I learned that Colonel Tripp had been in the state militia service for about 27 years, I began to inquire in what capacity. Some one who had been to Springfield--I remember a man I asked that was in a position to know and he said, "Yes, Colonel Tripp is a very excellent man as an office clerk". He said, "As a militia army officer, he falls flat, because he never had any actual service". But he said that General Dickson happened to be out in Washington, and Dick Shann had assumed all responsibility, and being that the National Guardsmen of Illinois were preparing to go south, he had a tremendous amount of work and couldn't get away.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, Mr. Albertson, there is the fact, as I gather from your testimony---and you speak from personal knowledge: Colonel Tripp arrived here at noon. There were 200 soldiers here subject to his orders. He did nothing to get them into military line or array; he did nothing whatever to employ them as a military force to protect white or black here, or to preserve order, but all day till night, at least,

he simply dawdled around in the city doing nothing of any effective character, whatever. Is that so?

Mr. Albertson. None that I saw.

Mr. Johnson. And you saw him frequently?

Mr. Albertson. And in addition to and in reference to Colonel Tripp, the State Militia conducted a military investigation as to the alleged inefficiency and incompetency displayed by the soldiers during the rioting. I was one of the first witnesses called in that, and I attempted to give testimony about Colonel Tripp, but I was incidentally informed that Colonel Tripp was a pretty good fellow and I had better not say anything about him.

Mr. Johnson. Who so informed you? Who told you that?

Mr. Albertson. Well, I don't remember now who it was.

Mr. Johnson. That is quite important. You ought to remember that.

Mr. Albertson. There were---I can remember the face, but I don't remember the name. I think it was Robbins.

Mr. Cooper. Was this in secret?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, there was none of the public admitted to that.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. Now, these facts as you give them---and unquestionably they are facts, because in all the essential details your statement is corroborated by the other witnesses who have preceded you---this man was here with full authority over at least 200 soldiers at noon, and he did absolutely nothing?

Mr. Albertson. "Nothing" expresses it.

Mr. Cooper. And this military board of inquiry, called

apparently---or ostensibly, so the newspapers announced---to investigate, but according to your testimony and the testimony of other witnesses, not to investigate but to suppress the truth if it reflected upon the soldiers or upon their commanding officer.

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir. In addition I might state that I introduced five or six photographs---we were very fortunate in getting a picture of one of the riot scenes about 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon at Collinsville and Broadway. It showed a mob of several hundred whites in front of what is known as Eddie Carr's saloon. The saloon itself was embodied in the picture, and from that saloon you can count seventeen soldiers standing in a group, and back of them---from knowledge---you can't tell that they are beating a negro, but you would know if you had been there, because ~~anyone that~~ I know that they had a negro there and had him on the sidewalk and the soldiers were just standing around in groups discussing the situation, and telling of different little incidents they saw during the day, and it shows that they were doing nothing to save that negro. Seventeen soldiers could have broken up five hundred there then. There was no shooting and nothing else of real violence; just the crowd having a good time beating up a negro.

Mr. Cooper. Now then, is it a fact---and I gather from your testimony and the testimony of other witnesses that it is a fact---it sounds like facts anyway---that these soldiers, in their discretion, were dispersed here, there and everywhere with no commanding officer with them?

Mr. Albertson. That is the way it seemed to me. When

I produced that picture at the hearing, the military officers scanned it and talked about it between themselves. One of them finally suggested---he said, "You see the picture of this soldier worming his way up through the crowd"? I said, "Yes". He said, "Doesn't that appear that he is trying to get there to rescue that negro?" I said, 'Do you know what they are doing with that soldier? They are pushing him around in the crowd". "No", he said, "That soldier looks like he is trying to get in there to save that negro".

Mr. Cooper. What were the other sixteen doing? Were they "worming" too?

Mr. Albertson. No, they were having a very nice little caucus there in the center of the street.

Mr. Cooper. What officer called your attention to a thing of that kind and tried to excuse that sort of thing in that way?

Mr. Albertson. Well, I don't remember any of the names except General Hill---Brigadier General Hill, of Quincy---John R. Hill.

Mr. Cooper. What war was he general in, do you know?

Mr. Albertson. He is a very good grocer up in Quincy; has a wholesale grocery house there.

Mr. Johnson. General Merchant . (laughter).

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, what did the General do when you suggested about the soldier "worming" up there?

Mr. Albertson. I say he is the only one on the Board of whom I can remember the name, but the one that tried to

"whitewash" Colonel Tripp in my presence was one that wore tortoise shell glasses, and they didn't seem to fall in line with him. It was a very humorous sight to me, and I remember laughing at him once or twice.

Mr. Cooper. Were they all in uniform?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Did the General have epaulets on?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Were they in full military uniform?

Mr. Albertson. Yes, sir. One, as I understood, was from Chicago, and I am certain his name is Robbins.

Mr. Cooper. Is he the one that suggested to you that Colonel Tripp was a pretty good fellow and you had better go easy on him?

Mr. Albertson. Well, not in so many words. They indicated incidentally they didn't want anything against Colonel Tripp. I tried two or three times to get started in on Colonel Tripp, but I was blocked every time.

Mr. Johnson. They wouldn't let you answer?

Mr. Albertson. No.

Mr. Johnson. Who participated in that successful effort to block your giving direct testimony concerning the inefficiency and inactivity of Colonel Tripp?

Mr. Albertson. Well, there was one who did all the questioning.

Mr. Johnson. And who was he?

Mr. Albertson. He was an officer that wore a vandyke beard; a gray haired fellow. I don't remember his name.

Mr. Johnson. About what aged man was he?

Mr. Albertson. About fifty, fifty-five. He is also from Chicago.

Mr. Cooper. When did they get here?

Mr. Albertson. They arrived the following week, I think.

Mr. Cooper. Was that the same board of inquiry which heard Mr. Roger,, the President of the Grant Chemical Co., testify to seeing a soldier shoot negroes?

Mr. Albertson. I don't really know, because the witnesses were summoned from day to day, and they were given a schedule. You were told to be there at 10 A.M. in the morning, or two or three in the afternoon.

Mr. Cooper. Who were in the room besides you and the Board of Inquiry?

Mr. Albertson. Not a soul . I think there was a stenographer there taking notes.

Mr. Cooper. Have you ever heard of this board of inquiry rendering a judgment or decision?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. A finding?

Mr. Alberteon. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Or making any report that has been made public at all?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How witness after witness has gone here upon the stand and testified to seeing soldiers deliberately murder negroes. One witness testified here that a soldier told a man, who had been firing into a building, to load again his

revolver and fire into it. Mr. Roger said that he saw a soldier ---heard a soldier, when one said, "You can't hit anything", say"Like hell I can't", and raised his rifle and shot and a negro down off three hundred feet fell. Was anything of that kind said in this hearing before you?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper . And have you ever heard of any findings of any military board of inquiry on those facts?

Mr. Albertson. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is all.

Mr. Raker. I want to examine this witness further in the morning. Will you be back at 10 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. Albertson. I am on an afternoon paper and we are short-handed, you know.

Mr. Johnson. You are a very material witness and we would like to conclude with you.

Mr. Albertson. All right.

(The witness was excused).

Mr. Johnson. Is Mr. Brady in the room, the justice of the peace? Mr. Brady, will you please come around, sir?

STATEMENT OF MR. J. C. BRADY, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Brady, the Committee can better tell you what it wants by having the stenographer read to you some testimony that was given here a few moments ago. Will the stenographer please read it.

(The statement of Mr. Paul Y. Anderson made at the beginning of this afternoon session was read to the witness.)

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Brady, you have now heard the testimony

that Mr. Anderson has given to the Committee concerning an alleged attempt upon your part to intimidate him. The Committee has not taken any action regarding it---relative to it---and will not until later, and we have deemed it best before determining whether we would undertake to have you arraigned before the bar of the House of Representatives for this conduct, to hear a statement from you, provided you give it voluntarily and freely of your o m accord. How you can leave the chair where you are and say nothing, if you choose to do so; or if you have an explanation of it to make, we will hear that now.

Mr. Brady. I have; yes. I would like to have you hear it.

Mr. Johnson. You can exercise your own choice about the matter.

Mr. Brady. I would like to make an explanation to you.

Mr. Johnson. Now, wait a minute. I wish it clearly and distinctly understood that what you are saying now and your willingness to come before the Committee and your coming before the Committee is entirely an exercise of option upon your part, that what you say now is voluntary.

Mr. Brady. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. So if you desire to say anything, the Committee will hear it and the stenographer will take it down.

Mr. Brady. I heard a conversation this morning that Mr. Anderson had stated up here before you gentlemen that the justices of the peace in East St. Louis, myself being one of them, of course, did our work according to what the Chief of Police told us; if the Chief of Police told us to do anything

we had to do that and couldn't use our own judgement, and any cases that come up we always had instructions from the Chief of Police what we should do before we heard any evidence at all. Of course, that made me a little bit hot under the collar, and I met the gentleman in the Arcade Building, in Mr. Smith's office, and I said to him, "Say", I said, "Anderson, what is that you have been talking up there about me and the balance of the justices of the peace being run down here by the Chief of Police?" , and I said, "I understand you told them up there that the justices of the peace offices were run here by the Chief of Police and we had to do just as he said, in all cases that we had---had to come to him", and he said, "I didn't say that. I said that for the last fifteen years"---or something like that---the last ten years---some period, I forget now which,---"that the justices of the peace did what the Chief of Police told them". Well, I don't know---there were some few other words we had, and I got a little angry and I said something to him that I would smash him in the jaw, or something like that, if he talked about me to anybody like that; that the Chief of Police nor nobody else was telling me what I should do in my office, and I didn't want him to, ~~nrdan~~ or anybody else to, say anything to the contrary. And that is all there was to it.

Mr. Johnson. Well, Mr. Brady, don't answer any question that is put to you unless you want to. The Committee wants just such information as it can get in determining what steps it will take, if any, towards punishing you. And the only reason now for suggesting that you come before the Committee

is to give you the opportunity, if you wish to avail yourself of it, to remove any notion that the Committee may have of your undertaking to intimidate a witness before this hearing.

Mr. Brady. I had no intention of intimidating or anything else; only I didn't want him to talk about me that way to anybody, because he was telling an untruth when he said it.

Mr. Johnson. Well now, if you care to answer you may do so, and if you don't you need not, but you do admit that because of his testimony before this Committee you contemplated and expressed to him---you contemplated to smash him in the jaw and you expressed that contemplation to him?

Mr. Brady. For the testimony regarding me, about the Chief of Police. It had nothing to do with any of the rioting or anything like that at all. It was a different matter altogether.

Mr. Johnson. Again admonishing you, that you need not answer unless you want to, you do admit that you took him to task by swearing at him and by making threats to do him personal violence because of his testimony concerning you? As I said to you now, you can answer or not answer, just as you choose.

Mr. Brady. Well, I don't care about answering that.

Mr. Johnson. Very well, sir; you may stand aside if no member of the Committee wishes to ask anything. Bear in mind this ~~[illegible]~~ is voluntary entirely upon your part.

Mr. Raker. Mr. Chairman, this seems to me---he is here and I am not going to take any---going to go into any details, but it seems to me it is so revolting that we are here on an

inquiry and a justice of the peace assumes the attitude that this man does, of brazen effrontery even--- why, it seems to me we have a mighty poor chance of getting any evidence. I want to say that without any hesitancy, without any retraction of what I say or what I mean.

Mr. Johnson. If Congress were in session, we could get immediate action. Since Congress is not in session, we cannot avail ourselves of the power that is behind us until December.

Mr. Brady. I didn't want to get into any trouble at all.

Mr. Baker. I know, but you have been a justice of the peace too long to know that you can't go out on the street and tackle a witness for testifying upon an inquiry of this kind, or any other.

Mr. Brady. If a man is not telling the truth, I should think you could---

Mr. Baker(interposing). That is not for you to decide.

Mr. Johnson. If you have no further voluntary statement to make, you may be excused.

Mr. Brady. I have nothing further.

(The witness was excused).

Mr. Cooper. I want to say that a community that has a justice of the peace that will threaten to smash in a jaw, or threaten a witness, who, under oath, has testified to certain facts, is a community that ought to see very carefully about removing officials of that kind at the earliest possible moment and get some man that knows something about keeping the administration of justice pure, instead of again resorting to mob violence. That was the instinct that he displayed. That starts people to perpetrating mob violence.

Mr. Johnson. At this point I would be glad to be instructed by the Committee as to whether or not I shall bring the attention of the House of Representatives to this man's conduct with a view of having him punished, if he has been guilty, as it now seems he has been.

Mr. Cooper. So far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, I think that ought to be done. I move it be done. We want it distinctly understood that so far as this Committee is concerned, every member of it individually and collectively, we are not here to tolerate any attempts to intimidate anybody. We don't propose to be intimidated ourselves, and no witness that comes before us will be intimidated if there is power enough in the United States Government to prevent it.

Mr. Johnson. Those who are in favor of instructing the Chairman of the Committee to bring this matter to the attention of the House of Representatives will say "aye"; those opposed, "no". (The Committee unanimously voted "aye"). The "ayes" have it unanimously, and I will act accordingly.

The Committee stands adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon the Committee adjourned at 5 o'clock P.M. until 10 o'clock A.M., Tuesday, October 23).