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V

East St. Louis Riot Investigation

Thursday. Oct 25. 1917

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Thursday, October 25, 1917.

The Committee met at 10.30 o'Clock a. m., Honorable Ben Johnson (Chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF COL. S. O. TRIPP (Continued).

Mr. Johnson. Col. Tripp, yesterday, in your testimony you frequently--or at least several times--referred to "Dr. Coppedge." Did you mean Dr. Bundy?

Col. Tripp. Yes, I want to correct that. I wished to say Dr. Bundy.

Mr. Cooper. Colonel, what part of the restaurant did you sit in when you had your luncheon, on the ground floor?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Who sat at the table with you?

Col. Tripp. I think Mr. Fekete, for one.

Mr. Cooper. Anybody else?

Col. Tripp. I don't recall.

Mr. Cooper. You don't remember whether anybody else was there,

Col. Tripp. No, sir, I don't.

Mr. Cooper. Was Mr. Fekete with you all the time after you reached the city hall that morning until you went to the restaurant with him?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. With you all the time? You two were in the city hall together?

Col. Tripp. He was with me all the time.

Mr. Cooper. And he was the man in command of the situation?

Col. Tripp. He was acting mayor.

Mr. Cooper. He didn't go out to see where the shooting was going on any more than you did?

Col. Tripp. No, sir. You have reference to the morning shooting?

Mr. Cooper. To the morning shooting, yes, sir.

Col. Tripp. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now you went from the city hall to a restaurant and sometime after one o'clock you came out of the restaurant and got into an automobile and started up Collinsville Avenue towards that riot?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now tell what took place after you reached the riot--that is the crowd.

Col. Tripp. We drove up Collinsville Avenue to a point near the Labor Temple or Carpenters' Hall, and a big crowd had gathered, and during our passage up there a shot was fired. Each man jumped out of the automobile and ran into the crowd, independently, I with the rest of them. There were in the automobile Dr. Ault, of the Fourth Infantry, Colonel Clayton, and Mr. Fekete and myself. There we separated--got separated in the crowd--and I stayed there with two at least--I thought there might have been four--enlisted men somewhere in the crowd. I know I saw two and the crowd was large. I ran over into

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the crowd where one enclisted man was standing, and with this man pressed into the crowd with the gun flatways and when I got into the crowd I commanded them to disperse in the name of the laws of the State of Illinois--called on them to do so.

Mr. Cooper. Well then what happened?

Col. Tripp. Then there was dispersement of the crowd, the other officers acting independently along that line as well.

Mr. Cooper. Then the crowd was dispersed?

Col. Tripp. Well, they were dispersing into smaller groups, separating.

Mr. Cooper. Did you see any violence inflicted upon anyone while you were there?

Col. Tripp. No, sir, I didn't.

Mr. Cooper. What did you do immediately after that?

Col. Tripp. Then I went into a telephone and got into communication with the city hall and asked them to send up any--all available men they could spare to that scene.

Mr. Cooper. And did you stay there until these men came?

Col. Tripp. I stayed right there until I went back into the crowd again and then came back to another telephone and called up the federal troops to see if I could get them to come down there.

Mr. Cooper. Then where did you go?

Col. Tripp. Then I went--after that the crowd was practically dispersed and I went right down Collinsville Avenue where another crowd was reported as gathering. That was up towards the stock yards I believe, up in that direction, and I found that there was no foundation for that report. Then I went across over towards the Black Bridge, where there was another crowd reported as coming in and forming. That report was erroneous.

By that time I came right back and found, as I told you earlier, that they showed signs--it looked to us as though the men were drinking.

Mr. Cooper. That is enough of that. When you left the restaurant and went out to that crowd, about what time was it when you reached there?

Col. Tripp. Well, as near as I can remember, I should say something about 1.30.

Mr. Cooper. Now did you see anybody who had been injured?

Col. Tripp. I saw a man lying on the street, a colored man, dead.

Mr. Cooper. A colored man dead?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now didn't you see a woman there?

Col. Tripp. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You didn't see a boy there?

Col. Tripp. No, sir; not injured.

Mr. Cooper. Did you know that a white man had been shot?

Col. Tripp. I testified that a pawn shop was broken into.

Mr. Cooper. You didn't know that a white man had been shot?

Col. Tripp. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Now it is in evidence, I believe, that a colored family consisting of a man, his wife and two children, who didn't live in East St. Louis at all, were residents of the city of St. Louis, in another state, across the river, in Missouri, had been fishing that day in a lake five or six miles from East St. Louis and that they came back on a street car on the way to their home, and in Collinsville Avenue at one o'clock while you were in the restaurant, the man and the boy were killed and the woman almost killed within two or three blocks of where you were in the restaurant. Did you know anything about that?

Col. Tripp. No, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well that was the very crowd you said last night that you went into.

Col. Tripp. Well, I know nothing about a boy being killed nor a woman hurt.

Mr. Cooper. Well, if you didn't know anything about that woman being hurt or the boy being hurt--they were hurt the boy being killed right there, and a white man killed--how much of an examination did you make, or how long did you stay?

Col. Tripp. At that point?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Col. Tripp. A very few minutes.

Mr. Cooper. A very few indeed, wasn't it?

Col. Tripp. It was fifteen or twenty minutes. I should judge.

Mr. Cooper. Fifteen or twenty minutes?

Col. Trip. Yes, sir; I should think so. I told you what I did there.

Mr. Cooper. What you did wouldn't have taken you two minutes.

Col. Tripp. Well, that is a matter of judgment.

Mr. Cooper. Why, you got right out of the automobile took this gun, you say, and went in and pressed the crowd back. Then you went into the telephone booth and telephoned?

Col. Trip. I was in the crowd some little time, sir. I can't tell you how many minutes.

Mr. Cooper. It now appears from your testimony, and from the testimony before this committee that you and the Acting Mayor of this city you now say--or said yesterday and still say, I suppose--was in control of the situation here, and you didn't come out of the city hall from the time you entered it shortly after 6 o'clock in the morning until after 12, and these people--one man at least shot and killed on the street while you were there in the city hall, and you heard the shot.

Col. Tripp. No I heard of the shot.

Mr. Cooper. But didn't go out to see anything about it, neither you nor the Acting Mayor?

Col. Tripp. We sent out the officers and men for that

duty.

Mr. Cooper, [illegible], I know, but you didn't go out nor the Acting Mayor of the cityin command of the situation?

Col. Tripp. You are right.

Mr. Cooper. You didn't go out to see what was going on yourself so that you would have personal knowledge, and then from the city hall you went over to the restaurant and sat there for some considerable time, and while you were in the restaurant the three people were killed within less than three blocks of where you were eating. Do you think that that exhibits efficient management on the part of you and the Acting Mayor who were in control of the situation?

Col. Tripp. I was on the scene where the man was killed on Collinsville Avenue within a very few minutes after the shot was fired.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know how far it is from this restaurant to the place where these men were killed, where you saw this dead negro on the street?

Col. Tripp. I could only give you the approximate distance.

Mr. Cooper. That was somewhere near the building called the Temple, you say?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That is only two or three blocks isn't it?

Col. Tripp. As I said, I couldn't tell you exactly.

Mr. Cooper. You went in an automobile up there, you said, as quickly as you could?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. That wouldn't take you at the outside over five minutes, would it? You could walk in five minutes.

Col. Tripp. Well if you could get to through the crowd you could.

Mr. Cooper. So you didn't leave the restaurant till well towards half past one?

Col. Tripp. I say I am giving the best of my recollection of the time. It might have been earlier than that. I am giving you the best of my recollection without making a note as to the time.

Mr. Cooper. But the people were dead afore you got there, and the evidence is that they were killed about 1 o'clock.

Col. Tripp. The shot was fired while we were right there in the crowd. The shot was fired while we were getting into the crowd.

Mr. Cooper. But the man was killed with the shot and the boy was killed with the shot.

Col. Tripp. Well, I don't know of any boy being killed.

Mr. Cooper. I am wondering how, going into that mob which had just killed that boy and shot and killed a white man, how thorough an examination you made. Were you in perfect possession of your nerves at that time?

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Can you account for the fact that you didn't know about the boy being killed, laying right there in the street?

Col. Tripp. Well, the boy might have been a man that you are speaking of.

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Mr. Cooper. Well you don't know about the man then being killed beside the street car?

Col. Tripp. Yes, there was a man that was lying in the street, a colored man.

Mr. Cooper. Was that a man or a boy?

Col. Tripp. Well now, I said--

Mr. Cooper. (interposing). You didn't examine to see whether he was dead?

Col. Tripp. I didn't take hold of the man at all, no, sir. I went right into the crowd to disperse it.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know whether it was a man or a boy that you saw?

Col. Tripp. Well he was a colored person. I don't know how old. I didn't stop there to make any examination of this body. I rushed into the crowd without the loss of a second's time.

Mr. Foster. When these people were put in the jail over here you said they went out of the back door.

Col. Tripp. I said they escaped from the back door and the windows.

Mr. Foster. The windows downstairs?

Col. Trip. Yes, sir; that was reported to me.

Mr. Foster. You didn't examine that jail to see that the bars--if there were bars over every window?

Col. Tripp. No, sir. I haven't gone there since.

Mr. Foster. That the lower floor is a solid wall?

Col. Tripp. I haven't been near the building since that time nor I didn't examine it at the time. It was reported to me, as I testified, that they were escaping,

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and I asked for the guards.

Mr. Foster. There is no back door except one that is up ten or fifteen feet in the air and that is barred with iron.

Col. Tripp. I want to say that I didn't examine the back part.

Mr. Foster. The lower floor, the back part of the lower floor, is a solid stone wall. That is true. I have looked at it.

Col. Tripp. I might state that we had in the neighborhood of three hundred fifty or five hundred men and when they were arraigned, there were about a hundred.

Mr. Foster. They were taken out of there and across the street to the justice's office, I would judge.

Col. Tripp. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. That is all.

Mr. Foss. What room did they put these men into in the city hall?

Col. Tripp. They put them in every room in the city hall, including the basement.

Mr. Foss. Every room on the first floor?

Col. Tripp. And some on the second.

Mr. Foss. And some in the basement?

Col. Trip. Yes.

Mr. Foss. Now who was watching and guarding them?

Col. Tripp. The police department.

Mr. Foss. How many police did you see around there?

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Col. Tripp. I didn't see any on the outside of the building, and I didn't get into the building. I didn't go into the building. I stayed on the outside with my guard and got the crowd pressed through into the building. I didn't go into the building.

Mr. Foss. So you didn't see any policemen at all on the inside?

Col. Tripp. No, because I wasn't on the inside of the building.

Mr. Foss. Were there any on the outside, policemen?

Col. Tripp. I don't recall.

Mr. Foss. That is all.

Col. Tripp. Could I have this report inserted in the record? I have been sent from the Governor and the Adjutant General to file this document with the committee.

Mr. Johnson. You might file it with the committee.

Mr. Foster. I suggest that we take it and mark it as an exhibit.

Mr. Johnson. Very well. You may be excused Colonel.

STATEMENT OF FRANK S. DICKSON,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Johnson. General, please state to the stenographer your name and your occupation.

Gen. Dickson. Frank S. Dickson; residence, Springfield Illinois; adjutant-generalof Illinois.

Mr. Johnson. How long have you been adjutant-general

of Illinois?

Gen. Dickson. I became assistant adjutant-general, Mr. Chairman, in 1907, April of that year. I succeeded to the position of acting adjutant-general upon the death of the then adjutant-general and in 1909 was appointed adjutant-general.

Mr. Johnson. What was your business prior to that time, prior to your becoming assistant adjutant-general?

Gen. Dickson. For about two years I had been engaged in a futile effort to prevent my distinguished friend, Dr. Foster, being eligible for membership on this committee.

Mr. Johnson. In other words, you were a candidate for Congress against Dr. Foster?

Gen. Dickson. I had been in Congress in the 59th Congress, and prior to that time was teaching school. I had been in the military service up to this time in the different grades of private up for 21 years consecutively.

Mr. Foss. In the national guard?

Mr. Foster. You were captain of the company, weren't you?

Gen. Dickson. Yes sir I went to Cuba and served as an enlisted man in the old Fourth Regiment. Then I held succeeding grades up through the service.

Mr. Johnson. In your own way please tell the committee what you know about this riot on the 2nd of July.

Mr. Foster. You were in the Spanish-American service?

Gen. Dickson. Yes.

Mr. Foster. You said Cuba?

Gen. Dickson. The spanish-American service in Cuba.

Mr. Cooper. With the American troops?

Gen. Dickson, Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. You said in the Cuban service.

Gen. Dickson. I meant the American service. I was a member of the Fourth Regiment, Company I, of Vandalia, Illinois, Volunteer Service.

Mr. Johnson. In your own way please tell the committee how you happened to come to East St. Louis upon the occasion of the riot last July, and of youractivities here, and what you saw here in the way of a riot?

Gen. Dickson. I had been in Washington, Mr. Chairman, on business of the department by direction of the Governor. I reached Springfield late in the evening of July 2nd, from Washington, via Chicago. I was met at the train by a messenger from the Governor's office who said the Governor wanted me to proceed at once to his office, which I did, arriving there about half-past five or six o'clock.

Mr. Johnson. Of what date?

Gen. Dickson. July 2nd. That there was a riot at East St. Louis; that troops had been despatched here by the Governor; that Col. Tripp had been sent down here, and the Governor directed me to proceed at once to East St. Louis as his representative in charge of the military situation. There was no train out of Springfield until very late that night, so I was directed by the Governor to come on special service, which I did.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by "special service?"

Gen. Dickson. Special train. I took a special train

on the Chicago and Alton, and reached East St. Louis--
I am testifying from memory now, Mr. Chairman--I think at 12.15
in the morning of July 3. In other words I proceeded at
once to the city hall, inquired for the Mayor and found that
he was at his residence. I called him by telephone and
reported my presence; and my memory is that the Mayor's
reply was, "I am very glad you are here. I want you to stay
and take charge of this situation and restore order in
East St. Louis." I immediately attempted to get from
the officers on duty at the city hall--incidentally that
was the only conversation I had with the Mayor, except that
he would be down in the morning--I immediately attempted
to get from the officers a resume of what had occurred, what
the situation was as they viewed it. Then I sent word
for the field officers that might be here--when I say
"field officers" I mean a Major, for instance, [redacted]
in command of a battalion--to report at once to the city hall.
In the meantime I got in an automobile while they were coming
in and made a rush trip over as much of the city as I could
cover, to see myself what the conditions were, so that I felt
that I had better talk to them and discuss the situation
with them. Particularly did I go to the sections that were
burning at that time--houses on fire.

I got back to the city hall, I presume--this is merely
a matter of recollection--I assume I was gone on that tour---
well I would think over half an hour. I got back and immediately
began to make disposition of the troops which were here
on duty at that time in the way which I felt would be the
most effective. I took a map of the city and districted the

city. If you gentlemen have been over the city you know that it is a very widespread community, scattered out. In all riot situations there are probably one or more particular danger points, that is, there are sections of the city that are considered more dangerous points than other sections of the city. My idea was this: That in order to handle more effectively a mob situation, your troops should be unified as much as possible, in order to cover territory against possible demonstrations, and it appealed to me as necessary to put units as large as the total number of your troops would make possible in different sections of more particular danger points. That I proceeded to do.

I then got--after I had made this disposition--I got into an automobile and made a tour of these points myself, where troops were stationed, instructing the officers, directing that they instruct their men along lines that I had instructed them, and stating to the officers that the officer would be held responsible for the carrying out of the instructions on the part of the individual men.

I might suggest to your committee that my reason for making that statement is this, that in my experience--I don't claim to have had a great deal of it--but in my experience in almost all activities the difficulty is with officers and not with individual men. What I mean to say is this, that the average soldier will carry out his instructions under ordinary circumstances if he has clearly in his mind exactly what his instructions are, and much of the haziness comes from the haziness on the part of the officers. That and the further fact that the officer is specially charged

with responsibility for his men caused me to impress upon the officers that I should hold them responsible for the carrying out of my orders.

I think, if I simply may refresh my memory from my data, Mr. Chairman, the records show that from 8.30 on the morning of the 2nd to 12.30 of the 2nd, --and that 12.30 I think is a little digression from the time fixed by Col. Tripp as to the arrival of the companies up to noon on the 2nd--I take those figures from the official records of the board of inquiry appointed to investigate the matter.

Mr. Cooper. That shows they got here at 12.30 instead of 1.30?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, that record shows that from 8.40 to 12.30 on July 2nd there were eight commissioned officers and one hundred and three men. That is in addition to Col. Tripp and Col. Clayton and Major Klauser.

Mr. Foss. Was that 12.30 the time they arrived at the station or the time they got up town?

Gen. Dickson. It is indicated here as the time of arrival. I think our figures agree--I think the figures given by Col. Tripp agree all the way through, with two exceptions, as to the time of arrival of the different organizations, and this is one of the differences.

Then from 8.40 in the morning until 8 p. m.--

Mr. Cooper (interposing): That is a matter of very considerable importance. If these troops arrived at 12.30 what road did they come on,

Gen. Dickson. That was Company I, of Vandalia that

is mentioned here at 12.50 in this report of the board of inquiry, and they would come on the Vandalia line, a branch of the Pennsylvania.

Mr. Cooper. Now then that court of inquiry was instituted how?

Gen. Dickson. By direction of the Governor.

Mr. Cooper. And it was a board acting in an official capacity?

Gen. Dickson. Oh yes.

Mr. Cooper. To ascertain the facts and it officially reported that the Vandalia Company arrived here at 12.50?

Gen. Dickson. That is their record sir.

Mr. Foss. And at that time there were eight officers and 103 menafter the arrival of this company?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir. Now from 6.40 until 6 p. m. of July 2nd this record shows 17 officers and 170 men. Therefore when I arrived, Mr. Chairman, shortly after midnight there were 17 officers--when I say officers in that reference I mean company officers, captains, lieutenants--and 270 men. I made disposition of those in the manner in which I have already indicated.

From July 3rd at 1.40 in the morning --I arriving here at 12.15--until 8.30 p. m. of July 3rd, there arrived 7 officers and 540 men. The remainder of the officers and men arrived on July 4th. There was a total of 37 officers 1,411 enlisted men on duty here before we got through with that situation. That is in addition, Judge Cooper, to myself and Colonel Tripp and Colonel Clayton. I am speaking of the officers.

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Mr. Foss. 37 officers and how many men?

Gen. Dickson. 1,411.

Mr. Johnson. And that number of fourteen hundred odd men was here the 4th?

Gen. Dickson. Yes the last of them were here, yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. How many were here on the 3rd?

Gen. Dickson. July 3rd. Well I can just make that computation for you. There were already 17 officers and 270 men here. And there were 34 officers and 810 men if I have made the computation correctly on the third. They began arriving on the third, 14th in the morning. I can give you, before I get through, the exact time of arrival if you care to have it.

Mr. Cooper. What was the maximum number here on the 2nd?

Gen. Dickson. 17 officers and 270 men.

Mr. Cooper. When was that maximum reached, what hour?

Gen. Dickson. At 8 o'clock p. m.

Mr. Cooper. From 12.30 there was how many here?

Gen. Dickson. According to this record--I wasn't here--according to this record at 12.30 there were 6 officers and 103 men. I wasn't here, Mr. Chairman, until 15 minutes after midnight of that night, of the 2nd, the early morning of the third.

Mr. Johnson. I got that mixed. I thought you got here sooner.

Gen. Dickson. No, I got here--for purposes of reference, I would say midnight of the 2nd.

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Mr. Cooper. Well, these killings and these burnings had taken place before your arrival?

Gen. Dickson. When I arrived the buildings were burning in different sections, several sections of the city. That was among the things I went to see.

Mr. Johnson. You were here on no part of the 2nd?

Gen. Dickson. No sir. Now I made this tour, this hurried tour, to see myself.

Mr. Foss. Can you state right there what you saw on that tour?

Gen. Dickson. I saw them burning buildings, yes, sir; and I saw around the places where these burning buildings were quite a congregation of people.

Mr. Foss. Did you see any shooting?

Gen. Dickson. No, absolutely none.

Mr. Foss. And no mobs?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, no, only the congregations of people massed on corners, and so forth. I went right back to the city hall and there I met the officers I had sent for who came in the interim. I mapped out the disposition of troops along the line that I have already indicated, and put them right up at these places. Among the instructions that were given them were to disperse these congregations of people that I had myself witnessed--to see that they went on home and to throw out what you might call a "flying patrol" from a squad unit to patrol these districts and keep the block clear.

Mr. Foss. Well, you stated, General, that there were

certain points that you selected.

Gen. Dickson. That was where these fires were.

Mr. Foss. Were you stationed troops in bodies.

Gen. Dickson. Yes.

Gen. Dickson. How many points were there.

Mr Foss. I think there were half a dozen points that night. Now in addition to that I kept a slight reserve at the city hall. I immediately made arrangements for automobile trucks, my headquarters being at the city hall, and also an automobile for my own use. I made arrangements for these auto trucks for this, at that time, for reserve force which I was trying to hold there, my idea being that as these troops on duty were being augmented by fresh arrivals, that I would increase the number of the different unit companies and also increase the number of posts, and also increase my reserve at the city hall with new troops coming in.

The next organization after I reached here arrived at 1.45 in the morning, three officers and 68 men. The next at 2, one officer and 67 men; the next at 2.30, 3 officers and 50 men; the next at 4.15, 3 officers and 110 men; the next at 7.30, 27 men; the next at 8, 100 men and 3 officers; the next at 8.30, 3 officers and 77 men; the next at 3.30 on the morning of July 4, 3 officers and 63 men; and at 8.30, July 4, 600 men and 12 officers. I am speaking of company officers. I left out one, company F, of the 3rd Infantry arrived on the morning of July 3, at 3 o'clock, 2 officers and 61 men. I have given you the total number of

men, and I am giving you the detail of their arrival now.

Mr. Cooper. That is from the official record of the Board of Inquiry?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir. As I said I tried to dispose of the number of men that I had in my command on my arrival on the unit basis, my idea of keeping a small reserve at the city hall --arranged for motor trucks so that they could be rushed out in emergency some place, and an automobile for me to use in getting around and seeing that my orders were being carried out, and so forth--my idea being, as I said, to add to the number of men in each of these units with the succeeding arrival of troops and to the number of reserve force which I expected to handle by motor truck from the city hall upon emergency call; and also to add to the number of unit posts with new arrival troops. That scheme was carried out.

By daylight on the morning of the third, with the arrival of these additional troops during the night, I established further posts. I districted the city; I had a map at my desk showing in red lines the districts and what organization commander was responsible for it. I put an organization commander in charge of that with his responsibility direct to me. I established a telephone station within each district with instructions to have a man at the telephone day and night in communication with me at the city hall, and of course in my absence to communicate with my aide. The instructions were to report every hour day and night what the conditions were throughout the district

for which he was being held responsible, and any minute of course when anything suspicious started or any circumstance of unusual importance or consequence happened.

In addition to that I kept, as I say, this reserve force at the city hall. In addition to that I organized immediately what for lack of a better name I called the "flying squadron". That was a bunch of men from this reserve consisting of about six or seven men in each squadron and I used, I think, five automobiles.

You will understand, of course, gentlemen, that much of the disturbance in a disturbed situation comes in the early evening and in the early hours of the night, and not so much, for instance, during the daylight. At about five o'clock each evening, in addition to these district guards, and in addition to the reserve which I held at the city hall with auto trucks available, every hour day and night I sent the flying squadrons out, beginning about 5 o'clock in the evening, on what might be called "a roving commission." They just traversed the city, circled here and there without any specified territory for which they were responsible, to pick up any situation or information that they might be able to find.

In addition to that, I myself toured the city day and night. What rest I got, I got along at this time in the morning, very largely. Very seldom did I turn in before three or four o'clock in the morning during the time I was here. I did that in order to see myself what the situation was, not only with reference to disorder and burning and so

forth, but with the idea of testing up on the officers and men to see whether my orders were being carried out or not Under the broad direction of the Mayor, which I have already indicated, I simply assumed to proceed to do the best I could in my judgment and ability to restore order in East St. Louis, and each morning at 10 o'clock all captains of companies on duty here and their respective majors met me in a conference at the city hall. We met in the council room, as I remember now. I went over with them what had happened, what has transpired since the conference the day before and took up with them what I myself had observed in my rounds.

Now among the other instructions that I gave were these-- I don't know that I can recall all of them. In addition to the constant information that the commanding officers of any district or each district would be held strictly accountable for the conduct of affairs in his district, we had by this time a sufficient force to throw out a line of patrols keeping our units intact in the districts. For instance--I don't just know just where Collinsville Avenue lies here, but through the business section, Collinsville Avenue and Broadway, the congested part of the city, and around the fire district--or the district that we had information might be subject to fire. I would differentiate I think you gentleman understand that. For instance there would be more danger by reason of the conditions of a fire in a territory occupied by the colored people than there

would be out along Lawndale Avenue--I guess that is the way they call it, the residence street of the city--something of that sort. These officers were instructed and instructed to instruct their sentinels in these patrols to keep everybody moving along the streets; not to interfere with legitimate business, but to prevent any congregation of people in these congested districts. That was based, gentlemen, upon the proposition that it has been my observation that no one man starts a riot. It is only when two or three or four get together that things begin to mill like that the first thing you know there is a snowball and you have got a big crowd. Their instructions were to be soldierly; the instructions were to treat everybody with absolute courtesy; the instructions were to patrol on the side of the sidewalk--that is in the edge of the curb. My reason for that was this, that assuming that the sentinel on patrol might get into a situation where he might be attacked, we will say by three or four men if he is marching along the sidewalk right here with these men, and is attacked, he is at a very decided and serious disadvantage; but if he is at the edge of the curb, he is in a position to handle himself all the while, particularly with his bayonet, and if he sees three or four people here congregating he is in a position to approach them in the proper attitude. I don't mean with charged bayonets but at port arms, as a soldier should, approach a man when conversing with him so that in an instant he could protect himself if he were attacked. Their

instructions were to approach these groups, ask them courteously but firmly to move on. If the reason was inquired, he should tell the reason. The instructions were that the right-minded and lawful citizen would appreciate the situation and move on, and if he would not move on, he was the fellow that we were after anyway and if any man resisted, arrest him and bring him in. Among other instructions--if you are interested in this phase of it, born of some experience and observation in those things--the soldiers were instructed on duty that no attention was to be paid to girls or women of any sort. That may seem a little bit peculiar to you gentlemen, but my reason for that was this: It has been my obervation and experience that where you have had troops in a place, if they are stationed in any community for some period naturally acquaintance springs up. Ordinarly that young lady who gets acquainted with the soldier is some local man's sweetheart--I mean now in the very best sense. You would be surprised how situations of personal jealousy and so forth will enter into the thing and accentuate and add to any predisturbed general mental condition of the people. It is a situation that my experience has demonstrated is not to be overlooked. My absolute instructions were to officers and through them to the men was that no officer or man was here on duty for any purpose except one: That one was to represent the state of Illinois in his military capacity to preserve order and to protect life and property. That

must be done without regard to any condition, race, color or any other . That must be done without regard to anything that might have been the cause or causes that led up to the riotous condition. I took the position that the officers, all officers and men here, were here to perform a military duty by reason of conditions as they existed and had no interest in the merits or demerits of any quarrel, or the causes that might have led up to the disturbance. Therefore that no officer or man had any opinions to express to anybody; and day after day I enjoined the officers that if there was any talking to be done here, I could do the talking myself.

Mr. Foss. It was simply a question of law and order then was it?

Gen. Dickson. I said to these officers time and again, and through them to their men that so far as the military was considered, there were only two classes of people in East St. Louis: The law observers and the law breackers.

Mr. Cooper. Now will you stop right there. May I ask a question? Now, General, if as these companies left the trains of the morning of the 2nd, the officers had talked to the men in the way you have just said you talked to the men and officers and the officers had obeyed the instructions, and the men had obeyed the instructions, much of this killing could have been stopped, could it not?

Gen. Dickson. Well, Congressman, I can't answer that

question because I do not know what occurred on the second. What I mean by saying "I don't know what occurred" I don't know what was said to the officers. I have no information on that subject. What I want to give you gentlemen is what I know of my knowledge. I don't know what instructions were given them. I have no information on that.

Mr. Cooper. Well, Colonel Tripp, who has just left the stand, didn't testify that any instructions of that kind were given to anybody or that the companies were met and the officers told what to do, and the men informed what they were expected to do. We have testimony here that militiamen killed negroes, shot them on the street, on the second.

Gen. Dickson. Well that is a matter --I think you gentlemen can see that we would have no information about that.

Mr. Raker. Before passing that, aren't those the instructions they have when they first enter the service, and they know as a matter of course that those are the things to do when they are on duty?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, Congressman, but may I in this connection--and directly in connection with your suggestion - call your attention to one other element. You are speaking about their entering the service. Of course that is a matter of instruction, and I am going to digress to a couple of things right here if I may by permission of your committee.

Reference was made yesterday in some testimony to there being some regular troops on duty here. In order that

that may not be confusing, the fact of the matter is that all of the troops that were here, either in the federal service or brought here by direction of the state were in the same category. They were federalized national guards, under the national defense act. The troops that were referred to yesterday as regular troops--I don't know whether it is confused in the mind of the committee or not--were companies of the Sixth Infantry, Illinois National Guard, which were federalized just the same as companies of the Fourth that were brought here afterwards, but they had been on duty. In other words, they had been called by the President into the federal service, I think on the 26th of April if my memory does not mistake me, the Third Regiment, the First, the Fifth and Sixth, and they had been guarding bridges, ammunition plants, and things of that sort, entirely beyond our control--I mean the state authorities--and a portion of them under Major Kavanaugh had been sent by General Barry of Chicago to the Aluminum Ore Works here. Of course they were entirely beyond the control of the state to issue any orders to, but they were purely federalized national guards just the same as the chaps who came here later. I didn't know whether that had been confused or not.

Mr. Baker. It had been confusing to me because I thought that those at the stockyards were regulars.

Gen. Dickson. With reference to the instructions, in their tours of inspection, about their duties and so forth

it might be interesting for your committee as a matter of information to know that of the total number of troops here, enlisted men, 1411, there were 558 who had seen border service.

Mr. Johnson. When did they get here?

Gen. Dickson. I will have to take that up afterwards if you will permit me. What I will do, Mr. Chairman, will be to give you those companies which arrived each day, how many had seen border service, and so forth. I see what you have in mind. There were 446 who had seen only two months service. There were 405 who had not seen service at all.

Mr. Foss. Will you quote those figures again?

Gen. Dickson. I am quoting now from the report of the Board of Inquiry appointed by the Governor of the State. Of the 1411 total enlisted men on duty here, during that time, 558 had seen border service--that is Mexican service--446 had been enlisted two months, and 405 had been enlisted probably a few days, something like that.

You gentlemen who are familiar with the developments in Washington of military matters will recall the National Defense Act became effective June 3, 1916. All the troops of our state were sent to the Mexican border and when they came back it was required of them that they take the national defense oath, in order to come under the provisions of the National Defense Act. That of course was a matter of discretion on their part, whether or not they would

take that oath.

In April of this year the War Department issued an order that all men of the National Guard who did not elect to subscribe to the new National Defense Act oath by the 22nd of April would be dropped from the rolls of the National Guard. Then they they fixed their status as simply mammbers of the organized militia, but subject to no direction of the War Department, and not participating in the National Defense Act provision in any way. That took quite a number from the guard of all the states. That was due to a number of reasons, and you probably don't want that read into the record. Just briefly, in a sentence or two, many of the chaps were more or less disgusted with the border service. They had gone down there under an enlistment of three years for the state. They had taken a second oath at Springfield when they were mustered in, which oath was found on investigation by the militia bureau to be an obsolete oath, which we protested having administered when it was administered.

Mr. Cooper. That is interesting. What do you mean that you took an obsolete oath against which you protested when you took it?

Gen. Dickson. I mean this, Judge Cooper, I mean that when the mustering officer, the field mustering officer, came to our mobilization camp at Springfield when we were mobilizing for Mexican service, that muster blanks of course

were sent in from the War Department. That muster blank contained a printed oath of muster. I insisted to the mustering officer, as Adjutant-General, that if any additional oath other than the men had taken--the state oath--was to be administered that it be the National Defense Act oath. This mobilization was in the latter part of August, the 18th of August, as I remember--I don't mean August, I mean June--and the National Defense Act had become effective June 3rd. The mustering officer decided that the blanks which had been sent to him from Washington should be the one administered because it contained this printed oath. I took the matter up afterwards, Judge Cooper, with the militia bureau when we were contending that the state oath was sufficient under the National Defense Act, and was advised by them that unfortunately, in some manner or other, the muster roll had been sent to Illinois containing this particular oath to which we had objected, which was an obsolete one, but it would make no difference because the men, if any continued to stay in the National Guard, would have to take the National Defense Act oath anyway. Now of course this cuts quite a figure with our case because here were chaps who came back and said: "Well, we have already taken two oaths."

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Then the further fact, I think you will find this true, in all states, that under the state enlistments the enlistment period is three years; under the National Defense

Act three years on the active service and three on the reserve. I think you will find that whatever merit or demerit there might be in the National Guard, that was one of the contentions there has been all the time about the reserve enlistments, and these chaps from Illinois who had already taken two oaths felt that they should be given credit--they didn't object to taking the three year period and so forth but they ought to be given credit for what they had already served, and then under the provisions of the first paragraph of section 90, I think it is, of the National Defense Act, it was contended by Illinois vigorously by her Governor and finally it went to the Judge Advocate General, that the oath of Illinois being dual in its nature, came within the provisions of that act and that implied that where there was that dual responsibility in the State, that men who had taken it should be considered as members of the National Guard for the unexpired period of their current enlistment period.

So those things and general conditions resulted in a great many men not desiring to take the National Defense Act oath. That cut down the organization very materially. I am not defending it one way or the other, but simply stating to you the facts.

At that time the war strength organization, for instance, of an infantry regiment was raised by the federal government from its former figure to 2,055 officers and men, and other units in relative proportion, with instructions, of course, to recruit

up.

Mr. Cooper. They called it 2,000, with officers, to a regiment.

Gen. Dickson. 2,058, infantry regiment. Now it has been raised under the new table of organization issued in August, I think, of this year, to 3,600 and something.

Mr. Cooper. And it is still called a regiment?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. In Civil War times I believe, as I have read, a thousand men constituted a regiment.

Gen. Dickson. In the Spanish-American War 1200 men, officers + men, constituted a regiment. Now, therefore, these organization commanders began immediately to recruit their organizations up because they knew this service was coming. That accounts for the great proportion of men of very limited service and men of no service in the ranks of organization when this particular call came. If the call had come some place in the state a month earlier, this last column would have been eliminated, and the 448 would only have had one month's service. I have gone into that rather laboriously, and probably it is not material, but it gives you an idea of the reasons why you have so many inexperienced men, or men of short service. It was during a transition period of all military service, the army included, as you gentlemen know who have to do with those things.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Chairman, I think the General has given us all the facts that are germane with which he is

acquainted.

Gen. Dickson. May I suggest this in addition, Mr. Chairman, if you will ~~permit~~ pardon me. I might add this, that I followed out that scheme of patrolling the streets in the congested districts, keeping everybody off the streets, I don't know whether we did it successfully or not. The testimony before the committee will of course enable you to determine that.

Mr. Cooper. Were there some killings on the 3rd?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, there was a killing on the 3rd down on--I don't know the name but I refer to it as the "island." That is a matter not only of investigation by this board of inquiry, before which 60 witnesses were called and the testimony is all here and the official finding of the board, but it is a matter of investigation by the grand jury.

I continued that work and amplified it, and as I say I visited all of these posts day and night; just continually went from post to post and from place to place.

I found that so far as my personal observation went--and you gentlemen can judge what opportunity I had to make it--what means I utilized to make it--and so far as my report went, the soldiers conducted themselves in a very orderly manner. I think some reference, I saw in the newspapers some reference to the fact that they were not completely equipped. Of course that was a decided disadvantage, that is true, but that is a result of this transition period and augmentation of force, with the inability of the

government to furnish equipment for the augmented force which you know exists at the present day.

Mr. Johnson. In what particular way were they short of equipment?

Gen. Dickson. Some didn't have hats. Some didn't have leggings, and various equipment.

Mr. Johnsons. They had guns and cartridges?

Gen. Dickson. No, I don't think there was a man here that didn't have a gun.

Mr. Johnson. I say they had guns and cartridges.

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes, I beg your pardon.

Mr. Johnson. If they didn't have caps it wouldn't interfere with their using guns and cartridges.

Gen. Dickson. Oh, no, not at all. The only thing would be the moral effect, that is all. Just the psychological effect.

I continued that method of handling the situation--I want to refer to one other thing. There were some fires after I took charge of things here. Immediately on the third I communicated with Springfield and got the state fire marshal and his chief deputy to come down here to cooperate. You gentlemen, as you have driven over the city, will appreciate the fact that these sections of the city that have these two or three room houses, built close together, and down below the grade of the street, are pretty difficult to entirely eliminate--you can control all you will, but it is pretty difficult to entirely eliminate the proposition of

burning. I frankly confess I don't know how it can be absolutely eliminated. I did it by patrol but as I stated I tried to minimize it; tried to prohibit it.

In addition to that, I did this, with the cooperation of the state fire marshal I made special details of soldiers, and there the state fire marshal with his assistants who were of course were in citizens'clothes--I was in uniform--were they would be able to gather information that there was a likelihood of any attempt at incendiarism, we made a special detail of picket men and put them in those buildings--slipped them into those buildings. You can realize it is difficult to keep some fellow in the darkness of the night from stealing down an alley with a cloth soaked in coal oil, touch a match to it and thrown it into one of those timber boxes and make his getaway. The instructions to these men were this--those buildings are mostly all two rooms, as I remember it. I went through a number of them, and some of them are probably three. We put a man in front and a man in the rear--that is, on the inside--armed with ammunition with absolute instructions to shoot the first man he saw setting a torch to that building. I think within two or three days that thing pretty generally stopped. But that is one of the things that you cannot absolutely guarantee anybody to absolutely prevent. You can utilize your best efforts but conditions will determine the possibilities along those lines.

Mr. Johnson. He operates along the lines of a sneak thief?

Gen. Dickson. Exactly, in the darkness of the night, he sneaks in between a couple of buildings, throws a brand in and is gone.

Now if I may suggest one other thing gentlemen. I don't want to trespass upon the time of the committee.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead.

Gen. Dickson. I understand that testimony has been submitted to this committee-- it was in connection with this-- on the morning of July 3rd I met with the Chamber of Commerce--that is they asked me to come over to a meeting they had.

Mr. Johnson. What time?

Gen. Dickson. I think this must have been about 9 o'clock on the morning of July 3rd. I went over to this meeting and they were very much [redacted] exercised about the occurrence, and talked about a good many things which I apprehend have been introduced before this committee as evidence, and so forth. They also talked about the declaration of martial law. They talked about the condition of the city and so forth; and I said to them: "Now, my judgment is that I have got a present problem. I am planning to try to handle it, and here is my plan." Then I outlined and elaborated on what I have already told you gentlemen about the distributing and instructions to guard

and following it up, and the sessions with the officers and following the officers up and keeping hands on it every minute. And I said this, "If I spend my morning here with you gentlemen discussing the happenings of yesterday, or what led up to it and so forth, the time I am doing that I am losing in trying to put into effect what I think will bring order out of this situation. That is a matter of subsequent investigation. Let me go along now and do the best I can. If you gentlemen think the plan I have outlined here is good, let me go along and do the best I can to put it into effect. "In other words the way to stop a thing is to grip it by the throat and choke it as soon as you get to it. That is the point. So I went out and tried to do that. I think the next day--or may be that night--I don't know--in a conversation I had with the Governor I suggested to him that he come down and look the situation over. He came down. He met with the Chamber of Commerce, I think at 9 o'clock, about nine o'clock at night, he arrived. I am not sure that was on the night of the third or fourth. I don't think the date is material to the point. They told the Governor about things--

Mr. Johnson (interposing). The Chamber of Commerce did?

Gen. Dickson. Yes. Members of the Chamber of Commerce. A number of them, I don't know who all were there, but quite a party, and it has been testified here, so the newspapers say, that one of the gentlemen there--and who testified here--

testified that he had advised the Governor of Illinois that a colored man had been shot by one of the Illinois troops and the Governor had said he would investigate--and this with other conditions--would investigate the situation and that the Governor had done nothing about it. That was really the cause of my writing to you, Mr. Chairman, in reference to this matter. I don't know whether that was the testimony or not. I am simply taking the newspapers for it. I want to say in that connection that the Governor, in pursuance of his determination to do everything within his power, which I am sure no gentleman of this committee who knows him questions--to get at the bottom of the situation; to find out the facts, constituted a board of inquiry officially, by an order of the Governor on July 11. That board of inquiry heard some eighty witnesses. They have made an official report to the Governor of the state upon the inquiry. They were directed in this order of the Governor to inquire into all matters pertaining to the conduct of officers and men, as well as the conduct of civilians, or civil officers whose conduct or actions may have any bearing on the subject being investigated, and investigate into and report upon the conditions giving rise to or existing at the time in the above mentioned tumult or riots or in any way affecting the situation at the time the troops reached the city or subsequently thereto. The board was composed of Brigadier General Henry A. Hall, who is in the federal service at Camp Logan, Houston Texas; General James E. Stewart, retired, of Chicago, in charge of the western department,

postal inspection services; Colonel Taylor A. Brown, a retired officer who is head of a very prominent law firm in Chicago--probably Congressman Foss knows him; Colonel ~~Norton~~ Milton J. Forman, a lawyer in Chicago, and head of one of the artillery regiments; and Major Edgar P. Tollman, a retired officer, connected with the University of Chicago and the recording officer.

I have been directed by the Governor, Mr. Chairman, to bring to and submit to this committee for such purpose or use as they may desire to make of it, such information as it may contain of benefit to them--the entire proceedings of that board of inquiry and a certified copy of the entire findings of the board in connection with those things.

Mr. Cooper. General, Are you aware of the fact that witnesses, apparently honest and evidently very intelligent, have come before this committee and testified under oath that they told that board of inquiry they could recognize the soldiers that wantonly killed negroes if they were afforded an opportunity to identify them, and they indicate the places where the killings had taken place; and that they never have had a suggestion that an opportunity would be afforded them, and they never have been given the opportunity to identify the soldiers?

Gen. Dickson. Congressman Cooper, No I can't know that. I think, in running through the testimony, if you care to do it--I think if any of those gentleman testified before

the board, the evidence that they gave there--of which there is a stenographic report the same as your report will be of this--will determine for your committee whether opportunity was given them and what they testified to. I don't know what they testified to.

Mr. Cooper. Are you aware of the fact that these witnesses testifiedthat the moment they began to indicate by their testimony that they had witnessed those violations of duty by men wearing the uniform of a soldier, and that they would be able to identify those men, immediately this board of inquiry apparently began to hush up the inquiry and indicated to the witnesses that they didn't want to go along any further on that line?

Gen. Dickson. Judge Cooper, may I suggest here, your committee, undoubtedly composed for the purpose of getting at the facts, and viewing the thing judicially-- because I know the ability of the individual members to do that--will be able to in my judgment to determine--I have no personal knowledge of that at all, of course, therefore I say that I suggest that you will be able to determine in reading the testimony, the stenographic report of testimony, of any of the gentlemen who have testified-- by reading the stenographic report--which is in the record just as you would refer to this record here-- you will be able to determine whether or not they were shut off or whether they were not. That is a matter I would have no personal knowledge of, but the record is there, and covers it, and the committee can tell whether or not they were by referring to that record.

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Mr. Cooper. But the attitide of the officers--I am just stating the testimony of the witnesses.

Gen. Dickson. Oh surely.

Mr. Cooper. The manner of the officers would not be indicated by the stenographic record, and some of the things they said may not have been officially reported. The whole thing was secret.

Gen. Dickson. I would not be in a position to speak on that.

Mr. Cooper. Well, of course not. You don't know anything about it.

Gen. Dickson. You appreciate the fact, Judge Cooper, that I should be very glad to respond if I could.

Mr. Cooper. That is all right, General. I understand.

Mr. Foster. You have explained here in reference to the desire for declaring martial law after you came here, and your explanation to the Chamber of Commerce in reference to that. Now I would like to ask you this question: What is the rule when the militia goes into a town or a city with reference to reporting to the Mayor and what he has to do with reference to the disposition of the troops and so on?

Gen. Dickson. Under the law of Illinois, Dr. Foster, under the law of Illinois a civil officer such as the sheriff or mayor when he has a situation which he determines is beyond his control to handle, may officially call upon the Governor of the state to send an armed force. Under the law of the

state, further, when that force is sent it is ordered to report to the civil authority who has made the official request, and under the law that force acts--I quote the exact language, "in strict subordination to the civil authority." That much I quote. Therefore every order that was directed by the Governor with reference to sending any officer or officers--for instance, these companies and so forth here-- the company was directed--the company commander was directed to report his force to the Honorable Fred W. Mollman, Mayor of East St. Louis and so forth, and act under his orders.

Now when I came to East St. Louis as a direct representative of the Governor, as I have already explained, my first act upon arriving at the city was to call up the Mayor and report my arrival; and the Mayor's reply to me was "I am glad you are here. I want you to take charge of the situation and restore order." I considered that my authority under the Mayor, and I proceeded to do it to the best of my ability. There is this distinction that follows--which is generally carried in all military text-books treating of the subject: Having reported to a civil authority --we will suppose for instance that I were reporting to the Mayor of East St. Louis this minute, and there was a mob congregating in this street, and I had a force of troops here that had reported to me. The Mayor would say to me "I want that street cleared and that mob disbursed." Just that minute, and with that his authority ends. Then the authority and responsibility rests in the officer in charge of that military force to disburse that mob

and clear the streets; in other words, carry out his orders, and it is no part of the responsibility, or ~~at least~~ legal no right of the mayor, having given the general directions, as to what he wants done, as to how that should be carried out or the means to be employed. 104

Mr. Foster. That is what I was getting at.

Gen. Dickson. In other words, the responsibility of disbursing that mob, whether it is with custard pie or bullets, the responsibility is up to the commanding officer of the military forces, and the Mayor can't indicate-- that is when I say "indicate" he can't effectually indicate nor direct nor supervise the manner or means to be employed in carrying out the general directions.

Mr. Foster. So that when you called on the Mayor after your arrival in the city, after 12 o'clock July 2nd and the Mayor said to you that he wanted you to take charge and restore order, that was full authority for you to go and do, in your judgment, what was best? The details were then left to you?

Gen. Dickson. I considered that full authority.

Mr. Foster. You did not further consult the Mayor in reference to what the details should be?

Gen. Dickson. Except as a matter of information.

Mr. Foster. I understand.

Gen. Dickson. I considered that full and sufficient.

general authority from the Mayor of East St. Louis to me, as a representitive of the Governor in charge of the military forces--I considered that general instructions for me to restore order in East St. Louis. What followed that was not the Mayor's responsibility in the restoration of that order. It was mine. If I was mistaken, the responsibility was mine, because that is the way I considered it. He had given me his general instructions, which was a blanket instruction, and I proceeded to the best of my ability to do the thing in the way I thought it should be done, having to assume responsibility for it, that would carry out his general instructions.

Mr. Foster. Now there have been other riots in the state from time to time since you have been in office?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Foster. This is not the first one?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, no.

Mr. Foster. Now what is usually the rule--I mean by that when you arrive at a town and you of course call on the civil authorities, whether it be the sheriff or mayor, or whom it may be--is it the rule that they give you that instruction?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Foster. Blanket instructions for you to do what you think best to restore order, and you act under that authority?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, Dr. Foster, in the matter of some

experience in those things, of course it is true, as you recognize that every situation is like a tub, it sits on its own bottom; it has its own peculiar angles and features. We have had to call the troops of this state more times in the past seven and a half years than in the entire preceding history of the state, since the admission of the state into the union in1818. That is a startling statement. That hasn't all been riot troubles. There have been floods, the Cherry mine disaster, and so forth. But I was in both of the race riots in Cairo, the race riots in Springfield, and different troubles. I have found from my experience this that when troops get on the ground, of course there is necessarily a chaotic condition. That is a legal precedent for their being called for --a situation which is beyond the control of the local authorities to handle--that is presumably so. The troops get on the ground, and in every instance--and I have served now, well, under Governor Dineen, and his successor, Governor Dunne, and now Governor Lowden-- immediately, if I am at Springfield when the troops are ordered, I am sent to the ground directly as the representative of the Governor, and I always found this, I think without exception, Dr. Foster, that just as quickly as I have gotten on the ground the local civil authority, , whether it be sheriff or mayor, to whom I have reported, has been very glad and very willing to say, "No here you handle this thing." That is what they have got to do as a matter of fact. I think that is probably what Mayor Mollman had in mind when he said

to me, "Now just take charge of the thing and restore order in East St. Louis," at least I may have been mistaken in my assumption, but I asumed that was sufficient authority, and I proceeded to do so.

Mr. Foster. That is the usual thing?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I want to ask you another question--I don't know whether you want to answer it or not. If you don't why don't answer it--just say you don't care to answer it. There has been testimony here by witnesses as to the cause of the riots, and they have suggested remedies--some very intelligent men. Do you care to express yourself upon those propositions? If not, why do not do so.

Gen. Dickson. Well, Dr. Foster, --if you will excuse me, I don't mean to be discourteous.

Mr. Foster. I want you to use your own judgment about that.

Gen. Dickson. With reference to the causes of the riots, I couldn't give this committee any intelligent information because I know nothing about it. I have not gone into it. As I have explained before the thing I was trying to do was to do the job immediately before me, and the job that the milit ry was here to do.

Mr. Cooper. Residents of the city would be more able to tell accurately about ~~what~~ the causes, rather than anybody who lives so far away as you do.

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir. There may be many suggestions as to remedies. I don't know what they may or may not be,

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but this comes to my mind, born of my experience and observation while performing the duty that I was sent here to do. It is probably an impolitic remark. The best way, in my judgment--and I say that as a generality for East St. Louis and every place else--the best way and the only way in order for a municipality to exist is for its constituted authorities, backed up by the moral sentiments of the community, to rigidly, impartially, justly, firmly, but surely enforce the law.

Mr. Cooper. I think that is a good answer, General.

Gen. Dickson. That is the answer. If that is done--I say this as a generality, then nobody can be--well I won't ~~say~~ be "heard to complain," but the degree of credence to be given their complaint is more or less minimized by the fact that while things were smoldering nobody appeared to be doing anything to grip it by the throat and to make--create a condition where subsequent lawlessness and disorder could not possibly exist. Now if, Doctor, the city of East St. Louis--and they have been up against the test--I understand that between the time of the first riot, which was that in which the troops were called in, and the second riot, that so far as the citizenship was concerned, practically nothing was done. You gentlemen may know whether that is in the testimony or not. I think that probably could be very easily established--practically nothing was done.

Mr. Foss. You mean from May 28th?

Gen. Dickson. Yes. I think practically nothing

was done. I may be doing somebody an injustice, but that is my judgment about it.

Mr. Johnson. Between May 28th and what time?

Gen. Dickson. July 2nd, to cope with the situation which every citizen in East St. Louis knew existed, whatever the causes might have been. This committee of One Hundred that has been referred to in the testimony here, it is my recollection, so far as I went into it while I was here on duty--and I met with those gentlemen, I think, every day, or almost every day, the Chamber of Commerce, and so forth--I don't think that was formed until after the second riot. They were locking the door after the horse had gotten out.

Mr. Foss. The Committee of One Hundred should have been formed after the riot of May 28th?

Gen. Dickson. Yes. Now from the very minute the Governor of this state came to East St. Louis and met with that Chamber of Commerce, he took the position, which every citizen should take, that the question was whether or not a constituted municipality in the state of Illinois was capable of self-government, and whether or not a city of sixty or eighty thousand people could control the lawlessness and properly, under their municipality, by their civil authorities, the city first and county afterwards, ~~acting~~ with the support of a citizenship of intelligence and patriotism--whether or not that community would be able to guarantee to every man, woman and child, no matter what their race, color or creed, the protection of life and property under the law to which

they are entitled; or whether the state of Illinois would have to send and keep an armed force in a community to do that thing for them. Now that has been the test. That has been the trial, and the Governor has insisted that the citizenship and the officials of this city so order their house that they could justify themselves in the existence of a municipality. ~~After the~~ committee after committee has waited on the Governor, particularly I say in connection with the withdrawl of troops--and incidentally in passing I will say that along about the 8th or 9th of July I left here, being called away in connection with some matters that I have in charge at headquarters under the exemption act, being of course more or less busy, and General Hill, now on the border succeeded me here and carried out the program I have laid out. But when it came to the proposition of withdrawal of troops, I am speaking now more particularly with reference to these federalized troops of the Sixth Infantry that were left on duty here-- when it became apparent that the government was going to withdraw them away and send them away, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce waited on the Governor about replacing them.

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Mr. Foster. Was that a committee of the Chamber of Commere or the Committee of One Hundred?

Gen. Dickson. I don't know. I may be in error on that. In my mind, Dr. Foster, they ~~have~~ are like an interlocking directorate I may be wrong, but asking about the retention of troops, and so forth, and the Governor said, "It is time you people

down there made up your minds either to go out of business as a municipality or sustain yourselves properly under the law as a municipality." I am not quoting his words but that was the effect of it. He was advocating a new police force, and I understand that since that time the business men have raised $105,000. and they have appointed a new police board. But during the time I was here, Dr.Foster, there was but one purpose for which I was here, and that was to restore order and protect the lives and property of the people of this community.

The question came up with reference to employees, colored employees on the other side of the river, about my sending guards over there to bring them back. That I refused to do. I said:that evidently there was a great industrial proposition mixed up in this thing--that is as to the cause. I may be wrong about that but it seemed so from the information you would gather and that if I sent armed guards across the bridge to bring anybody, white or black, over here, that it would be taken as an indication that I was including myself beyond the proposition of preserving life and property and order here in East St. Louis. But I said this to the Chamber of Commerce; I said this to the Committee of One Hundred; I said it to Mr. Charles Nagel who came over here with some colored men from St. Louis, that any man, woman or child regardless of their color who wanted to walk the streets of East St. Louis, and came here of their own volition, so far as the military was concerned, would be

protected in that right to the absolute limit of the armed force of the state of Illinois. That was my reply to that. That was my reason [redacted] for stating that position.

Mr. Cooper. Was he the man, Charles Nagel, Secretary of the Interior under Taft--or Commerce?

Gen. Dickson. The same man, Mr. Cooper.

Mr. Cooper. Commerce I guess it was.

Gen. Dickson. I don't know which. Now getting back just a second to the Dr. Foster's question, there is only one way that the municipality can live, and that is the fearless, impartial, prompt, just, firm, specific enforcement of the law and the protection of the life and property of every citizen, and they can't live any other way.

Now the remedy--there may be many remedies suggested, but in a broad way my firm belief is, from the experience and observation I had here, that if--I am not saying they are not doing it, I don't say that--that if the civil authorities and the reputable representative citizenship of East St. Louis--whom I regret to say appeared between the first riot and the second to have been doing more oratory and less action--will simply take the firm stand that this shall be a community of impartial, just, expeditious enforcement of the law, I think you have solved the problem.

Mr. Foster. The citizen who lives in a community must exercise his influence and his action to do what he can to have the officers enforce the laws?

Gen. Dickson. There isn't any question about it. I

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will say in addition to that, if I may interrupt you right there, that the per cent is arbitrary. Purely for illustration, in my experience in disturbed conditions in localities, particularly labor conditions--I will put it that way--75 per cent, no 50 per cent, of our troubles are due to the fact that the average citizen is playing both ends against the middle in the local situation. He is assisting and aiding and abetting one end from the front door and the other end of it from the back door.

Mr. Foster. He too often is afraid that it might injure his business?

Gen. Dickson. Exactly. Then 25 per cent of the rest of our trouble in the ordinary situation is due to the fact that the average citizen appears to be willing to "let George do it." When I have met a situation like that I have insisted on this being done, Dr. Foster: I have insisted on it because there must come a time when troops of necessity must be withdrawn from a situation and somebody locally has got to begin, while the troops are there, to build to take care of themselves. If I may suggest a situation concretely, I had a case at Taylorville some years ago. There is no need of going into the merits of the trouble why we were there. Sufficient to say that we were there and we had been there a number of days. Everybody was just laying back on their oars, you know, because they knew we were there trying to handle it. The sheriff was going out into the country and getting country boys to be deputy sheriffs, and so forth. I said to him one morning, "Sheriff I believe I can say something that might be of benefit to you in this matter."

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By the way, we were sitting in Judge McBride's office, Doctor, whom you know very well.

Mr. Foster. I know him very well. A splendid man.

Gen. Dickson. That was just about ten minutes to twelve. I said, "If you will just take a memorandum book and as the banker down here stands in his doorway getting ready to go to lunch, watching the soldiers patrolling up and down, take his name; when the dentist comes down, take his name, when the baker shop man comes down, take his name, and let's go and make depty sheriffs out of those fellows." And that is exactly what they did, and these men said, "O, my goodness, we can't serve; it will close up our business, and so forth." The answer was, "Well you have brought a lot of fellows in here that have got business in their home localities. You are willing to close them up to come here and protect your own community, and you ought to be willing to help." Fortunately the sheriff said, "If you don't do it I am going to compel you. You know what the law is." We stopped that riot in twelve hours. Why? Because they got hold of everybody in that community and said, "Here, we are carrying you on our books. We are accommodating you and so forth; and you have got a situation which closes us. We have got to get together on this thing." And they finally got together and adjusted it by arbitration, and went back to work.

Mr. Cooper. Now right there you have made a very forceful statement, but let's see if we have yet reached the bottom of this problem.

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Gen. Dickson. You mean the industrial problem?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Gen. Dickson. Oh, no. not at all. We haven't touched the priheiple of it, no.

Mr. Cooper. But that is what was the matter with the rioters everywhere, most of them.

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir, there is not any question about that.

Mr. Cooper. Well then what confronts the American people is this: How can we solve this industrial problem so as to prevent the recurrence of these riots? Now this is the industrial problem, as I see it--or the elements of it: Capital can't do business without labor; labor is dependent for its daily wage to keep body and soul together upon its daily wage. Labor must have employment. In other words they depend upon each other. I am not saying that Abraham Lincoln was right or that he was wrong, but he said that labor was entitled to first consideration because it was so helpless. But be that as it may, I will just state the problem. Now then conditions surrounding workingmen, they think are bad. They have wives and children dependent upon them for support--many of them. They love them and want to do the very best they can to provide for them and to prepare for old age themselves. They think that the prices of the necessaries of life have increased much more rapidly than their wages have increased. In other words, while they may be getting a few dollars more a month than they were

getting some years back, yet as a matter of fact the wages have been substantially reduced because of the increase in the cost of living and they protest--they present their case to their employers; the employers refuse to yield to their demands in any particular, and the workingmen become discontented. They are obliged to go on under the old conditions and get the old wages or go to the poor house or starve. Now that is the alternative , isn't it?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, largely, I think.

Mr. Cooper. Well, they have got to that point. Here we have been, good citizens --not all laboring men are good citizens, not all capitalists are all good citizens. Human nature is pretty much the same. whether a man is rich or poor but one man makes demands of this sort and the other man denies it, and so they step out and say they can't endure it any longer; it is wrong; The other man says, "All right, if you don't like it, you can go; we can get plenty of men to take your place and work under those conditions for wages that you say are just enough to keep body and soul together." Then they go to a city and get strike breakers--white strike breakers. There are are companies that furnish white men to break strikes. But whether they are white or black the influx of the strike breakers adds to the indignation of the men who walk out, does it not?

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Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes. There is no question about that.

Mr. Cooper. Whatever the complexion of the strike breakers, the indignation is increased. Well, the employer refuses to arbitrate; he says, "There is nothing to arbitrate." Now haven't we reached the problem right there?

Gen. Dickson. Positively. There is no question about that, Judge.

Mr. Cooper. There you are right there.

Gen. Dickson. You have reached the big problem, in my judgment in our national life.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly. The biggest problem in our national life. Under our doctrine of individualism --that is that each man must take care of himself, we have developed a remarkable industrial--- in some respects--prosperity for a great many people; and yet is it true, or isn't it true, as some writers and students say, that there is gradually growing up in this country what for centuries has been the curse of Europe, class?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, I think that is true. I am inclined to think there is much in that.

Mr. Cooper. And are we obliged to consider that question impartially from all sides, without any question of vindictiveness, or without any spirit of arrogance, but with the desire to do what is just and fair for all people interested? That is the way to consider it, isn't it?

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Gen. Dickson. Oh, unquestionably.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know of any way that the return of these troubles can be prevented except by some adjustment where the trouble begins, between employer and his employees?

Gen. Dickson. If that thing that you suggest, trouble between the employer and employees--

Mr. Cooper (interposing). And the strike breakers brought in to take the place?

Gen. Dickson. Whatever the cause of a difficulty might be of course naturally, necessarily before an ultimate cure can be reached you have got to treat the causes but what those causes are or how they can be treated I am absolutely at a loss to know or even suggest to you.

Mr. Cooper. I know, but there is the problem and we might just as well talk about it plain and candidly without any attempt to evade or dodge around it. There is the problem right there.

Gen. Dickson. In other words, Judge, going back to our boyhood days when we used to attend the old district school and found the stump out in the yard and at recess would go out and put a board across it and one fellow would get on one end and another on the other end and we would have a teeter board and everything would go all right as long as the equilibrium was preserved, but once in a while one fellow would slip off his end of the board when the other fellow was up in the air, and then there was trouble. Now your problem is to find out how the fellow who is about to

slip off his board and is not desirous of doing it is to be taken care of.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly.

Gen. Dickson. Well, I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. Now of course I don't want you to understand, that I believe labor leaders are always right in their demands, not at all. I think labor organizations sometimes have had men who secured control--or at least become influential in their ranks--who were not deserving of the positions they occupied, and did labor an injustice, and were unreasonable in their demands. I have had laboring men tell me that themselves. But on the other hand, the other man isn't always right either. There are many kind hearted, humane employers; many of them who have come up from the ranks themselves and they understand the conditions that confront labor, and the hardships that labor endures. They are kindly disposed, and they have little trouble with the workmen. But on the other hand there are many rich men--and we might as well the facts--who worship money. Avarice has no conscience has it, if it is pure avarice?

Gen. Dickson. I have understood not.

Mr. Cooper. Everybody understands not, And where a man worships money, and thinks only of getting money, the question of human rights doesn't enter into the problem so far as he is concerned much, does it?

Gen. Dickson. I wouldn't think so.

Mr. Cooper. Now then how can the community be protected from troubles like that. that are absolutely inevidable

because of human nature itself and the elements that go to make it up except by some way of adjusting the difficulties between their employer and the workmen?

Gen. Dickson. Why, Judge, unquestionably underlying any condition of unrest in a community which occasions an outbreak, and so forth, those outbreaks have their causes, whatever they might be, and you never, of course, can permanently cure until you have treated the causes. Now I don't know, frankly, Judge, --I think I grasp your point but I don't know the remedy for that.

Mr. Cooper. Now employers form organizations. We read about them frequently, don't we?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes.

Mr. Cooper. It is a fact that some open shop employers form agreements among themselves?

Gen. Dickson. I don't know, [illegible]

Mr. Cooper. But you have read about it?

Gen. Dickson. I have read about it, yes. but I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. Now how can unorganized labor--and I am not taking either side of it; I am putting the problem as it confronts any man who is intelligent enough to know what the elements are and frank enough to state it--how can unorganized labor, the individual workingman, who thinks that he is being wrongfully treated, get his rights from a combination of employers single handed?

Gen. Dickson. Well, now, to be frank about it, that

is the problem before us, a very big problem, Judge. There isn't any question about that.

Mr. Foss. Might I add, doesn't that line of argument lead practically to one thing, and that is, compulsory arbitration?

Mr. Cooper. Well, it leads to arbitration, I am not saying compulsory or not.

Mr. Foster. That is a question of compulsory arbitration. That is ~~the~~ too serious a problem for us to take up here.

Mr. Foss. Well it is either voluntary or compulsory.

Mr. Foster. Well, I would have to argue the question whether you wanted to put compulsory arbitration on the country or not.

Mr. Cooper. I wasn't intimating what the remedy was, but I was just getting from the General what he thought of those ~~the~~ conditions, ~~were.~~

Mr. Foster. There isn't any question about the problem between capital and labor. Many times the refusal of open shop factories and industrial concerns to treat with men who are organized, and yet organized as Mr. Cooper has said, leads to trouble.

Now I wanted to ask you this question. You had some understanding, as I take it, that there was possible some feature of this kind connected with the trouble in East St. Louis. You spoke about Mr. Nagel, ex-Secretary of Commerce wanting an escort for these men, white or black, coming across the bridge to the industrial concern in which the worked, and trying to keep the state guard free from

a participation in a question of that kind, you refused to act as a guard for men who desired to work in these industrial concerns here?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And attempted to properly perform your duty here only as to restoring order and preserving peace in the city of East St. Louis and not take any sides in any industrial dispute that might exist in the city of East St. Louis?

Gen. Dickson. Exactly, doctor. For instance I couldn't conceive that I--

Mr. Foster (interposing). Let me say this: I think your action was extremely commendable, and you were cautioned in that manner not to take sides in industrial concerns here and use the soldiers of the state for that purpose.

Gen. Dickson. I said very frankly, and I think that the gentlemen of the Commercial Club will bear me out, or the Business Men's association, or Mr. Nagel will bear me out in my statement that however - - - that my domain and jurisdiction was the city of East St. Louis for the purposes of the preservation of law and order and the protection of life and property; and that any man, woman or child, regardless of their color or condition, who came to East St. Louis would be fully and amply protected in their right to their life and property.

Mr. Foster. And you didn't propose that if there were strike breakers here--and I am not saying there were-- but

if there were strike breakers here whom these men in industrial instutions wanted protection for to take their men to the shops to break any strike that might exist, you didn't propsee that the state guards should be used for that purpose?

Gen. Dickson. No, absolutely, Dr. Foster. I took this position: There are only two classes of people that we know in this situation, that is the law breaker and the law observer. It doesn't make any differente what is the color of his hair, race or previous condition of sertitude, nor his relation to his employer or employee, if he isrbreaking the law he is the fellow we are after; and if he is not breaking the law we leave him alone.

Mr. Foster. I am glad you said that. Now I had some experience, if I may state it, in the long hearing of a strike investigationin which I saw that when the militia was sent into a community to preserve order that they swore in--that they had certain guards around the mines, and they disarmed the strikers and the guards and immediately swore in to the state service all the mine guards around those institutions; not only doing this, taking the men who were in the pay as mine guards of that particular mine owner but putting them into the service of the state, putting a uniform on them, with a gun in their hands, and still on the payroll of the mine operator, and the pay of the state too. There is nothing of that kind that existed in your organization?

Gen. Dickson. Absolutely not?

Mr. Foster. I am glad to know, it.

Gen. Dickson. I want to say this that much of the possible criticism--I will say this very frankly-- we have got absolutely nothing to conceal about this thing so far as I have any information. I think that much of the opposition that comes from Illinois is, frankly, from labor union organizations to the militia proposition, some of it due to one reason, some to another, but not the least due to such conditions as you suggested. Now on every occasion since I have been Adjutant-General--and I invite an investigation of this statement--I have in every instance in which I had troops on duty, taken the one sole solitary position that I took here, that those troops know nobody, know no class, know no question of the rights and wrongs of a precedent--if there should be one. They know but the law breaker and the law observer. They are there for the specific purpose of preserving life and property, and restoring order and nothing else; and they have no individual conviction about the merits or the demerits of the case. Further than that--I am getting directly to your proposition--I have seen this sort of a situation--I have gone further than the case you suggest, where I have gone into a situation reporting to a sheriff for instance, and I have discovered that the sheriff had deputized as deputy sheriffs men in the employ of either side to the quarrel that brought about the lawless condition. In such

cases I have insisted as a condition precedent to successful cooperation, that relation should be immediately severed, and that no man should be deputized to perform the police functions of the state who had any connection with either side to the controversy.

Mr. Foster. That is right. May I say this: In that investigation there was a man who came before the committee in a uniform--

Mr. Cooper (interposing). Where was this?

Mr. Foster. In Colorado.

Mr. Foster. He sat there in that uniform and testified that he had previously been a mine guard, paid two dollars a day. He was sworn into the state service when the militia went in there, and he was armed and was drawing pay from the state and from the mine owners at the same time. And I want to say this--and I believe every man will agree--that you take men on a strike who are striking for better conditions, better working conditions, for better wages--the wages may be all right, but the working conditions may be intolerable--and you cannot preserve order, you cannot preserve the peace in any community where that condition is, and no sort of respect can ever come for the National Guards where such conditions exist.

Gen. Dickson. I agree with you absolutely. I will go further than that in elaboration of what I have just said with reference to my attitude on the matter of deputizing employees of a concern involved in the trouble. I

had a situation last summer--you know probably that under the state law deputy sheriffs are paid not to exceeed two dollars per day, which is an old statute--I think 30 years old. We had a situation last summer where I was on duty eighty-five days alone without troops in a big cement situation. It was in LaSalle County, Oglesby and LaSalle. There were three big cement mills in town five miles apart. I was there 85 days alone without any troops at all. Now this situation arose: The sheriff says--we were insisting incidentally on the local authorities doing something to protect themselves. I don't mean the individual but the county. The answer came that they couldn't get deputies for two dollars a day. They could go into the mills there in that county and get three dollars and four dollars a day and why take a chance of being a deputy sheriff? The sheriff was honest about it. He tried to get them but he said, "You can't expect men to work for two dollars a day with the risk of a deputy sheriff in a troubled situation when they can go out here and earn three dollars or four dollars without taking any risk of public disorder." And it was suggested to that sheriff that if he would put these deputies on--I don't mean from the plan, understand, but I mean the men outside--that if he would put --they didn't pick any man, didn't say, "If you will put John Jones on," but "You get the men, the deputies, and the plants will pay the difference between what the state allows and what is required to get them." I said absolutely no.

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Mr. Foster. That's right; you are right.

Gen. Dickson. Because a man who is a peace officer, whether he is in uniform or out of uniform, in a disturbed situation where people from either side or both sides may or may not be conscientious in it-either one believes in their grievance, as the case may be--there is only one way he can preserve order and that is to so conduct himself and so handle the situation from every viewpoint that to the best of his earnest ability he impresses upon everybody concerned in both sides of the controversy that his purpose is to be absolutely fair.

Mr. Cooper. Well, General, I think you have made a most effective statement, and I want to say this: I think it is to be regretted that you were not here on the morning of the 2nd.

Gen. Dickson. I don't know about that.

Mr. Cooper. I believe that the enforcement of the law, as you say, is the only thing in a republic we can tolerate, but in the questions I put to you in the industrial problem I was only trying to get back to the real cause.

Mr. Raker. I want to ask the General a few questions as to enforcement of the law in the matter. You got here that night about 12 o'clock?

Gen. Dickson. About 12.15, yes.

Mr. Raker. You found in charge Colonel Tripp?

Gen. Dickson. Yes.

Mr. Raker. And Colonel Clayton?

Gen. Dickson. Colonel Clayton was here too.

Mr. Raker. What is the duty of the state militia as organized as it was here at that time in regard to what they shall do when they find men actually participating in a riot, burning property, or actually proceeding to and taking the lives of citizens?

Gen. Dickson. To stop it.

Mr. Raker. Well, how?

Gen. Dickson. By the use of whatever force or means may be necessary to accomplish the purpose.

Mr. Raker. Is that the general rule and regulation?

Gen. Dickson. That is the law. The law says they shall be justified in using such force as may be necessary to do the thing that is to be done.

Mr. Raker. Well, if you saw ten or twelve men dragging a man on the street with a rope around his neck, proceeding to kill him, what is the usual method with the militia in dealing with a bunch of that kind?

Gen. Dickson. I assume now you are referring to the circumstance that Colonel Tripp testified to yesterday.

Mr. Raker. I didn't refer to any particular case, but just taking the concrete case to start with.

Gen. Dickson. I am referring to the concrete case.

Mr. Raker. An abstract case, I meant to say.

Gen. Dickson. I should think the duty would be to stop the assault, rescue the man, prevent the continuation of it, and arrest the perpetrators and all who were aiding and abetting.

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Mr. Raker. Well, do you fool around until the men get away.

Gen. Dickson. No, when I say "stop," I mean stop, Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker. How stop them?

Gen. Dickson. By whatever means may be necessary to do it, but do it.

Mr. Raker. If it is necessary to take the lives of each one?

Gen. Dickson. Absolutely; whatever is necessary. That is a matter of judgment and discretion for the officer in charge. He may or may not make a mistake, but that is the thing he has irmind. Now, whether, juet as I said before, whether or not in his judgment accomplished that purpose one way or accomplished another way, is a matter of judgment and discretion, and under the same set of circumstances your judgment and mine and yours and that of Congressman Foss might differ as to the means to do it, but the end is the same.- that is, I mean the end in view.

Mr. Raker. Well now if you had taken a lot of men who are actually rioting, who had already killed one or two men, and you got them together, took them to prison, what is your duty with reference to those men?

Gen. Dickson. Up until the time martial law is declared, it is our duty to turn them over to the civil authorities.

Mr. Raker. Well, have you any further duties than simply to turn them over?

Gen. Dickson. Oh yes, we follow it up and see if we cannot assist in the prosecution and conviction. Now I want to say--which I have left out before--in connection with the determination of the Governor to cooperate in every way--which leads up to it, and the question suggested,--that this stenographic report and finding of this board of inquiry,-which of course covered things before I got here--was turned over to the Attorney General of this state and used by him in connection with the grand jury proceedings--that you recall that the Attorney General stepped in and assisted the state's attorney of the county here--against the men who were indicted at the present time. I was told by the Attorney General that that was very valuable assistance.

Mr. Raker. Now you learned that there were quite a number of men who had been rounded up and put in jail that night or the afternoon and evening of the second?

Gen. Dickson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Did you make any inquiry as to what became of them?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes. Colonel Tripp reported to me when I got here--talking about rounding this crowd up, and so forth, and as I recall the circumstance now, Colonel Tripp advised me that they were put in jail, and as I recall it now I asked him to follow it up, and my recollection is that he came back and told me in the morning that some of them were going to be arraigned, and most of them had got out or had been let out, or something of that sort. I don't

recall just the conversation.

Mr. Raker. What did you do with regard to finding out the status in jail, and what was being done with them?

Gen. Dickson. I attempted to find out who was there and who was not. Of course I hadn't seen the crowd and didn't know who was there or who wasn't, who they were or who they were not, but I think Colonel Tripp went to the inquiry in the Justice Court, and my recollection is--I am testifying solely from memory now--that Major Abt, my aide, went there also. And Colonel Tripp I think testified yesterday about a statement he made before them and so forth. There didn't seem to be on the part of the prosecuting officers of the county the cooperation, the vigorous prosecution, that should be had for those things. I make that ~~them~~ rather out of court. I think the probabilities are that is the fact as was demonstrated by the fact that the Attorney General of the state had to step in before they got through.

Mr. Raker. What I was trying to get at was just what you did individually in regard to keeping the men that had actually been detained for rioting.

Gen. Dickson. It isn't our province --you may have misunderstood what I said--it isn't our province, Congressman, to follow them up as though they were military ~~business~~ prisoners. We turn them over to the civil authorities and then place ourselves at the disposition of the civil authorities in the prosecution and arraignment of the men. You see what I mean?

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Mr. Raker. Yes, I see that. Now if there was any information brought out that the civil authorities are upholding the men you arrest, or letting them get away or sending them away, do you do anything? Do you protest against that sort of thing?

Gen. Dickson. Oh, yes, a protest against that sort of thing was ~~secured~~ carried by Colonel Tripp, and I had occasion, I think on the third--I think our fellows arrested a man--I can't give you the circumstance now without going to Springfield and looking up my records on that--I think our fellowe arrested four men caught in the act of throwing bricks through a building. I thinkthe captain came up and pocketed them in the alley, and caught the bricks in their hands, and they were turned over to the local authoritieis--it was along late in the evening--and next morning they were released on what I thought was an abnormally low bond--I don't remember what but may be $100 or ~~$200~~. They protested that. Of course acting under the civil authorities in those things and turning them over I was powerless to do other than protest.

Again, as you understand, of course, by order of the Mayor the salcons were closed. I think I recall one case which I could get the record of, if the gentlemen on the committee are interested in having it. We had instructions to arrest any saloonkeeper that we caught violating that order. I think the threat was made that they would take

their licenses away, but it seemed to be just at that time when licensees had expired and none had been renewed, and I don't know just what the legal status was. There was some mix-up about it. My men brought a fellow in and arraigned him late at night. The next morning I went over there to find out what had become of him at the police station, and I think he had been released on a hundred dollar bond and his trial set for ten days or two weeks ahead, and I raised so much cain about it that they said they would get him back. I went out on a tour covering the entire city and I think went to Brookland, which you know is a negro community about two or three miles north of here. When I got back I found that he had been brought in and fined $5 and released.

Mr. Raker. Five dollars?

Gen. Dickson. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Now was it brought to your attention on the third that men who had been arrested by Colonel Tripp and Colonel Clayton and their corps of men, and were taken to the station, were being permitted to get out of the jail?

Gen. Dickson. Colonel Tripp brought it to my attention, yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Well now, General, tell us what you did about that

Gen. Dickson. We protested to the civil authorities. That is all we could do. They weren't our prisoners. They weren't in our hands. They were turned over to the civil authorities. They were civil prisoners, not ours. They were then

in the hands of the state's attorney, of the county, or the city attorney of the city. Colonel Tripp and his men made the arrests and put them in there, and we protested vigorously. We protested all the time we were here, and witnesses will substantiate that statement. We protested all the time we were here against it, and that is one of the things that caused me to say that the prompt, and fair, impartial and expeditious administration of the law--

Mr. Raker (interposing). I know, but you said it, and you said it very properly, but I am trying to get--to find out and have put on record these conditions, if they exist, and then I am going to follow it up and ask you if you reported that to the Governor and what the Governor has done if anything in regard to those conditions.

Gen. Dickson. What can the Governor do?

Mr. Raker. We will find that out.

Gen. Dickson. The Governor can do nothing. The Governor can't remove the sheriff; he can't remove the state's attorney. There is only one instance in the state of Illinois where a Governor can remove an elective officer of a county; only one case in the entire state of Illinois, Congressman, and that is where the sheriff permits a prisoner in his possession, before he gets into the custody of the jail, to be taken away from him by a mob and lynched.

Col. Raker. Do you intend to tell the committee that the military authorities of the state of Illinois can be sent

to a place to suppress a riot and arrest men and then the rioters can be turned loose and do as they please after that arrest and you have no control over the matter?

Gen. Dickson. I don't understand your question. If you mean to say this ----you will pardon me--if you mean to say that the military authorities in the absence of martial law go to a place and arrest offenders and turn them over to the civil authorities, and the civil authorities let them get loose--

Mr. Raker (interposing). Turn them lose, rather.

Gen. Dickson. (continuing)--the military authorities have no remedy in that particular, I would say yes, that is the case, unless martial law is declared, because we are acting under, in subordination to the civil authorities, and we are required by law to turn the prisoners over to the civil authorities. When we have turned them over our control and jurisdiction over them absolutely ceases.

Mr. Johnson. If a reputable citizen of East St. Louis, a very prominent citizen, had gone to the Governor of the state and told him that he had seen a soldiers on duty in East St. Louis--while on duty in East St. Louis--without provocation, but simply to prove his markmanship shoot down an unoffending negro, and then after that statment that if he were given the opportunity to do so that he could identify the soldier who fired the shot, would it be within the power of the Governor to provide the opportunity for identification?

Gen. Dickson. Exactly, and that is the very purpose of this court of inquiry, with all this testimony here. That is the Governor's avenue of doing it. He constituted a military court of inquiry to go into all those matters.

Mr. Johnson. And if the reputable, highly prominent business man is given no choice of opportunity to identify the soldier who so wantonly fired the shot, then justice has failed in that respect?

Gen. Dickson. It has. There is no question about that. But that man still has an opportunity, assuming as a premise to the question, Mr. Chairman, as a fact what you say, I will say to you that so far as I know, and I am confident I would be advised if that was the case, the Governor has never at any time been apprised by the gentleman in question-- that he has been denied any opprtunity nor has the Governor been told by him or anybody else that he has been denied an opportunity to fully and freely appear before this court and give such information and identification as he might desire, and I will say to you further that if that information reached the Governor, it would be dealt with directly. I am assuming for the purpose of the answer that the statement in your question is correct.

I want to say to you gentlemen that the attitude of the Govenor of Illinois in this entire matter is: That he wants to cooperate in every way that he possibly can to give and bring all the facts as they actually exist to the

benefit of this committee.

Mr. Johnson. A few days ago a Mr. Roger, evidently a man of intelligence and education, the President of the Grant Chemical Company--

Gen. Dickson (interposing). I know Mr. Roger.

Mr. Johnson (continuing)--a corporation of $300,000 worth of property in this city, testified under oath that he stated before the military board of inquiry appointed by the Governor that he saw just what I have described, and that three months had elapsed and that he had been offered no choice of opportunity to identify the men who fired that shot.

Gen. Dickson. My reply to that, Mr. Chairman, is that on page 204 will be found the testimony of Mr. Roger who states that he is a member of the Chamber of Commerce and so forth. That is on page 204. About the middle of page 211 is the testimony of Mr. Roger, and I suggest that the committee can see for itself what Mr. Roger testifies to there. I am not familiar with it.

Mr. Johnson. Have you ever been advised as to whether or not Mr. Roger had a conversation with the Governor relative to the incident of which I have just spoken?

Gen. Dickson. I don't know, except possibly that he might have been one of those gentlemen, who, as I explained to your committee, was present at the Chamber of Commerce meeting, the night the Governor was here, where numerous things, complaints, were made to the Governor which the

Governor had said to them that he would welcome any information that they might have, and asked them to put it in writing and send it to him, and that he would fully investigate the entire situation, which investigation is before you and tendered to your committee. If there was any other conversation I know nothing of it, I don't think there was. I am satisfied there was not.

Mr. Johnson. I find Mr. Roger's testimony before the military board of inquiry:

" Q. Tell us what you saw?

A. The first thing that called my attention was at the time I was going home, xxxxxx or about ready to go home. I saw fire to the westward of us. the next thing I saw a mob set fire to houses, on Walnut Street.

Q. You saw that yourself?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Can you identify any of the men that set fire to the houses?

A. Unfortunately no.

~~Q. Tell us what~~

Q. Tell us what you did see?

A. About that time, as they were setting fire to these houses on Walnut avenue, there were four or five civilians and one man in khaki uniform came down to the crossing at Sixth and Walnut streets, directly

opposite our plant, and were shooting at the negroes running past our plant.

Q. Could you identify any of these men?

A. Unfortunately no; no, sir.

Q. You saw a man in khaki. Do you know what military organization he was connected with?

A. No.

Q. Do you know whether he belonged to any military organization?

A. Only by the fact that he was dressed as a soldier. He had a soldier's hat on, and rifle .

Q. Where was the shooting done?

A. At the intersection of Sixth and Walnut Streets?

Q. When?

A. On the evening of July 2nd.

Q. Did you see this man whom you say was a soldier shoot his gun?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Where did he shoot?

A. Towards--down to the eastward of our plant.

Q. Where there men over in that direction setting fire to buildings?

A. Men at this time were coming down setting fire to buildings.

Q. Could this man have been shooting at men setting

fire to buildings?

A. No sir, shooting ~~those~~ at negroes coming out of the houses.

Q. Did you see him hit any negroes?

A. I will tell you what happened. One of the civilians said, 'You can't hit anything.' He said 'The hell I can't. Watch me get him," and he fired and the negro fell. I don't know whether he hit him or not.

Q. Would you give us the time, just a little bit nearer in the evening--you said in the evening?

A. I am only guessing at this. My plant was afire several times in the evening. I was busy trying to save the property, may be half of the time. I would say about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Q. At this particular time of this conversation, when you saw this man in the uniform, where were you?

A. Upon the steps of our plant.

Q. Outside the place?

A. Yes, sir; and afterwards on the roof.

Q. At this particular time?

A. He fired more than one shot.

Q. How far away from you was he when he fired the first shot and when you heard this conversation?

A. About as far as that second door, about five or six feet.

Q. Across the street or on the same side?

A. In the middle of the street.

Q. He was in the middle of the street?

A. About the middle of the street."

Mr. Cooper. Pardon me, can I interrupt right there? On the stand here he said about 30 feet and expressed it perfectly plain that that testimony as reported there-- the reporter made a mistake. He didn't say five or six feet from the man who was shot, because the man was in the middle of the street and he was on the sidewalk, and it must have been about 30 feet.

Gen. Dickson. I don't know anything about that. That was reported by a local concern of reporters here. You can see I don't know anything about the distance.

Mr. Cooper. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that that is plainly a mistake.

Mr. Johnson. Continuing Mr. Roger's testimony:

" Q. Which direction was he shooting?

A. Shooting towards the east.

Q. And the building on fire, in which direction were they from him?

A. They were at his back.

Q. At his back?

A. Towards the west of him, yes, sir.

Q. And the buildings on fire were ~~where~~ West, and at that particular time he was shooting towards the east?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was there in that direction in which he was shooting?

A. Negroes coming out of the houses apparently to

escape from the fire, that seemed to be coming their way.

Q. The fire, you say, was behind him?

A. Behind him, but coming that way.

Q. How far from the Free Bridge was that soldier at that time?

A. This was at Sixth and Walnut. Walnut is the first block from Broadway, and the Free Bridge is at Tenth.

Q. About how far is it?

A. I should judge about four blocks to the westward and five or six blocks north of the Free Bridge.

Q. What direction was this man from you, north?

A. Almost opposite, a little bit to the northeast--northwest. A little bit to the northwest.

Q. He was shooting from the middle of the street?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this place that he was shooting at lower than the street, the place where he was shooting at?

A. It was about the street level. Those houses are now burned down.

Q. Of course. This accusation that you have made is of very great importance and this commission would not hesitate to investigate it to the last if you can give us ~~a~~ any clew to identify.

A. I don't know even if it was Illinois militia or not. I am very sorry I cannot.

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Q. You say you don't know whether he was an Illinois soldier or not? Were there any soldiers in the jurisdiction here?

A. I understood there were some but not of my own knowledge.

Q. You don't know anything on the subject?

A. No, sir.

Q. From whom did you understand it? From whom did you get your information about the other soldiers?

A. I cannot recall, General, at all.

Q. Did you hear any report from Major Klauser with reference to their being any more militia man over here?

A. I don't know who Major Klauser is.

Q. Now is that the onlything that you observed with regard to the conduct of the soldiers alone?

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A. At about the same time four militia men, I should say, Illinois people, without knowing, because they came from Broadway, these four came from Broadway a little more than half way down Sixth, and they saw this man behind in khaki uniform with these civilians shooting, and turned around and walked back as if everything was all right, perfectly satisfied.

Q. Have you any means of identification of these men?

A. Unfortunately, no, sir. If I could identify.

them, believe me I would be tickled to do so.

Q. Was there anything else you observed with regard to the conduct of the soldiers?

A. No, sir, I couldn't say there was.

Q. At the time you saw the shooting, was your building actually on fire?

A. It was on fire in a small way half a dozen times, half a dozen different places.

Q. Not at the time of the shooting?

A. A little later, but I was getting ready to have the men on the roof stationed at different places. There were the flames coming along, and it looked like almost a certainty our place was in danger if not on fire. At the same time ~~xxxx~~ the soldiers were present when some white men stripped a couple of negro women, negro wenches.

Q. Did you see that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell us what you saw.

A. At this time or shortly after the buildings to the westward of our plant were set fire, a couple of negro women came along with their hands over their heads in an attitude of hands up, not to shoot. This bunch of white fellows said, 'Well, what will we do, shoot them?' Somebody said, 'No, strip them.' Which they proceeded to do. They stripped them stark naked in front of some girls in our office.

Q. The soldiers did that?

A. No, the soldier was there. He was there whether he took a hand in the stripping or not I don't know. He was there.

Q. You cannot identify that man either?

A. Probably the one that was doing the stripping and shooting was a tall slim fellow in blue clothes, light blue overalls, and blue shirt.

Q. No soldier?

A. No, sir.

Col. Foreman. Q. I understand you to say that once you saw the soldiers, fire, shooting at negroes.

A. A soldier, not soldiers. He was dressed in khaki uniform. I don't know if he was a soldier, but he looked like one.

Q. These very things which you say were done were done by a man who looked like a soldier.

A. By one man who looked like a soldier.

Q. It was an act which even to the unmilitary mind was beyond the power or right or duty of a soldier?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Will you explain, therefore, that when you saw an American citizen, saw a man that looked like a soldier fire on defenseless persons, why did you not secure sufficient identification to bring that man to justice? That man was quite as much a criminal as any man who murdered negroes, and as

an American citizen and resident of East St. Louis, I would like to know as a member of this court why in your opinion you had no duty of any kind to even identify the man in the commission of an unlawful act?

A. Believe me, if I could identify that man --

--Q. At the time .

A. Yes, sir; exactly. That same thought passed through my mind, and if I could have, without endangering the lives of others--not so much my own--but if I could without endangering the lives of those girls --one girl especially--it was worth more than a man's life to interfere.

Q. Did you report that circumstance that you have just testified to? Did you report that to any military officers at any time?

A. I reported it at the first hearing I had with Governor Lowden, which was next day, next night.

Q. In other words, 24 hours elapsed after the commission of this illegal act before it was reported?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many hours did intervene. You seem to be dissatisfied with 24 hours.

A. I am not dissatisfied. It is a ridiculous question.

Q. That would not be for you to say. How many

hours did intrevene before you reported this incident?

A. I suppose 24 hours. Who was I going to report it to? If I am going too far pull me up, but you have in a way criticised me. What would you have done under the circumstances?

Q. Let me ask you, you have testified to this particular circumstance occurring about 7 o'clock Monday night, as I understand. At that time did you know that this Colonel Tripp was in town, a military officer?

A. I didn't know he was in town.

Q. Did you, or did you not meet at the Chamber of Commerce in the afternoon?

A. No, sir.

Q. Had you heard of any military officer in charge of what troops were located here?

A. Not in any particular way. Our plant is out of the way there.

Q. Did you think it would have been wrong to report this incident to the Mayor the next morning, Tuesday morning?

A. No, I don't suppose it would have.

Q. Could you not have telephoned it to the police department or the Mayor that very moment?

A. Absolutely no.

Q. Why not?

A. The telephone wires were down. We were isolated there. Believe me, we didn't know how long we

would be on earth."

That is the end of his testimony. They didn't encourage him very much did they?

General Dickson. Well, that answers your question, doesn't it?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. Now then this witness was criticized by this military board of inquiry because he deferred 24 hours in communicating this information to the Governor. In your judgment do you think there should be any criticism toward anybody because three months now have elapsed without any attempt, so far as this committee is advised, to have this soldier who did the shotting identified?

General Dickson. I can't answer that question, Mr. Chairman, because you assume in asking it a situation that I don't know anything about.

Mr. Johnson. I am giving you the same information that I have. You have the same information I have. That was the testimony of Mr. Rogers before the Court of Inquiry.

General Dickson. Yes, but as a matter of fact, on July 11th this board was constituted.

Mr. Johnson. So the Governor was told on the 6th by Mr. Rogers,--- on either the 3rd or 4th of July--- about this incident, and the Governor appointed no board of inquiry until July 11th.

General Dickson. That is a fact, sir, for this reason.

Mr. Johnson. So Mr. Rogers' 24 hours savored no more of neglect than the Governor's seven or eight days did.

General Dickson. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, you couldn't put me in the position of saying that the Governor's seven or eight days was a matter of neglect, nor Mr. Rogers

24 hours. It is a matter I have no opinion about with reference to any criticism of the court, because I was no part of the court and therefore I cannot assume criticism of the members of the court as to dereliction. As a matter of fact, the theory on which we were proceeding in East St. Louis at that time was this: To stop disorder and restore law, and then take up the matter of clearing the streets. That was the basis upon which the action was taken.

Mr. Johnson. You are not able to state definitely just when the Governor arrived, whether it was the 3rd or 4th?

General Dickson. I don't remember.

Mr. Johnson. You know he wasn't here on the 2nd?

General Dickson. No, he wasn't here on the 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. And you know he wasn't here--- you know certainly that he was not here until the evening of the 3rd?

General Dickson. Yes, I know that, because I got here at 12.10 on the morning of the 3rd and I know he didn't come--- when he did come he came in the evening, I think about half past seven.

Mr. Johnson. So that if Mr. Rogers is correct in his statement that he told the Governor of this incident in 24 hours after it happened, then he told the Governor of that thing just as soon as the Governor got here?

General Dickson. Oh, yes, there is no quarrel about that.

Mr. Johnson. Well, we are not having any quarrel at all.

General Dickson. No.

Mr. Johnson. We are both bent upon the same purpose.

General Dickson. Exactly.

Mr. Johnson. To bring the truth of these things out.

General Dickson. Yes. And the fact of the matter is I have no criticism of Mr. Rogers, whether he told it the next minute or the next day.

Mr. Johnson. But the questions put to Mr. Rogers by this board of inquiry show for themselves that their trend was to discredit Mr. Rogers, and instead of helping him in the matter was to embarrass him in the matter.

General Dickson. Well, are you asking me a question?

Mr. Johnson. No, I hadn't quite finished. And the board of inquiry dwelt upon and emphasized Mr. Rogers' delay in communicating this incident to somebody in authority; whereas, if you and I agree upon the time of the Governor's arrival here, Mr. Roger did communicate this information to him almost immediately upon his arrival.

General Dickson. I think that is true, yes.

Mr. Johnson. That's all.

Mr. Foss. I suppose, General, a great many complaints were made to the Governor at that time?

General Dickson. Oh, yes. There was a meeting of this Chamber of Commerce, and I had told them the Governor would be down.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean to say in answer to that question that a great many things of equal magnitude were communicated to the Governor?

General Dickson. I wouldn't say that, Mr. Chairman. I mean to say that whatever these gentlemen had in their

minds about the general situation they communicated to the Governor, and the Governor said, "Now, let me know anything that you have in mind; write me about it and I will be very glad to investigate it." And I want to say now that the difficulty we have had is identification. We are not taking the position that a soldier here or there or in greater or less degree did or did not perform his duty. We want to cooperate to get the facts, and if we can find out who has been doing these things they ought not to do, we will go the limit.

Mr. Raker. That is what I started in on,--- why you don't identify these men in the jail and take charge of the local officials as well as the mob on the streets?

General Dickson. We can't do that under the law.

Mr. Raker. Now, I want you to go further into that.

General Dickson. We can have charge of the military men but not of the civilians.

Mr. Raker. But the law that you could go to work and arrest men and then the civil officers could turn them loose and you could not take charge of the civil officers for participating in the mob--- it is only another method of assisting, isn't it?

General Dickson. Well, that might or might not be. I don't think that is the law.

Mr. Raker. But that is a matter to be investigated.

General Dickson. We did not, anyhow.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p.m., the committee recessed until 2 o'clock p. m. this day).

A F T E R R E C E S S.

The committee reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m., Hon. John E. Raker presiding.

STATEMENT OF FRANK E. NULSEN,
PRESIDENT MISSOURI MALLEABLE IRON CO.,
ST. LOUIS, MO.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker. Will you kindly state your name, residence and occupation to the committee.

Mr. Nulsen. My name is Frank E. Nulsen, president of and general manager of the Missouri Malleable Iron Company. I am 50 years of age and I reside in St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. Where is your business?

Mr. Nulsen. The business is located out here on 16th Street and the Southern Railway tracks.

Mr. Raker. Now will you just go ahead and state what you know in regard to this matter as it affects your plant--- the riot and so forth.

Mr. Nulsen. Why, right fortunately for us, we were closed down for inventory when the serious riots occurred on the 2nd of July, and when we undertook to resume work on the 5th we had about 40 per cent of our negroes on hand, and were seriously handicapped for a period of two or three weeks. We made strenuous efforts to induce them to come back, and showed them that they would be protected. We were able to give them that assurance, having in turn received it from General Dickson, and through our individual efforts and the efforts of Committee of One Hundred, and through the [illegible] efforts of the

influential negroes, on the other side we gradually induced, I should say, 50 per cent--- an additional 50 per cent--- to come back. But we have been more or less handicapped, short of labor, and still are more or less handicapped and have been all through the Summer and Fall--- not able to operate more than 75 or 80 per cent of our output.

Mr. Raker. About what is the extent of your business? Or was it during that time?

Mr. Nulsen. In respect to tonnage or number of men employed?

Mr. Raker. Give us tonnage first.

Mr. Nulsen. We were turning out before the riots about 75 tons a day.

Mr. Raker. How much ~~before~~ after the riots?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, it ran down to as low as 50. Now it is averaging about 70.

Mr. Raker. What were the number of men you employed just before the riots?

Mr. Nulsen. I should say between 900 and 1000, in round numbers.

Mr. Raker. How many are white men and how many negroes?

Mr. Nulsen. I should think before the riot we had between 250 and 300 negroes, and 750 to 800 whites.

Mr. Raker. How long had that been about the proportion, as well as the number of men?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, that condition changes more or less with us. Here is the condition that has prevailed for several years. We employ a great many foreigners out there in common laboring work. They are Armenians and Turks, Polacks

Hungarians, Lithuanians,--- almost any nationality. They have been in the habit for a number of years, just as soon Spring opens up, to go into the railroad camps and work at outdoor work. They are people who have been raised on farms and are accustomed to being out of doors, and they seem to prefer that even at a lesser wage. So in the Spring of the year there is a great exodus of white foreign help to go into these railroad camps, and it leaves us more or less short of labor, even normal conditions, in the Summer months.

Mr. Baker. What do you do to fill their places?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, two years ago--- a year ago last Spring, the negroes began coming up in large numbers about ~~about~~ the 1st of March or the 1st of April, and filled in the gap. So we got along fairly comfortably. This year the same thing occurred. They began coming in a little later, however. They began coming in about the first of April, I should say, and up to the time of the floods we were in fairly comfortable shape.

Mr. Baker. What efforts had you made during the year 1916 and the forepart of 1917 in regard to letting people know that you wanted this labor?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't think it was necessary for us to do any advertising, in 1916; but in 1917 we had ads running on practically all the time. And among other ads that we put into the paper we put in some in Southern cities for colored help, for negro labor. I can recall a circumstance very well. We put in the ad, I think, about the first of March. I came into the office one morning on the 9th and our superintendent who looked after those matters, Mr. Pero,

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who was on the stand yesterday, had a stack of letters that high (indicating). He said, "Look at this". I said, "What does that mean?" He said, "Those are answers to our ads for colored help, and it really is pitiful to read them. Some of these people are actually going hungry down there. They are actually in want. They are all begging us to send them transportation. They say they haven't money enough to come North." I said, "If that is the condition down there, take that ad out of the paper immediately. We don't want to bring the whole South up here." And immediately he telephoned over and had it stopped, but letters kept coming along in a perfect stream afterwards.

Mr. Baker. Did you answer the letters by sending transportation to them?

Mr. Nulsen. We did not furnish transportation to any one. That has always been contrary to our rule.

Mr. Baker. Go on with what you know about the conditions.

Mr. Nulsen. Well, that is as far as I can state the effect the riots have had upon our plant. Now what else is it that you want to bring out?

Mr. Baker. Well, what did you do in regard to the matter commencing in May? Had you any trouble in May of this year?

Mr. Nulsen. No, we had no trouble, as I say, up to the time of the riots in July. We were short of help when the foreigners went out, which was earlier than usual this year, in February or March, and then we advertised for help.

I should say we had no trouble with respect to colored labor, but we were short of molders, all the time, and were constantly advertising all the time for molders and men to learn the molding trade.

Mr. Baker. What were the wages you paid to your unskilled labor?

Mr. Nulsen. My recollection--- I will refer to some memorandums here, if you don't mind. I think it was $2.60 a day that we were paying at that time. That is in April and May.

Mr. Baker. For both white and black the same?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes; we don't make any distinction.

Mr. Baker. They get the same rate?

Mr. Nulsen. The same rate of pay; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And the same treatment?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, we use the Negroes at the heavier work, if anything. They are used principally for carrying iron and charging furnaces, charging the annealing ovens and dumping the castings there--- mostly work that is hot and heavy work; work that is difficult to get a white man to work at.

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Mr. Baker. Go ahead and tell what your scale of wages is.

Mr. Nulsen. Well, our present scale of wages is $2.80 a day on a day work basis, and on a piece-work basis the men can easily earn from $3 up to $4. We have as much of our work as possible done on a piece-work basis.

Mr. Baker. What was that scale in January and February of this year? About the same?

Mr. Nulsen. No, we have made two advances of 10 per cent each since last January; one in March and one since the riots in July.

Mr. Raker. What were they in 1916?

Mr. Nulsen. Our wage rate in 1916 was, I should say, about $2.25 to $2.30--- somewhere along there.

Mr. Raker. As to piece-work, did you have the same plan?

Mr. Nulsen. We have had the piece-work system in vogue for years, the last 8 or 10 years. There has been a horizontal advance all the way through on both piece-work and day rate.

Mr. Raker. Both white men and black work on the piece-work and make from $2 to $4 a day?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, there is no distinction.

Mr. Raker. Were you interrupted any with your transportation at all, outside of the labor?

Mr. Nulsen. No, we had no difficulty on that score. Most of our transportation--- the material goes out in carload lots, and most of it to customers across the River, so that it was simply a switching operation, and we weren't interfered with.

Mr. Raker. What provision do you make for your own men in the plant in the way of rest rooms and such like as that?

Mr. Nulsen. There are no facilities of that kind, but the men are very comfortably housed--- that is, our buildings are roomy and light and airy, well heated and well ventilated. We have an exceptionally nice wash-room equipment.

Mr. Raker. Separate for the two races?

Mr. Nulsen. In a way, yes. It is all in one building, but there is a concrete partition and separate stairways for the colored men.

Mr. Raker. That is all you have done in regard to providing means of recreation or any consideration of your workers?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, we have been contributing, as all of the industries have here--- not all, but most of them--- to welfare work through the Industrial Y. M. C. A. We carry on quite a little educational work. It was originally started out with the idea of Americanizing our foreign help; teaching them the English language and trying to make American citizens
129. out of them; and from that it has drifted into other fields such as giving picnics and entertainments during the winter --- picnics during the summer months--- and we started this welfare garden work plan early this year when there was a cry through the country to raise all the food products we could.

We furnished playgrounds for the children. We have done a good deal in the way of welfare work, but nothing immediately in connection with the plant. We have never thought it policy to do that.

Mr. Raker. Why not?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, my observation is that the laboring man rather resents that and feels as though he is being patronized; and I have never felt there was any need for that in our plant. When our men are through with their work they go to their homes. I don't believe they would stay around.

Mr. Raker. Has there been any feeling existing in

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your plant during the latter part of 1916 and up to the July riots, in regard to race conditions?

Mr. Nulsen. Absolutely none. There was perfect harmony. White and colored mixed together there, and there never was any friction.

Mr. Raker. Was there any interference with your plant or men working in your plant by anyone?

Mr. Nulsen. By the mob? No.

Mr. Raker. By anybody else?

Mr. Nulsen. No.

Mr. Raker. About what is your plant assessed at?

Mr. Nulsen. The plant is assessed at $250,000. That is my recollection.

Mr. Raker. About what taxes do you pay?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't say that. I think the assessment would be some $6,000 or $7,000, possibly more. I haven't looked into that fact.

Mr. Raker. What is the real value of your plant?

Mr. Nulsen. We had an appraisal made sometime ago when this matter of taxation was up. In fact, we are contesting the amount that we are assessed for now.

Mr. Raker. Is it too high?

Mr. Nulsen. On the theory that we were entitled to have our taxes fixed for a four year period, and the new Assessor that came in was not privileged to advance it during the interim, which, however, he has done, and there have been several suits filed because of that.

Mr. Raker. What do you estimate is the value of your plant out there, good-will and everything else, just in round

figures--- lump sum?

Mr. Nulsen. Based upon present replacement values, or what it cost to put it up?

Mr. Raker. Its present value that is workable.

Mr. Nulsen. Good-will and all?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I should say it would be worth somewhere in the neighborhood of $600,000 to $700,000. I would include good-will in that.

Mr. Raker. How much do you estimate the good-will of that business is?

Mr. Nulsen. I figure that at $200,000 or $300,000 at least, on its present earning basis.

Mr. Raker. Do you know anything about these riots personally?

Mr. Nulsen. I do not. I was in town when the riot occurred, but fortunately, or unfortunately I don't know which, I passed through town four times that day but never saw any disturbance. I always seemed to happen to slip in between.

Mr. Raker. And you saw no disturbance of any kind?

Mr. Nulsen. I saw the soldiers on the streets and the crowd gathered, but no violence.

Mr. Raker. That night did you see anything?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I was in St. Louis that night. I was not at the plant.

Mr. Raker. Had you heard anything about there being an anticipated riot the day before that?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. State to the committee what it was.

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Mr. Nulsen. When I got over to the directors' meeting in one of the banks over in St. Louis--- when I got over to the meeting there one of the directors told me that while coming over on the car from Bellville the car had been stopped by a mob up on St. Louis and Collinsville Avenue. There was a negro and his wife in the car, he said, and both as well dressed as he was; that these fellows were armed, carrying revolvers in their hands, and went into the car and asked were there any negroes there, and they saw the negroes trying to hide and pulled the man off the car and shot him to death, and then attempted to do the same to the woman, but they didn't shoot her. They just beat her and kicked her and cuffed her, and she ran away them. I asked them if there wasn't anybody there to stop the violence. He said there were four or five soldiers standing around there, but they didn't make any effort to interfere, and he said there were two or three policemen around, but all the policemen did was to come up and look at the negro and see if he was dead, and walk away.

Mr. Baker. Who told you that?

Mr. Nulsen. Mr. H. M. Griesedieck.

Mr. Baker. Where does he live?

Mr. Nulsen. In St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Was he on this particular car?

Mr. Nulsen. He was on the car. That was the first intimation I had of the seriousness of conditions over here.

Mr. Baker. Did you come back to see what was going on?

Mr. Nulsen. I came back, and, as I say, passed through town four times that day to and from my business. As I came

back things were again just as quiet as they had been when I went over. I saw no disturbance. I came through town later in the afternoon--- however through the south end--- and saw no disturbance, not even any militia visible there.

But I had called up several of the business men in town and found out how serious the situation really was, and then I called up the Mayor and asked him whether he couldn't make some effort to have martial law declared. He said he had already done that. He said he had spoken to the Governor, and I suppose you are familiar with the testimony in that respect. The Governor had put it up to Col. Tripp and Col. Tripp had said he was fully able to handle the situation and that we were unnecessarily alarmed; that he thought he had the situation well in hand.

Mr. Raker. Where were you when you called up the Governmmmm Mayor?

Mr. Nulsen. I was in my office when I called him up.

Mr. Raker. Did you make any effort to get out yourself and stop the rioting?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I did not.

Mr. Raker. Why didn't you?

clol Mr. Nulsen. Well, there was Militia on the ground and the police here, and I didn't feel as though it was up to me to go out and do that. I don't know as it would have had any effect if I had.

Mr. Raker. Were you one of the committee that met in the afternoon to arrange matters?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I was not.

Mr. Raker. Are you one of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Nulsen. I was one of the Committee of One Hundred, and was one of the special committee that began sessions the day after the riot, 10 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Raker. What have you done, if anything, to prevent future recurrences of these things, anything?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, I think that the most important thing that was done was to induce three of our leading business men here to accept the office of Fire and Police Commissioners. We had to practically conscript them to get them to serve. We had to show them that it was their duty to do so, and when they looked the situation over they said, "Well, there are no funds available for paying a police force properly; if we run the department we want it clean; we don't want any graft and we have got to pay these men a higher rate of wage than they have been getting, and we positively will not take hold of the situation unless we are guaranteed a sufficient fund to enable us to run the thing as it should be. We asked them what that meant, and they said it meant at least $110,000 for the next five months, and if that amount were guaranteed they would go ahead and take hold of the situation and see what could be done to straighten it out.

We got together and appointed committees to work among the various branches of industries, business men and railroads, and within a day or two's time the amount was guaranteed. Every man in business over here who was assessed paid the money, I think, very willingly.

Mr. Raker. Have things changed?

Mr. Nulsen. They have very materially changed.

Mr. Raker. For the better?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Raker. Well, what was the cause of this riot, if you know, Mr. Nulsen?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I can only surmise as to that. I can give you an opinion. I have nothing except just hearsay and gossip to found it on.

Mr. Raker. Did you hear that gossip from the various business men ~~men~~ and directors of East St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Was it discussed before the riot as well as after?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I heard it discussed after the first trouble that we had in May.

Mr. Raker. Well, was that a fairly general ~~expression~~ discussion that would really be the general sentiment of the people of this community?

Mr. Nulsen. I can say that it was general. I ~~was~~ heard it expressed more particularly by the leaders of large industries. I can't say that I heard it more generally expressed by the public at large.

Mr. Cooper. When was it that you say the advertisements were published in the Southern newspapers for colored help?

Mr. Nulsen. We inserted ~~that~~ ads --- our instructions to Nelson Cheseman, who put in the ad for us, were to put in two ads a week in four different towns. That was in the towns of Vicksburg, Nashville, Cairo and Memphis. We cancelled those ads on the 9th, so that there weren't more than two or three insertions in each town.

132 Mr. Cooper. What month was that in, what year?

Mr. Nulsen. Between March 1 and March 9, 1917, this year.

Mr. Cooper. Is is the testimony here, and the testimony before the Grand Jury that Negroes in great numbers have been coming to this city for a year or year and a half prior to this time.

Mr. Nulsen. Our experience in that respect---

Mr. Cooper (Interposing) Prior to the riot?

Mr. Nulsen. Prior to the riot, yes. Our experience in that respect was this: In 1916 they came up in large numbers throughout the months of March and April. In fact more of them than there was employment for, and those that were not employed here gradually drifted farther North into industrial districts like Chicago and points farther East, Cleveland, Detroit, and so on. Then when the first cold weather came on a lot of these Southern Negroes immediately came in and asked for their money and said they were freezing to death, couldn't stand it here, and went South again; and there was no surplus labor here through the Winter months. I should say that my guess would be that 60 per cent of those Negroes went back to the South and the following Spring came up in still larger numbers than they had the year before.

Mr. Cooper. That is this Spring?

Mr. Nulsen. This Spring. Now I will say that the industries were cognizant of the menace that was being created here. A meeting was called at the Aluminum Ore Company plant, I think the last part of April, to discuss this very subject. They said the Negroes were coming in here in such quantities that it was a menace to the community. They

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said a lot of them were unable to secure employment here, and they are hanging around the streets; a lot of them are Southern fellows who have been in rural districts, unsophisticated, mere children, and that there were a lot of dice and gambling houses and places of that kind, and they were being evicted, and they were easily led; and we saw that there was tendency there for an increase of vice, and it was a threatening situation as far as sanitary conditions were concerned, and we tried to devise some means of overcoming this menace--- to see what could be done.

We authorized the Industrial Secretary here of the Y. M. C. A. to bring in a Negro secretary on to the ground, have him make a survey and see what recommendations he could make; see whether he would make recommendations as to housing or what could be done in that respect, and we decided also that we would get after the police and see that some of these Negro dives were closed up, and would do everything we could to clean the situation up.

But before we got very far this first riot occurred, and by the time the reports of our secretary came in--- who was brought into the field for that purpose--- the second one appeared, so nothing has been done. In fact, there was no need for it, because the whole situation has been cleaned up since then.

Mr. Cooper. You say that this conversation that these managers of prominent men in industrial plants had was in April?

100 Mr. Ruisen. Sometime in April I should say, to the

best of my recollection.

Mr. Cooper. And your conversation at that time was about the flood of negroes that were coming up here from the South, more than you could handle. That was about a month or how many weeks after your advertisements in the Southern papers?

Mr. Nulsen. I should say that was about six weeks after our advertisement. Our advertisement was in the early part of March.

Mr. Cooper. Do you think that your advertisement was what caused this influx that you couldn't handle in April?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir; I am sure that was not the case, because, as I say, practically all of those negroes asked for transportation. And furthermore this was not a local condition. This same condition existed in practically every industrial center. The same condition existed in Youngstown, Dayton, Pittsburg.

Mr. Cooper. Well, do you know whether those people and those managers of those big plants in those other cities had had the same sort of influences at work to get negroes to come into those industrial centers that you used here in the way of advertisements or otherwise?

Mr. Nulsen. I think there may have been some of that done early in the Spring, but I think what had the greatest effect was that the negroes, as I said--- and as appeared from the letters we got--- were underpaid in the South and not steadily employed, and the wages were sufficiently high and employment steady enough to tempt them to come up, and I think most of them came up through the solicitation and cor-

responsence from personal friends.

Mr. Cooper. Wages were high and employment steady, and yet you said they got here and couldn't find it, and went on farther North?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, that was true.

Mr. Cooper. Well, was it a fact that there was employment here at high wages that brought them up, or was it your advertisements?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't imagine that our advertisements could have had the effect of bringing in some six thousand or eight thousand men, such as came in here. That doesn't seem conceivable to me.

Mr. Cooper. No, no one claims, Mr. Nulsen, that they came in after your advertisements were inserted last March, but they came in so fast in April that you had a meeting to see what you could do about it; but witnesses have testified that many of them have--- it has been without any contradiction at all--- that they began to come in here in great numbers about a year ago now, as winter was coming on.

Mr. Nulsen. That wasn't our experience. Our negro help drifted out last fall just about this time of the year. Our negroes began coming in, those that we employed, asking for their pay and saying that the weather was so cold that they couldn't stand it, and they wanted to go back South again. If there was any influx of negroes last fall, that is contrary to our experience.

Mr. Cooper. You say they did come up a year ago last spring?

Mr. Nulsen. In large numbers.

Mr. Cooper. Had advertisements been inserted in the

Southern papers?

Mr. Nulsen. Not by us.

Mr. Cooper. Had they by others?

Mr. Nulsen. I think not.

Mr. Cooper. You don't know definitely about that of course?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I have spoken to other manufacturers and they have all told me positively they hadn't advertised either this year or last.

Mr. Cooper. It has been the understanding of some members of the committee, including myself, that the cotton industry of the South was very prosperous last year, and that there was plenty of employment for negro help in the South at what is considered down there to them fairly remunerative wages. Do you know whether that is true or not?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I do not. I am not familiar enough with conditions in the South to ~~talk~~ know.

Mr. Cooper. I understand that it was higher last year in the South--- that wages were higher and that times were more prosperous for negro help because of the boom in the cotton industry than ever before. Do you know what it was that induced them to come up here in such numbers--- according the Grand Jury approximately 8,000 in the last year or year and a half?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't think there was anything else than the better industrial conditions here, a higher wage rate, that attracted them.

Mr. Cooper. Well, your publications in Vicksburg, Memphis, Cairo and Nashville--- have you the advertisements there?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, I have the wording of it here.

Mr. Cooper. Will you please read it so the reporter may take it down?

Mr. Nulsen (Reading). "Colored Labor for Foundry Work. Wanted, colored laborers for foundry work. Wages $2 to $2.60 per day. Can earn $3 to$3.50 piecework. Steady work for steady men."

Mr. Cooper. Now, you having printed that in those four important cities, have you an idea that other newspapers throughout the South made a note of that fact?

Mr. Nulsen. In an editorial way, you mean?

Mr. Cooper. In any way.

Mr. Nulsen. I can't say as to that.

Mr. Cooper. Well, the circulation of those four papers throughout the South would cover a good deal of territory. Some of those are important business centers, Memphis notably, and Nashville. That inevitably led, didn't it, to a desire on the part of many negroes to come North where they were paying $2 to $2.60, with the possibility that if they did piecework they would get $3-up?

Mr. Nulsen. My opinion is that more of the negroes were attracted through the letters they got from friends who had preceded them. I know that in numerous cases negroes would come to us and say, "Boss, I've got a friend" or relative or something "in the South. If I write to him and tells him he can get a job, will you give him a job when he comes up?" That occurred, not once but dozens of times.

Mr. Cooper. What did you tell them?

Mr. Nulsen. Up to the time that labor became plentiful

here and we were still in need of help, we told them yes.

Mr. Cooper. Exactly, and some of them wrote letters down to their friends to come up here because you told them that if they would write to their friends down South to come up here you would give the men down South employment here.

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, when we were in need of men we thought that was a legitimate thing to do, whether they were white or black.

Mr. Cooper. Yes, I am only getting at the facts. You mma not only inserted these advertisements in the Southern papers for negroes to come North, promising them $2 and $2.60 a day, and if any did piecework, $3 and more, and steady jobs for steady men, but when one of the men here in your employ, a colored man, came to you and said, "I have got a friend, Boss, down South if I write to him to come up, will you give him a job?" when you had need of workmen you said yes. That induced another colored man to come up. Your advertisements were published in March of this year, and in April the managers of those big plants got together and decided that so much colored help was coming up here that you had got to see what you could do about it. That was within a month or five or six weeks after your advertisements.

Mr. Nulsen. To the best of my recollection about six weeks.

Mr. Cooper. The very next month.

Mr. Nulsen. It may have been as late as the early part of May. I am not positive as to that.

Mr. Cooper. Now did you have piecework in your plant that a negro could do?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Nulsen, you say that--- you didn't speak to the Mayor about martial law yourself? Some friend told you about it?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I telephoned him myself.

Mr. Cooper. Oh, you did? Well, now just what was that conversation and about what time of day?

Mr. Nulsen. I should say about 4 or 4.30 in the afternoon. I telephoned him and told him---

Mr. Cooper (Interposing). What induced you to telephone him in the first place?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, the conversation I had had with Mr. Griesebieck, and then I called up other business men around town and I found the situation was growing steadily worse, and it looked it as though we were up against just what did occur that night. It looked very threatening, very menacing. I telephoned to the Mayor and asked him whether he wouldn't call up the Governor and see that additional troops were sent, and that martial law was declared; and he said that he had already done that, but he hadn't got any encouragement from the Governor; that the Governor so far had refused to declare martial law. He said he wouldn't give up and was still bringing all the pressure he could bear to see what could be done. He himself was very uneasy about the condition. That is the substance of it.

Mr. Cooper. What did he say about Col. Tripp?

Mr. Nulsen. He didn't say anything about Col. Tripp. My conversation with him was very brief. I imagine he was busy and other things were piling in on him thick and fast.

Mr. Cooper. I wrote down your previous statement. You asked--- the Mayor told you he had asked the Governor to declare martial law?

Mr. Nulsen. Well now, the Mayor told us that the next day in regard to Col. Tripp.

Mr. Cooper. Well, what was it he told you about Col. Tripp the next day?

Mr. Nulsen. He told us that after he had called up the Governor and asked that martial law be declared, the Governor asked to speak to his representative on the ground, Col.Tripp; that Col. Tripp was called to the telephone, and the Governor asked him what he thought of the situation, and he said he thought he had it thoroughly in hand; that we were unnecessarily alarmed and that there was no occasion for the declaration of martial law.

Mr. Cooper. Col. Tripp assured the Governor about 4 o'clock, or before 4 o'clock--- or when was it?

Mr. Nulsen. I think that conversation must have been had --- somewhere between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. Cooper. Three or four o'clock in the afternoon of July 2nd?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. He assured the Governor that he, Col. Tripp, had the situation well in hand?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir; that was the report that the Mayor made and also a number of the gentlemen who were on the committee, Mr. Pope, Mr. Reed, and others who had waited upon the Governor and tried to induce him to have martial law declared --- not on the Governor, but on the Mayor.

Mr. Cooper. Yet it was after that, some hours, that the great burning took place here at night?

Mr. Nulsen. That began, I should say, about 6 o'clock.

Mr. Cooper. About 3 hours, or two hours and a half.

Mr. Nulsen. Two and a half to three hours after the conversation with the Governor.

Mr. Cooper. In which Col. Tripp had assured the Governor that he had the situation well in hand. That's all.

Mr. Foster. You do a good deal of business in the South, do you, or not?

Mr. Nulsen. Very little. Our business is almost entirely local.

Mr. Foster. You don't ship South?

Mr. Nulsen. No.

Mr. Foster. So you don't know anything about the cotton business in the South last year?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I do not.

Mr. Foster. Well, do you know that cotton was higher last year than it has been since the Civil War--- than it was up to that time?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, I know in a general way it was higher, as well as all other farm products.

Mr. Foster. And yet they were trying--- the negroes were trying to get away from there because of the financial conditions or the conditions in the South.

Now do you know anything more about an attempt to stop the importation of negroes when they were coming here, too many of them, outside of this meeting of the different heads of financial institutions of this city?

Mr. Nilsen. To stop them in what way?

Mr. Foster. I mean to try and discourage--- of course the only way you could do was to discourage them from coming here because there were so many of them out of employment.

Mr. Nilsen. Well, I think a number of us told the negroes from the South that when they wrote to their friends to tell them there were no more jobs.

Mr. Foster. That was all, was it?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Foster. Was there ever anything of this kind taken up by the Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. Nulsen. I think not, not prior to the riot,--- now wait a minute--- yes, it was charged that somebody had put in an anonymous advertisement in the paper, using the name of the Chamber of Commerce, and advertising in the South and asking negroesto come to East St. Louis and they would find employment; that there was plenty of work here.

Mr. Foster. And what was done about that?

Mr. Nulsen. There was a committee appointed to investigate and find out who was responsible for those ads, or whether or not any such ads had ever been inserted; and as near as I can understand they were never able to substantiate the charges that were made.

Mr. Foster. That the Chamber of Commerce had issued it?

Mr. Nulsen. That it had not been done by the Chamber of Commerce, but the Chamber of Commerce had been used without authority by someone, they didn't know who, in East St.Louis. They were never able to find out who placed such ads.

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Mr. Cooper. I had one here yesterday.

Mr. Nulsen. In fact, the committee never made any report, if I understand it.

Mr. Foster. So that was not correct, that they had advertised in the South to discourage negroes from coming here? There never was any advertisement to discourage negroes from coming here?

Mr. Nulsen. I never heard of any.

Mr. Foster. But it was to get them here. If these negroes were so easy to get to come to East St. Louis by their
137 friends writing them, why did you insert these advertisements in these Southern papers?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, they had not started coming in as early as March 1st.

Mr. Foster. Well, don't you know, Mr. Nulsen, that last fall they came in here by the trainload?

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

Mr. Foster. You never heard of such a thing?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I never heard of it.

Mr. Foster. You have been here all this time and have never heard of them coming in here last fall?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir; our experience was exactly the reverse, as I testified before. Along in the fall, as soon as the weather got cold, about this time last year, our negroes began to drift down South.

Mr. Foster. You never saw it in the papers here that they were coming in in these great numbers?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir.

Mr. Foster. Is that so?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. I am surprised at that. Everybody else seemed to know it.

Mr. Nulsen. I will say for one thing that I don't read the local papers here, and I saw no mention of it in the St Louis papers.

Mr. Foster. You didn't see anything about the claim--- I am not saying that anything of the kind was true-- but you know last fall was political campaign year.

Mr. Nulsen. I saw the charge made in the papers, but not only about East St. Louis but other industrial centers, that negroes were being brought up for political purposes.

Mr. Foster. I am not saying there was a word of ~~in~~ truth in it.

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I saw that.

Mr. Foster. Then you saw they were coming in here, didn't you?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, but that didn't refer to East. St. Louis in particular. It referred to all industrial centers.

Mr. Foster. Didn't you know they were coming in here as well as in other industrial centers?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I didn't think there was any truth in that statement.

Mr. Foster. I am not talking about the political side of it. I am talking about the fact that you didn't know they were coming in to East St. Louis and into other Northern industrial centers last fall.

Mr. Nulsen. I still don't believe---

Mr. Foster (Interposing) And you never heard of it?

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Mr. Nulsen. I still don't believe that that was the case. It is contrary to our experience.

Mr. Cooper. Just permit me right there--- the witness has just testified that he didn't believe there was any newspaper that contained the advertisement or statement of that kind. Here is a newspaper clipping, evidently from some newspaper outside, published in some newspaper outside of this city, which has been handed to me--- printed on both sides and one side tells about a football match, and so forth,--- but this is the statement. This is the caption in large type. I will read it:

"St. Louis Begging Race Men to Return.

"East St. Louis, Ill., Sept. 21."---

Mr. Nulsen (Interposing). That is last year?

Mr. Cooper. Well, it is September 21. (Reading): "The Committee on Civic Affairs has issued an appeal to all residents that suffered from mob violence and were forced out of the city, that they will defray the railroad expenses from any part of the country and allow two months' rent free of cost if members of the race will return".

That must have been September of this year.

138 Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know about that?

Mr. Nulsen. I never heard of it.

Mr. Foster. Now I understand you to say,--- give it as your opinion, Mr. Nulsen,--- and your knowledge--- that you saw the importation--- well, I don't know; that might imply they would be imported--- but I mean that they went from the South in large numbers to a number of the industrial centers during

last year, but you never heard of it in East. St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't think that you understand me correctly. I said that there was a great influx of negroes from the South all through the spring and summer of last year, 1916, but I also state that when the cold weather came on those negroes went South just like migratory birds do, and that that didn't hold good only for this center, but the reason I am in a position to know that it occurred in other centers is because we have an association in the malleable iron business, made up of some 45 or 50 different members from all parts of the country, and they all told me the same story, that the negroes came in in the Spring and just as soon as the cold weather came on they drifted South again.

So that I say it is contrary to my experience or the experience of other men who are in the same line of industry, that the negroes were coming in last fall.

Mr. Foster. Then the theory of your advertisement is that you lose these colored people in the fall, and then you have to advertise in the spring to get them back?

Mr. Nulsen. We had to advertise in the spring to close the gap that was made by the exodus of the foreigners to outside work.

Mr. Foster. And you don't know anything about these people coming up here last mmam fall in carload lots, and coming up here as they did, many of them, with straw hats on in cold weather and all that? You never heard of that?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. Foster. Do you know the agent down here, Mr. Cunningham?

Mr. Nulsen. Not personally, no.

Mr. Foster. Well, you know that there is an agent?

Mr. Nulsen. I know who he is.

Mr. Foster. If he would say that last fall there were many of these colored people came, and in such great numbers that they filled the platform around there--- you are acquainted with the platform around the Relay Depot--- you would believe that, would you?

Mr. Nulsen. I would if he testified that. He ought to be in a better position to observe than I would.

Mr. Foster. I guess that's all.

Mr. Foss. Do you run an open or closed shop?

Mr. Nulsen. It is an open shop--- that is, we don't discriminate against union labor, but the majority of our men are non-union men.

Mr. Foss. And do your union men pay at any particular proportion or percentage?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't think that there are any union men except among our molders. I don't suppose there is more than five or ten per cent of those union men.

Mr. Foss. Have you ever had any labor trouble in your plant at all?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir; that is a thing we are very proud of. We have been in business for 35 years and have never had a serious strike or a serious misunderstanding with our employees. We have never even had a demand for ~~xxx~~ advance in wages. Whenever the time is ripe for an advance in wages we give it voluntarily.

Mr. Foss. Your labor, then, has been contented?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Foss. Do you manufacture any of these castings for the Government?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir--- not for the Government directly but for subcontractors. That is, we act as subcontractors for those who have contracts with the Government.

Mr. Foss. What is the nature of these castings?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, at the time of the riot we were making a great many malleable iron stove castings, for Army ranges; and at the same time--- we had not yet begun on orders for Russian government cars, that followed later. At the time of the riot, we were making Army range castings.

Mr. Foss. And your business was interfered with in that respect, relating to these castings that you were making ~~in the factory~~ indirectly for the Government?

Mr. Nulsen. We didn't allow it to interfere with the Government work, because we took men off our other jobs and put them on to the Government contracts.

Mr. Raker. You stated there was a meeting of the industrial concerns here sometime this year?

Mr. Nulsen. In the latter part of April or early in May.

Mr. Raker. The latter part of April or the first of May. Now can you just tell the committee who were present and what industrial concerns were represented at that meeting?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, of course Mr. Fox was present, and Mr. Rucker, of the Aluminum Ore Company.

~~Mr. Raker~~.

Mr. Raker. Go on, giving the companies and those represented.

Mr. Nulsen. Mr. Conway of the Armour Company; Mr. Hunter of Swift & Co., Mr. Ward of the American Steel Foundries.

Mr. Raker. Was anybody there representing Morris & Co.

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, they had a representative there, but I don't recall his name.

Mr. Raker. Now can you remember any other concern that was represented?

Mr. Nulsen. I think the Commercial Acid Company had a representative there, and I think Mr.----, I cant recall his name now--- of the Railway Steel Spring Company--- I think he was there.

Mr. Raker. They had some representative there?

Mr. Nulsen. I think he was there, yes.

Mr. Raker. Now, when was this meeting?

Mr. Nulsen. To the best of my recollection the latter part of April or early in May.

Mr. Raker. Of this year. Get that, Judge Cooper, the latter part of April or the first of May this year. And what was the object and purpose of that meeting?

Mr. Nulsen. To see what could be done to relieve the situation. We felt that the negroes were coming in here more rapidly than the employers could take care of them. There weren't jobs for them; they were idle, going about the streets, and the fear was that they would drift into crime. Then, too, there was a threatening situation as to the sanitary conditions. There weren't houses enough for them, and those that there were were overcrowded, and we got together just to discuss the

situation and see what could be done.

Mr. Raker. What was the determination of the allied industries there at that time of East St. Louis as to what they should do and could do?

Mr. Nulsen. What was done at that meeting was to authorize the bringing in of a colored secretary of the Y.M.C.A.

Mr. Raker: You told that before. But nothing came out of that except what you have already told?

Mr. Nulsen. Nothing concrete was done.

Mr. Raker. What effort did you make at any time in 1916 or 1917 to get white help or labor?

Mr. Nulsen. We have always given preference to white labor.

Mr. Raker. No, what did you do?

Mr. Nulsen. What did we do? I don't recall just how much advertising we did in 1916, but I know we did quite a little.

Mr. Raker. For white labor?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir; and we had advertisements for white labor in the paper almost constantly throughout the year 1917.

Mr. Raker. You preferred and were demanding white labor in preference to colored labor?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Was that the general attitude of the other industrial plants in East St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't say as to that.

Mr. Raker. Well, you have been telling us that you had this meeting now, and discussed those affairs.

Mr. Nulsen. I think that all of us had found it necessary at all times to employ negroes for certain classes of rough, heavy work. We have always done that, speaking of our own industry, and I am quite sure the same has been the case with the Aluminum Ore Company and the packing houses.

Mr. Raker. Well, didn't the influx of colored labor reduce the wage?

Mr. Nulsen. Not in our case. On the contrary, our wage was steadily climbing.

Mr. Raker. Didn'tit have a tendency to keep the wage down of the white labor?

Mr. Nulsen. I think not.

Mr. Raker. Wasn't he fretful and wasn't he sort of uneasy, that his labor was being interfered with and his wages being cut down?

Mr. Nulsen. We found no such sentiment among our men.

Mr. Raker. And the conditions, the general conditions surrounding the town, and the sanitary conditions, health conditions, moral conditions, were being affected, and the white labor was objecting to that on that ground?

Mr. Nulsen. We didn't find that feeling existing in our plant, no, sir. As I said before, we found white and black working together in perfect harmony. There never was one iota of friction between them.

Mr. Raker. Wasn't the sentiment prevailing among the white labor that these negroes were brought in as sort of strike breakers more than anything else?

Mr. Nulsen. I think probably that was the feeling at the Aluminum Ore Company after their strike came on.

Mr. Raker. But at no other place?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't say as to that. I wasn't in close enough touch with the situation to know. I have not heard that.

Mr. Raker. Now, I asked a while ago--- I started on it but did not finish it. I thought possibly one of the other members of the committee would ask it, but I am going to ask you now so as to find out--- what, in your judgment, was the primary cause of the starting of these riots, commencing in May and culminating In July of this year?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, in the first place I don't think a race hatred of that kind can spring up overnight. I think there must be some contributory causes that lead up to it.

Mr. Raker. Well now, right there, do you believe, and has there been evidenced a strong race prejudice feeling?

Mr. Nulsen. I think so, yes. I think that was more or less the case for the past year or more.

Mr. Raker. How does it appear now?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't think it is as apparent now as it was then.

Mr. Raker. Do you think it is latent and still in existence?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't say as to that.

140 Mr. Raker. What would you think about it?

Mr. Nulsen. The colored people are still here; the negroes are still here, but I believe the feeling is that if the law is impartially enforced they will live together in perfect harmony.

Mr. Raker. What do you mean by the law impartially enforced? Wasn't it impartially enforced as to colored and white before these riots?

Mr. Nulsen. Here was the condition that existed: It is a notorious fact that our police department was exploiting the criminals, both white and colored.

Mr. Raker. Now just tell us about that. Just tell us what they were doing in that regard of exploiting them.

Mr. Nulsen. They were permitting them to run all sorts of dives and gambling houses, and carry on all sorts of vice, and were protecting them, providing they would come across with a certain stipend. I don't know what that was. This is common talk.

Mr. Raker. Was it understood that the people engaged in this criminal lawlessness did come across to the policemen?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, that they were receiving protection. The feeling was that a great many of the bad element among the negroes who were getting this protection just simply felt that they could do anything they chose.

Mr. Raker. How about the white side?

Mr. Nulsen. It was the same there, the same with the whites, but being as close to the Mason and Dixon line as we are, we naturally resent it when a negro assumes that attitude of being able to do anything that he chooses, and for instance, getting on a street car and crowding up as close to a white woman as he can, and assuming that attitude.

Mr. Raker. Well, was that done or charged to have been done?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Well, did that incense the people here?

Mr. Nulsen. I guess that is what gradually created the feeling here.

Mr. Raker. What else do you know that incensed the whites against the blacks?

Mr. Nulsen. Well, I think what led up--- what was the primary cause of the riots that actually occurred, was the Aluminum Ore strike out there. This is only theory on my part, but as I view the situation, the Aluminum Ore Company were doing a great deal of Government work; they were a non-resident corporation; they succeeded when the strike was at its height and when the place was being picketed and men were being attacked going to and from their work, in getting out a Federal injunction. The men who had been enjoined from interfering with them out there were afraid to go out there and raise any disturbance, and I think they got together to see what could be done to interfere with the Aluminum Ore Company and win out in their strike. I think they hit upon this race question and just simply worked it to further their own ends. That is my theory.

Mr. Raker. Now you live here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I live in St. Louis.

Mr. Raker. Or St. Louis. You have your business here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Raker. And make your money in East St. Louis?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And get the profit of the people that live in East St. Louis, and hope to get protection from it?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I want to correct you there. I doubt

c141 whether we have a single customer in East St. Louis. Our customers are all in St. Louis, Madison and Granite City, some of them.

Mr. Raker. Well, you were speaking of protection from the civil authorities of East St. Louis?

Mr. Mulsen. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Under the laws of the State of Illinois.

Mr. Mulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. But you haven't done a thing in the way of rectifying and correcting this growing evil that you saw coming on months ago until within the last month or so.

Mr. Mulsen. Could you suggest how I could do that as a non-resident?

Mr. Raker. I am not here for that purpose. I am here to inquire and find out and see what can be done.

Mr. Mulsen. I did like every other American citizen seems to have the privilege of doing. I kicked. I found fault with conditions repeatedly. I was not a voter over here; I had no voice politically. I used my influence wherever I could for the betterment of the town, and in trying to influence such of the business men as I ran across here, or influential citizens.

Mr. Raker. Now have you gone to any of these bankers and merchants and these real estate men and said to them, "Here, there is an impending riot here in this town and we can't tell whose life may be taken or whose property may be destroyed. Lets get busy and clean up this nest of rats and ferrets and loafers". Did you do that?

Mr. Mulsen. Yes I did, after the riot in May.

Mr. Raker. After the riot in May?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Well, did you get any response in the way of work from these men that live here?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, I think that they were trying to do the best they could to try and handle the situation.

Mr. Raker. But they just all seemed to be helpless in the matter?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, there was quite a little lethargy. I didn't know how thoroughly they could be aroused until after the catyclism occurred on the 2nd of July. Then they simply took matters in their own hands, whether the politicians, police or anybody else wanted it or not. They just assumed their prerogatives to have a good, decent, clean government; but it took something of that kind to wake them up.

Mr. Raker. Has this extraordinary number of saloons had anything to do with your conditions here?

Mr. Nulsen. I think if the saloons had been properly regulated it would not have, but of course they weren't. They were hang-outs for all sorts of criminals and crooks, some of them. Some of them were decently conducted.

Mr. Raker. Did you ever go into the fact to see how the finances of the city were obtained?

Mr. Nulsen. Personally, no.

Mr. Raker. I am not trying to criticise you, Mr. Nulsen. I was asking the questions to see what had been done and how you felt about it.

Mr. Nulsen. You mean on the liquor question?

Mr. Raker. No, in regard to the general conditions.

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Mr. Nulsen. Well, my feeling has always been that the
142 city had an ample revenue to conduct the city affairs properly here if they were diverted through the proper channels.

Mr. Raker. Well, the same number of negroes, approximately are here now that were here sometime since. They are going away temporarily at night and coming back in the day time. There has been some evidence that a considerable number of them left, but still the same condition of white and black obtains. Do you say that if the thing moves right along as it is now you will have no more trouble; or do you expect that at most any time lawlessness will break out and race riots will continue?

Mr. Nulsen. No, sir; my feeling is that the trouble is over. I think that the prosecutions and the convictions that have been had have had a very salutary effect; and I think the cleaning up of the police department, the knowledge that the laws will be enforced impartially, is having a very salutary effect, and I feel that the trouble is over.

Mr. Raker. Well, you have got some of the same policemen on the force now that were on the force before this trouble.

Mr. Nulsen. I understand they have a few. There is always a certain percentage of men that will do their duty if they are properly led, and I think that was the feeling in retaining these men, that if they had had a proper chief over them they would have done their duty.

Mr. Cooper. I want to just ask you one question. As I understand it, there were at one time three hundred and seventy-six saloons in the city, paying a license of $750. Is that right? Is that the license?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't know as to that. I have taken very little interest in conditions political in this town.

Mr. Cooper. What was the license, Mr. Mayor?

Mayor Mollman. $500. When there were 376 saloons the license was $500.

Mr. Cooper. How many are there now?

Mayor Mollman. Two hundred and fifty, and the license is $750. The high license went into effect on the 1st of July, 1917.

Mr. Cooper. How many saloons are there now?

Mayor Mollman. Two hundred and fifty-one.

Mr. Cooper. And they pay how much?

Mayor Mollman. Seven hundred and fifty dollars per year since July 1st.

Mr. Cooper. Who was this colored secretary of the Y. M. C. A., do you recall?

Mr. Nulsen. I can't recall his name. He was a man from Chicago, as I remember.

Mr. Cooper. And he didn't live here?

Mr. Nulsen. He didn't live here, no. He was simply brought in here to make a survey of conditions, and see what could be done to improve them.

Mr. Cooper. Who brought him in?

Mr. Nulsen. He was brought in by the Industrial Y. M. C. A. A Mr. Route, the local secretary here, can tell you all about it.

Mr. Cooper. Who paid him for his services in coming here?

Mr. Nulsen. He was paid out of the funds that the in-

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dustries have been contributing for the past three or four years.

Mr. Cooper. What industries?

143 Mr. Nulsen. The Aluminum Ore Company, the packing houses, ourselves, the American Steel Foundries.

Mr. Cooper. All the big plants?

Mr. Nulsen. All the big plants have been contributing to a welfare fund.

Mr. Cooper. And out of this welfare fund--- who else contributed to it?

Mr. Nulsen. Nobody outside of the industries. Now wait a minute--- some of the public service corporations did, the street railways did, and the Nulsen Investment Company has, the company that I am a stockholder in, and that has quite large real estate holdings here. We contributed.

Mr. Cooper. Well, substantially then, it was the big industrial plants and the big public service corporations that contributed to a fund out of which the colored secretary was paid?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And of course he knew where the money came from that paid him?

Mr. Nulsen. I don't know as to that. He knew that he had been employed by the local branch of the Industrial Y.M.C.A. here. I don't as he inquired into that or had any occasion to.

Mr. Cooper. How many men did you have employed, did you say, in 1916?

Mr. Nulsen. I think between 800 and 900.

Mr. Cooper. How many have you now?

Mr. Nulsen. About the same number. We had more than that in the spring, but since the riots our force has been reduced.

Mr. Cooper. You had how many more in the spring?

Mr. Nulsen. I should say that we had at one time as high as 1050, possibly 1100.

Mr. Cooper. You said as high as 800 or 900 in 1916?

Mr. Nulsen. I think so. I am only quoting from memory. That continued up to the spring.

Mr. Cooper. You had ten hundred and some odd, and then the riots came and you went down?

Mr. Nulsen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, if you had 800 or 900 in 1916, and that continued right along until you got ten hundred and over in the spring of this year, how do you explain that in connection with your other statement that they went away in the fall and you had to advertise to get them back in the spring? You had all you needed right straight through?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I think I have made that clear.

Mr. Cooper. It isn't clear to me. You had 800 or 900 in 1916. You said you had right along up to this spring when you had ten hundred and over.

Mr. Nulsen. I think I can explain that. Our negro labor, as I say, drifted out in the fall, just about the time that the foreign element were coming back into town from the railroad camps and they replaced them. Then along about the middle of February, I should say, or possibly as early as the first of February, the foreigners began to drift out again to outside work, particularly to the railroad camps, and there was a period there when we were seriously handicapped through the latter part of February and early March.

Mr. Cooper. What do you mean by "railroad camps"?

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Mr. Nulsen. The different railroads employ men here that go out to work on the sections, particularly where they are putting in new spurs and new switches, new tracks, and where construction work is going on. There is always a large demand for that class of labor in the spring of the year.

144 Mr. Cooper. So you advertised in the spring? That is your custom each year is it?

Mr. Nulsen. No, it hasn't been necessary until, I think, we did some advertising--- I am not sure as to that--- no, I don't think we did any in 1916. We have never advertised for colored help before until, as I say, during this period of March 1 to 9, 1917.

Mr. Cooper. Now 576 saloons at $500 would contribute to the treasury of this city $138,000, and 50 policemen--- how many policemen are there, Mr. Mayor?

Mayor Mollman. Seventy-one on the force.

Mr. Cooper. Before the riot?

Mayor Mollman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Seventy-one policemen at--- how much they were getting before the riot?

Mayor Mollman. That 71 in the police department includes janitors, matrons, telephone clerks and chauffuers.

Mr. Cooper. I don't mean that. I mean ~~those sent~~ patrolmen out to arrest people.

Mayor Mollman. Thirty-four patrolmen.

Mr. Cooper. How much did they get?

Mayor Mollman. $80 per month, some of them $70. The probationery men got $70 for the first six months, $75 the second six months, and $80 thereafter.

Mr. Cooper. As I figure it, 34 policemen, even suppose you give them $80 a month, that would be $960 a year, would be $32,640. That would leave over $100,000. Do you know what was done with the $100,000?

Mr. Nulsen. I do not.

Mr. Cooper. Well, I suppose they contributed something to the support of the fire department. Do you know how much that cost a year?

Mr. Nulsen. No, I do not.

Mr. Cooper. Well, we will ask some of the city officials. That's all.

Mr. Raker. Just one question. This Nulsen Real Estate Company, how many houses did they have burnt that night?

Mr. Nulsen. We didn't have any. Our holdings were all in the business district.

Mr. Raker. That's all. You may be excused.

Will you come forward, Mr. Joyce?

STATEMENT OF MAURICE V. JOYCE,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker. State your name, age, residence and occupation.

Mr. Joyce. Maurice V. Joyce; age, 44; residence, East St. Louis; occupation, attorney at law.

Mr. Raker. How long have you lived here, Mr. Joyce?

Mr. Joyce. All my life.

Mr. Raker. You have practiced law here how long?

Mr. Joyce. Twenty-odd years.

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Mr. Raker. Have you been engaged in any other business except practicing law?

Mr. Joyce. Not at present.

Mr. Raker. Have you any interest except the mere fact of practicing law?

Mr. Joyce. I own property here.

Mr. Raker. In East St. Louis?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Joyce, what did you see on the 2nd of
145 July last of the work done by the military that were brought in to this city for the purpose, ostensibly, of stopping or suppressing the riot?

Mr. Joyce. I saw on the 2d of July Illinois National Guardsmen scattered in groups around the city, and they stood by, idly saw colored men beaten up, made no attempt to arrest the men who were doing the beating; made no attempt to disperse the mobs or to protect life or property in any way.

Mr. Cooper. Did you see any negro or negroes apparently trying to go to militiamen for help or to be guarded?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Cooper. Will you please tell about that incident? and where it was?

Mr. Joyce. About 5 o'clock on the evening of the 2d of July I was in a building on Broadway at the end of Collinsville Avenue, on the 2d floor, and I happened to look out of a window, and I saw a colored man with a dinner bucket in his hand get off of a car at Collinsville and Broadway, and just as soon as he stepped upon the street some white man came up from behind and hit him in the head, staggered him. Before he regained his

balance, another white man hit him on the side of the head, and then he started to run for a group of six guardsmen, Illinois National Guardsmen, who were standing about 50 feet away, and he ran to them, got in among them and the white men who were beating him up followed him up to where the Guardsmen were standing, and they turned their bayonets towards his body and forced him away from them.

Mr. Cooper. Forced the colored man back?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir. And then the white men knocked him down and kicked him, and I don't know what else happened to him.

Mr. Cooper. Did you see any other conduct--- these men were in soldiers' uniform?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They had rifles with bayonets in place?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And they turned the bayonets on this colored man with the dinner pail and drove him back into those who were assaulting him?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Did you see any other conduct of militiamen on that day which attracted your attention? Did you see any other killings or assaults?

Mr. Joyce. No.

Mr. Cooper. Those were the only ones you saw?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. I think thats all.

Mr. Foss. How near were these men who were pursuing this colored man? Were they right behind him?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. How many of them were there of them?

Mr. Joyce. About half a dozen.

Mr. Foss. Was there any mob behind them?

Mr. Joyce. There was a scattering crowd around the sidewalks on all sides.

Mr. Foss. Were there any other incidents that you saw that day?

Mr. Joyce. No, sir.

Mr. Foss. Except these you have related?

Mr. Joyce. No, sir, there were not.

Mr. Raker. Mr. Joyce, from your personal acquaintance here, and residence, are you in a position, from the information you gathered as you have lived here, to give us a general idea of this rioting, commencing in May and the culmination on July 2d--- that is, its cause?

Mr. Joyce. Industrial unrest, labor troubles, were the cause of it.

Mr. Raker. What about the question of the two races figuring in it.

Mr. Joyce. The large number of negroes that came in to the city and the conduct--- or rather misconduct--- of some of them helped to engender race prejudice.

Mr. Raker. Well, that feeling is, you think, dying out?

Mr. Joyce. I don't think so; no, sir. I think it exists today as strong as ever.

Mr. Raker. Well, have you any remedy in your own mind of how the matter could be averted, or avoided? Every little helps, you know.

Mr. Joyce. No, it is too large a problem for me to solve.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Joyce, do you know whether that colored man was killed or not?

Mr. Joyce. I don't know.

Mr. Foss. Did you appear before the military inquiry?

Mr. Joyce. I did; yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. Did you relate these instances there?

Mr. Joyce. I did, as much as they would let me relate. They applied the very strictest rules of legal evidence to that military inquiry, and informed every one who testified that they must give nothing but strictly legal testimony, no hearsay, nothing wouldn't be permissible in a court of record. I testified before them.

Mr. Foss. Have you seen your testimony since?

Mr. Joyce. No, I have not. I told them what I thought of Col. Tripp, and when I was leaving, after leaving the witness stand--- leaving the room--- one of the members of the commission informed me that they had heard sufficient testimony and were convinced that the soldiers were put out on the streets on the 2d day of July by Col. Tripp without any orders whatever. One of the members of that commission told me that at that hearing, and they didn't seem to want any testimony about the conduct of Col. Tripp from me. He said to me, "We have had enough testimony to satisfy ourselves that Col. Tripp put these soldiers out on the streets that day without any orders whatever." And he said, "You know soldiers never do anything when they don't have orders." Then I said, "Why don't you courtmartial Col. Tripp?"

Mr. Riker. What was their answer?

Mr. Joyce. He said, "That will be taken care of later".

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Mr. Raker. Did you give your opinion as to the conduct of Col. Tripp before that committee?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Do you know whether it was taken down?

Mr. Joyce. I presume it was; I think it was taken down.

Mr. Raker. Just tell us now in substance what you intended to convey and what was your purpose to convey to this military board of inquiry as to the conduct of the soldiers there that day by Col. Tripp.

Mr. Joyce. The idea that I attempted to convey to them was that from the conduct of the soldiers in this city on that day they did nothing to maintain law and order or preserve life or property; that Col. Tripp was in charge of those men--- admitted so to a meeting of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce that afternoon at 3 o'clock, and from the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce the Mayor told the private secretary of the Governor--- I was told that he was talking to the Governor's office--- that the situation was beyond his control; that he couldn't handle it, and asked the Governor to declare martial law; and Col. Tripp picked up the receiver of the telephone and
147 assured the party who was at the other end of the line that he had the situation in hand, and that there was no need for martial law being declared here. He told some of us that we didn't know the legal effect of martial law. I said to him, "I don't care anything about the legal effect. It will have at least a psycological effect upon this crowd or mob that is gathering and has been gathering since morning, and you ought to permit the Governor to declare martial law. You haven't the situation in hand. Why don't you disperse these small crowds that are

gathering?" I said, "If you don't have crowds gather on the streets, you won't have mobs; if you don't have mobs you will have no killings or burnings." He said, "They will be dispersed". I said, 'They haven't been dispersed up to this time, and they are getting larger".

I appealed to him to issue orders to his men and have them do something--- told him that they were standing around idle, doing nothing, simply looking on, mingling with the mobs, talking to them, laughing and joking with them. He said that he would disperse the crowds and that he would have by 7 o'clock that evening something like 700 men under his command. He told us in the afternoon that he had 245 or 250 soldiers here. I told this committee that in my opinion he was a disgrace to the uniform he wore."

Mr. Cooper. You mean the board of inquiry you told that to?

Mr. Raker. Is there anything further?

Mr. Foster. I would like to ask one or two questions. You were in East St. Louis last fall, say beginning in September up to the 1st of January?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Do you know whether there were a large number of negroes came to the city during that time?

Mr. Joyce. They were coming in from the South; yes, sir; but more of them came in this spring. They came in in much larger numbers this spring than they did last fall.

Mr. Foster. But there were a great many came last fall?

Mr. Joyce. They were coming right straight along.

Mr. Foster. And this spring they came more than ever?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. Those negroes that came here last fall, did they disappear during the winter?

Mr. Joyce. I couldn't tell you that. It is hard to keep track of them.

Mr. Foster. You heard Mr. Nulsen say that they were sort of migratory people, that came North in the spring and went back in the fall?

Mr. Joyce. Well, not being an employer of labor, I have had no experience.

Mr. Foster. You didn't know anything about it?

Mr. Joyce. I wouldn't know anything about it.

Mr. Foster. But you did notice there were a great many came in last fall?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. The newspapers had accounts of them coming in last fall?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster. And as a resident of this city all your life, you have noticed that there were more of those people on the streets?

Mr. Joyce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That is all, Mr. Joyce, thank you.

Mr. Hunter, will you come forward please?

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STATEMENT OF THOS. G. HUNTER (colored)
1841 BOND AVE. EAST ST. LOUIS. ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker: State your name, age, and residence.

Mr. Hunter: Thos. G. Hunter, age 41 years; residence, 1841 Bond Avenue.

Mr. Raker: What is your business or profession?

Mr. Hunter: Physician and surgeon.

Mr. Raker: Now, Mr. Cooper, you have got this matter in hand.

Mr. Cooper: Well, Mr. Chairman, I never have seen the witness; have never exchanged a word with him direct or indirectly.

Now, Mr. Hunter, how long haveyou lived in this city?

Mr. Hunter: I have lived here - it will be eight years December 25.

Mr. Cooper: Were you here on the 2nd of July last?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And on the 3rd of July last?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember the Sunday night before the mob?

Mr. Hunter: I do.

Mr. Cooper: Where were you?

Mr. Hunter: I was at 1841 Bond Avenue - that is during the day on Sunday, July 1st. I usually take my wife driving a little bit. Usually I go to St. Louis or take her out

on Sunday afternoon.

Mr. Cooper: Did you go on that day?

Mr. Hunter: Not to St. Louis. I went to Belleville.

Mr. Cooper: Were you here in this city on the night of July 1st?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Where were you about midnight that night?

Mr. Hunter: We, including Reverend Wallace and Reverend Cotton, took our bishop to St. Louis after he had preached at the 19th & Bond Church.

Mr. Cooper: Didyou attend church that night?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir, I did not.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you meet the bishop and Mr. Hunter... Mr. Cotton and the other man, what is his name, Wallace?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you meet those gentlemen?

Mr. Hunter: I live directly across the street from the church, practically directly cross. I was in the 18th block and the church is on the corner of 19th & Bond Avenue, and after church I was in the drug store, and when church dismissed I saw them standing near the corner, and we suggested that we should take the bishop for safety as we had heard that early in the afternoon upon my return from Belleville, that they were attacking negroes at the Free Bridge, and we suggested that we should take the bishop for safety home in a machine rather than trust

him on the cars, - he and the pastor in charge, that was Reverend Dodson.

Mr. Cooper: So you took him in an automobile and went over to St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter: We took him in an automobile to St. Louis, yes, sir, and we returned about a few minutes before twelve o'clock.

Mr. Cooper: Midnight?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, where did you go? Where did you stop the machine?

cyl 149 Mr. Hunter: Well, after returning we stopped the machine at the corner, or near the corner of 20th and Trenidley Avenue.

Mr. Cooper: Who lived there?

Mr. Hunter: Reverend Cotton. We escorted him to his home in the machine.

Mr. Cooper: You took him home in the machine?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What happened while you were standing there?

Mr. Hunter: While standing there talking, a machine loaded with white men, passed us, coming from the south, going north and turned westward on Market Street, which was about the distance I guess, of about 100 feet, and as it turned westward it speeded rapidly, and we heard shots fired, and running to the corner, we witnessed ~~the~~---or I witnessed shots firing from either side of the machine.

Mr. Cooper: Pistol shots?

Mr. Hunter: I suppose so, in rapid succession.

Mr. Cooper: Could you see flashes?

Mr. Hunter: Flashes, yes.

Mr. Cooper: Of fire from each side of the machine?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: About how many of these machines do you think you heard or witnessed - saw?

Mr. Hunter: I am not able to say just how many I did hear - a number of them.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know whether any of these shots took effect in any of the buildings on either side of the street there?

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

Mr. Cooper: This machine continued to go on down that street, did it, along there?

Mr. Hunter: Very rapidly.

Mr. Cooper: And then after you had seen this firing - apparently at what were the flashes directed?

Mr. Hunter: Towards the side of the streets, to the buildings from the sides of the machine towards the buildings.

Mr. Cooper: And what did you do then?

Mr. Hunter: We went home.

Mr. Cooper: Where did you live?

Mr. Hunter: At 19th, - near the corner, the second house from the corner of 19th and Ford.

Mr. Cooper: Did you go into your house then?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; Reverend Wallace and I stayed outside for some little time.

Mr. Cooper: At your house?

Mr. Hunter: I don't recall whether it was at my house. I think we sat on my porch. I think so. I don't recall.

Mr. Cooper: But you were with him?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; we were together.

Mr. Cooper: How long did you stay there?

Mr. Hunter: For some little time afterwards, may be for half an hour or forty five minutes after.

Mr. Cooper: Did you hear anything else?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; I heard a volley of shots in a direction - in a westward direction.

Mr. Cooper: You heard a volley of shots?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: How long did you think that was? Have you any way that you can tell how long that was after you heard this?

Mr. Hunter: Judging back, it must have been at least ten or fifteen or twenty minutes after we were there.

Mr. Cooper: You have no way of fixing the number of minutes exactly?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, what did you do after you heard this volley of shots?

Mr. Hunter: Well, we sat there.

Mr. Cooper: How long did you sit there?

Mr. Hunter: I suppose may be ten or fifteen minutes, - may be a little longer.

Mr. Cooper: You didn't know what that second volley was?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; we hadn't the least idea.

Mr. Cooper: And what did you and Mr. Wallace do then?

Mr. Hunter: Well, after while we went in home - went into our homes. He lives next door to me.

Mr. Cooper: He lives next door to you?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And on what street?

Mr. Hunter: 19th and Bond. He lives on the corner of 19th and Bond, and I live next door to him on the north side of the street.

Mr. Cooper: Now after you went into the house that night, did you come out again?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: During the night?

Mr. Hunter, No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Did you come down town at all the next day?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: What time?

Mr. Hunter: Before the rioting. I had an office at 522 East Broadway, which during the afternoon or evening of July 2nd was burned.

Mr. Cooper: Your office was burned?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; my office was burned during the fire.

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Mr. Cooper: That was on the second?

Mr. Hunter: That was on the second, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, what did you do in the daytime before your office was burned?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I was out home. I made calls out in that neighborhood, which I had.

Mr. Cooper: On your patients?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; professionally. And about nine o'clock, or a little after, I presume, I came down town and stayed around my office for some little time, and received a call to go to 209 St. Louis Avenue, which was - I made the call about eleven o'clock I judge.

Mr. Cooper: What did you see there and who was your patient?

Mr. Hunter: Washington is his name. He was a brother of one of our detectives.

Mr. Cooper: A colored detective?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; he was very ill at the time and they moved him - he afterwards died.

Mr. Cooper: Not from injury but from illness?

Mr. Hunter: I don't know the cause of his death. The mob was going on even at the time that I went through, but without a knowledge of that I went through the mob - that is, I went west on Broadway to Collinsville Avenue and along the street I saw large numbers of men and women and different persons standing on the streets, and in the streets. I was ignorant that the mob had started working at that time, so I made the call to that number and stayed there possibly for some few minutes, and left there and went to

8 the gasoline filling station which is at 6th and Illinois Avenue, and after being there some little time - I believe I had some tubes there, inner tubes which had been taken off of my car at different times, that I had punctures or blow outs, or something like that, which were to be repaired, and in the little argument that I had with Ernest - Ernest Arnold, I believe was his name - I received them in the adjustment of the argument and finally Ernest says to me, "Doctor, my God, flee for your life. They are killing niggers all over town. They have just killed two niggers up on Summit Avenue and they are taking them off of the street cars, down on Collinsville, Broadway and Missouri Avenues." I said to him, "I am not going to run any place. This is my home and I feel that from you men I ought to get protection." I says, "you have the influence of one man, that one man should have the influence of one

cyL 151 other, and he should have the influence of one other, until ten men would have the influence of ten other men. That would be about 100 men and you could go to the Mayor of the city and try to influence him to give the negroes protection here. These negroes are law abiding negroes' the majority of them - some of them may be criminals - but the good people in this city shouldn't suffer for the depredations of the criminals."

Mr. Cooper: What did he say?

Mr. Hunter: Well, he says, "Doctor, we can't do anything." I says, "you can do something. It's your right to do something. You have the right within yourself

9 to influence other men to help quell any disturbance in this city." I says, "if negroes are killing and beating up white men as white men are beating up negro men in this city here' you as well as all other men - or many other men here - would see that that disturbance was stopped at any cost."

Mr. Cooper: What did he say?

Mr. Hunter: Well, he says, "I am sorry, but we can do nothing."

Mr. Cooper: How long did you stay their ?

Mr. Hunter: I stayed there possibly about, until about twelve o'clock, and I started to my office again and saw that the conditions were so very bad that I decided that I would go home.

Mr. Cooper: Did you go home?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And stayed there all day?

Mr. Hunter: And stayed there all day.

Mr. Cooper: Did you go out again that night?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir. I went out - that is, out on the street there. I saw - if you will permit me to say what I saw?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Mr. Hunter: I saw negro women, children and men, coming with little bags which they might gather up as they were fleeing from the mob. I says, "What is going on down-town?" "Oh, doctor," they says, "they are killing and beating up our people all down in town." "What?" "

"Yes." I says "What is that fire dour there?" "They are burning all down there at 5th and Broadway." I says, "how is my office?" "Oh, that is on fire." That was about six o'clock in the afternoon. I says, "How is my office?" "That's gone." I says, "what?" "Yes," "What, burned down?" "Yes, burned down." I says, "How is the neighborhood there?" "Well, they are burning up all from 5th Street, Broadway, Walnut, and clear on up to 8th Street."

I continued to ask concerning that all the time from that time until late in the evening, as I seen the people coming. They were seemingly going out Bond Avenue and out in that direction as far as they could get protection, and some not knowing where they were going at all.

Mr. Cooper: Did you, yourself, personally witness any assaults on negroes? On any colored man by a white man?

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Mr. Hunter: I was too far from it. I went to safety.

Mr. Cooper: And did you see - you stayed at home that night, did you?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I was next door. We were rather fearful because it was heard---it was rumored that they were going to get-- well, I don't say important negroes, but business negroes - they were going to run the business negroes out of town, and that my house was supposed to be marked. I had heard that rumor -- and Bondy's house was supposed to be marked, and some other houses were supposed to be marked, and next door to us a school teacher, this Mrs. Scott, Hynes across the street, came into my

house there---

Mr. Cooper: Is Haynes a colored man?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: A druggist?

Mr. Hunter: Yes; he and his wife came into my house there with the idea of - as they lived over the drug store, and as the flames seemed to have been working or coming in our direction, as they started about from what I could see, at 4th and Broadway, and they were burning about 11th and Bond Avenue, which is a distance of about - well, eleventh to 19th Street is about eight blocks from me. Well, they said that if they did get out that way, that is out in their neighborhood - they would not be trapped up in the second story of their homes with no possible chance of getting down stairs without being shot or killed; they would come over to my house. Well, the news of the burning of my office rather unnerved me, and I said to my wife and to them, "I think we had better take the machine and take to the tall weeds." So those people, seeing - that is, Haynes and his wife - seeing that I was rather unnerved, they knew not what to do, and they went back over home. I said I didn't know what to do. Then they came back and decided that they would go next door. I said, "well, I guess it would be just about as safe there as any other place and we might as well all be together." So we went next door to Mrs. Scott's there. Mrs. Major and a sister of them all live there. There is no man directly in that family that was living there.

Mr. Cooper: One of them is a school teacher, you

12 say?

Mr. Hunter: Two of them are school te chers. So we st yed th re that night with a number of other refugees who had come from further down in town.

Mr. Cooper: Well, the next morning did you come down town?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir - well, I did come down town to get Miss Matty Brown and her husband and another, I believe, relative of theirs, and a child. That was at 8th and Division Avenue. I made my way around 15th Street, through 15th Street, down Missouri Avenue, through to 8th
cyl 153 Street and then back towards Broadway to Division Avenue, and I told them to hurry up, because th re were crowds, they didn't seem to be doing anything at the time, everything seemed to have been over on that next morning, which was Wednesday morning.

Mr. Cooper: Tuesday morning.

Mr. Hunter: Tuesday morning, yes. But I told her th t for safety we had better hurry and get out. So I turned my machine round and left the engine running and went down to assist them with their packages, as much as they could get and took them on down through Cahokia - that is through 20th Street - through Cahokia to Sidney Street Ferry. Then there I left them, and as I went by I told the people to come out for safety, as many as I could see on my route.

Mr. Cooper: You wasn't attacked by the mob that next day?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And that is all you know from personal knowledge of the violence?

Mr. Hunter: That is as far as I know, yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: I think that is all.

Mr. Foss: How many did you say were in that automobile where they were firing?

Mr. Hunter: There seemed to have been about four or five men. It passed us, you know, and we paid no attention any more than you would to any other passing automobile. It was without lights.

Mr. Cooper: What?

Mr. Hunter: The machine was without lights. It came north on 20th Street.

Mr. Cooper: And what direction were they going in?

Mr. Hunter: It came north and then turned westward within about 125 feet, maybe from us - turned westward. That was coming towards town on Market Street, Market Avenue.

Mr. Cooper: How many blocks -, for how many blocks did you watch it -could you see it?

Mr. Hunter: Well, we saw the shooting - I suppose it was until about 17th Street.

Mr. Cooper: A distance of from 20th down to 17th?

Mr. Hunter: Two and one half squares.

Mr. Cooper: And they were shooting from both sides of the street?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

14 Mr. Cooper: Into the houses?

Mr. Hunter: Towards the houses.

Mr. Cooper: Did you hear any noises? Screams or anything of that sort?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir. I did not.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know who were in the automobile?

Mr. Hunter: White men.

Mr. Cooper: Were they all white men?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you know any of them?

Mr. Hunter: Well, we didn't pay any attention to who they were. The machine was just like any other machine that would be passing, except the lights were extinguished.

Mr. Cooper: Did you see the machine afterwards?

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

Mr. Cooper: You don't know what the make of the machine was?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I do not. I testified before the Committee in Belleville and they had it that I said that it was a Packard, but I didn't say that.

Mr. Cooper: You mean to say that they took a

cyl 15 shorthand report of the testimony and said that you said that it was a Packard?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I made a statement to Mr. Harper and - Mr. Harper, I believe is from Governor Lowden, from Springfield - from the Governor's Staff, investigating here.

Mr. Foss: And this was about that time of the day?

15 What time of the day ws it when you saw this machine going down there?

Mr. Hunter: It w.s about twelve o'clock, possibly five minutes before.

Mr. Foss: At midnight?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; midnight.

Mr. Foss: W.s it a dark night? W.s there any moon up?

Mr. Hunter: I think it was a moonlight night.

Mr. Foss: Were any people on the street?

Mr. Hunter: We never passed any going or coming. We never saw any confusion at all. We rather heard that they had started beating up negroes again. Well, the beating up of negroes ensued from the 28th of May, the first riot, and things grew worse and worse and we hoped that conditions would grow better, but they didn't grow better. We had sent committees to different persons. Some went to the Governor; some went to the Mayor; we went down, - that is with the assistant ~~of the~~ County Supervisor, Dan White and I went down to see the Mayor on one day, and his secretary, Mr. Aheirn, stopped us and asked us what we wanted. We told him what the conditions were, and that during the time between the 28th of May and the 2nd of July, in crossing over the Free Bridge there - I generally took the Free Bridge because it didn't cost me anything to go to St. Louis - they were searching me as well as other negroes on the bridge there and allowing whites to pass by unsearched. And on one occasion while searching Dan White and I, -

16 he was one of the assistant supervisors, I remonstrated. I asked them, why do you search me and not search these other men? He was searching Dan there and I saw a car-

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) Dan is a colored man?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; County Supervisor, Assistant County Supervisor, and while the soldiers were searching Dan White there, there was an ausotmobile with two trunks passed in. I says, "now why don't you stop that man. He has two trunks in there. I am a physician; you can see me here." But he not only searched me, but he searched Dan and he searched the tool box in my car. Then there come this car along and I said,"why don't you search that? It has two trunks in it. It looks more suspicious than I do?" I had my hands up this way, (illustrating), and he said, "if you don't shutup that beefing I'll fill you full of lead." I says, "you don't
cyl 155 have to do that. I am obeying your orders. I have got my hands up."

Mr. Baker: Who was it said that?

Mr. Hunter: These were - I don't know whether they were state guards or Missouri State Guards, or Illinois State Guards, stationed on the bridge there, on this end of the bridge.

Mr. Baker: On the East St. Louis side?

Mr. Hunter: On the East St. Louis side, yes, sir. He says, "if you don't shut up that beefing there, I'll fill you full of lead."

Mr. Foss: I suppose the colored people were

greatly terrified?

Mr. Hunter: They were.

Mr. Foss: Very many of them left the city?

Mr. Hunter: Quite a large number of them have.

Mr. Foss: Where have they gone to?

Mr. Hunter: Every direction. Some to St. Louis; some have gone back South; some have gone towards the East and towards the North.

Mr. Foss: Could you estimate in numbers how many have left the city, in your judgment?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I judge about - at that time left --- I guess 10,000.

Mr. Foss: What is the colored population here in this city?

Mr. Hunter: I don't know directly, but I have heard it estimated that the population was about 20,000.

Mr. Foss: Are they leaving now?

Mr. Hunter: No,, sir; I don't think there is any exodus of them now.

Mr. Foss: Are there any coming back?

Mr. Hunter: They are gradually, in some instances, some will never come back they say until conditions here change, and some will never come back at all, because of the atrocities of the night of July 2nd.

Mr. Raker: On the night of July the 1st, while yourself and Reverend Wallace and Reverend Cotton and the Bishop - what is his name?

Mr. Hunter: Bishop Kyle.

Mr. Raker: While you were there together, when

18 ~~when~~this automobile passed you and then started on down the street -

Mr. Hunter: (Interposing) Pardon me. Let me correct you there. Bishop Kyle was not with us when this automobile passed. We had escorted him to his home, he and Reverend Dodson, to their homes in St. Louis, and returned.

Mr. Raker: I see. While you were there with Reverend Wallace and Reverend Cotton, the automobile passed and went down the street and you have described what occurred, the shooting, and the automobile was going from you?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir:,

Mr. Raker: What occurred in addition to the shooting from this automobile while you were there, that you heard or saw?

Mr. Hunter: Not anything, only we were talking there preparatory to leaving.

Mr. Raker: Well, did you hear anything?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: Except this automobile driving past and shooting?

Mr. Hunter: That is all.

Mr. Raker: Did you see anything out of the ordinary?

Mr. Hunter: No,, sir.

Mr. Raker: Before this automobile passed had you

cyl 156 seen anything or heard anything, any sounds of any kind?

Mr. Hunter: No , sir:

Mr. Raker: Did you hear any bells ringing?

19 Mr. Hunter: No, sir, I didn't hear any bells that night.

Mr. Raker: What do you know about that bell business?

Mr. Hunter: I only heard of it.

Mr. Raker: Afterwards?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How far was the church where this bell was supposed to have been ringing - or rang - from where you and Reverend Wallace and Reverend Cotton were at this time, when the automobile passed?

Mr. Hunter: The church, from what I understand through the newspapers, is located - that is - it is located at 16th and Tudor. 16th Street is three blocks west. Tudor Avenue is about three to four blocks south; so it makes it about seven squares.

Mr. Raker: From where you were?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now if a bell had been ringing there at twelve o'clock that night, the air was clear and there was no extra noise, could you hear a church bell ringing that far?

Mr. Hunter: We ought to be able to.

Mr. Raker: Well, has this church got a bell on it?

Mr. Hunter: Not at 19th and Bond. The other has, I presume.

Mr. Raker: The church at 19th and Bond, that is the church that you attended?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir. I didn't attend church

th t night, but the church that the Bishop preached at is 19th and Bond.

Mr. Baker: And that has no bell?

Mr. Hunter: That has no bell.

Mr. Baker: Now, have you ever been to the other church?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; I have been by there.

Mr. Baker: Do you know whether it has got a bell on it or not?

Mr. Hunter: I believe it has, from what I can understand.

Mr. Baker: And how far is that church from your home?

Mr. Hunter: I would say it is about seven squares - six or seven squares.

Mr. Baker: Can you hear it from your home?

Mr. Hunter: If the wind is blowing in that direction, I judge I might do so.

Mr. Baker: Well, now the bell has been there for some time; the church has been there for some time, and you have lived there for some time. Just tell us about it.

Mr. Hunter: I haven't noticed hearing that bell. If I did I don't know it well enough to distinguish it from any other bell.

Mr. Baker: What is the cause of this riot of May 28th and 29th of this year, in your judgment?

Mr. Hunter: Industrial conditions here, from what I understand. There had been strikes here and labor seemed to have been dissatisfied as to the settlement of the strikes

21 and from what I understand there was a meeting on the night of May 28th at the City Hall, and after that meeting I understand one of our city attorneys, - there was a statement made that there was no recourse to mob law, there was no recourse, or in substance there was no recourse to mob law, - and they reported in the newspapers - the report from the newspapers is that criminality had increased without regard to law, and the objection that the labor unions had to the negro labor here, and this remark that this East St. Louis attorney made at
cyl 157 that meeting there - and those men assembled in the City Hall came out and began to do rioting on May 28th.

Mr. Raker: What did you do, if anything, to prevent any disturbance on May 28th, 29th, or in the future. Did you counsel with your people?

Mr. Hunter: I have continually counseled with them. We have associations with the schools here, colored teacher's associations, and we have within our meetings at the church here- different meetings here that are held for the good of the people, attempting to do work among our people here - counseled with them. Of course those things can't be reached all at once. They take time to do those things that way, and men and women not accustomed to the wages that they were getting here can't be reached within a very short time; but we were attempting to get them accustomed to their new conditions.

Mr. Raker: Well, do you know anything about the colored people gathering together in small groups and discussing the facts that they were going to avenge their own -

their wrongs that had been done - to maintain their rights? Have they talked about getting firearms and ammunition for the purpose?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Raker: You haven't heard anything of that?

Mr. Hunter: I do know that conditions were getting very bad, and we wern't getting police protection, ample police protection here in the city, and we hadn't - after an appeal to the Governor and the different officials in the city here - received ample protection, because negroes had been assaulted on the street cars, on the highways, and in different parts of the city here.

Mr. Raker: Well, you had part of this police force colored, wasn't it?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, what were they doing? Weren't they efficient fellows, and do you believe that they were against the rest of the colored people?

Mr. Hunter: They were acting under the orders of their superiors.

Mr. Raker: Well now, do you believe that they would take orders from their superiors to encourage and prevent the enforcement of the laws against the rest of the colored people?

Mr. Hunter: Do I believe that they would do it?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Hunter: They have to act on the orders of their superiors.

Mr. Raker: Do you believe now, knowing the colored

men as you do, that they would stand by and acquiesce in, or would wink at infractions of the law against the colored people, which might lead on to the destruction of their property and even to the taking of their lives?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I don't believe that they would allow such conditions if they were properly supported.

Mr. Raker: But without being supported, they would have to yield?

Mr. Hunter: Well, like anybody else. Of course if he don't receive proper support, of course he would have to do it.

Mr. Raker: Where were these colored policemen during this rioting?

Mr. Hunter: Which ones?

Mr. Raker: During May first - May 28th and May 29th? Were they in evidence?

Mr. Hunter: I judge they were on their respective cyl 158 beats, or performing their duty, wherever they were.

Mr. Raker: How many are there attached to the police force?

Mr. Hunter: As far as I understand I believe we have six or seven - I believe six.

Mr. Raker: Well, where were they on the day of the second of July?

Mr. Hunter: On the day of the second of July they had taken to the tall weeds (laughter). I passed, I believe it was two of them - I believe Detective Nelson had a boot and a shoe on, going down Cahokia Road. What I mean by that is, he didn't have two shoes on that were mates.

And I think I saw Mills going down there.

Mr. Baker: Policeman Mills?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: What were they looking for?

Mr. Hunter: Looking for St. Louis. (Laughter); As thousands of other negores were doing, walking when they couldn't get the convenience to ride.

Mr. Baker: You think this was so bad that even the negro policemen had to abandon their jobs and get out?

Mr. Hunter: These two did; and I saw afterwards others over there in St. Louis.

Mr. Baker: Of the policemen?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Did you talk with them?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: What is their explanation that they didn't stay on the job and call on the rest of the policemen?

Mr. Hunter: They can tell you that better than I can.

Mr. Baker: Well, I want it from you first. Then We can get it from them later. Just give it right to us. This thing is all going to be stopped eventually.

Mr. Hunter: Well, I have talked with them since that time and I believe that they told me that "we were told not to report on that day."

Mr. Cooper: That was on the 2nd?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: They were told not to report?

25 Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Did you learn from whom this advice came?

Mr. Hunter: Only their superior officers could do it.

Mr. Cooper: Did you learn from them?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir, - well, they did tell me, but I don't recall.

Mr. Cooper: Just refresh your mind a little - think about it.

Mr. Hunter: I don't recall. It was from some of the superior officers.

Mr. Cooper: Not to be on the streets on the day of the 2nd of July, this year?

Mr. Hunter: It wouldn't be possibly safe for them to be on ~~the streets~~ their beats.

Mr. Cooper: Where are those seven men - eight men - that is I mean are they in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter: They are on their jobs now.

Mr. Cooper: Back again.

Mr. Hunter: They are working on their jobs now.

Mr. Cooper: Will you give the reporter their names?

Mr. Hunter: Well, there is Mills, William Mills, I believe is his name; John Eubanks; Otto Nelson; Duffy

cyl 159 Green; Bud Vardaman - I don't know whether Vardaman is his name, but that is what we call him - and Detective Washington. I don't remember what Washington's name is.

Mr. Raker: That is the detective that you have

told us about, whose brother died out there, that you visited?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; I made a call on him that morning.

Mr. Raker: Now that is all that you think of now is it?

Mr. Hunter: Of the detectives?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Hunter: I don't think we have any more.

Mr. Raker: Well, have things so adjusted themselves now so that there is no more danger of any more of the troubles that occurred on the 28th and 29th of May, and on July 1st and 2nd?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I am living in East St. Louis again. I go about my business. I don't do very much going about at night, but I feel safe if I have to go. I believe that the efficiency of the Police Department now is capable. Of course since that time there have occurred small things - that is, little fires; persons, I believe that have been arrested in different portions of the city here, for arson, where negros have lived and negros have received threats where they have moved back from St. Louis. I know of one particular instance here where a family has moved back from St. Louis, and some person in the neighborhood told him that it was not safe for him to be there in that neighborhood, and he moved again back to St. Louis.

Mr. Raker: Well, have you taken this matter up now with the various business men of the town and the city officials in any way as to the occurrences on the 2nd of

27 July?

Mr. Hunter: On Labor Day, I believe it was, hearing that there was a rumour of a recurrence of the conditions, I went down to see Chief Keating relative to the matter and asked him - or told him what I had heard, and asked him if he felt within himself that there could be or would be a recurrence on Labor Day, as there would be a parade, and as I heard that there would be after the labor parade - that is they had their meetings at two different places, - that they would begin rioting again. He says to me, "Doctor, don't be afraid; there will be no more of this rioting here in East St. Louis to-night, and not any more hereafter." And after talking with him some few minutes -

Mr. Raker (Interposing): Do your people maintain separate saloons here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Hunter: We have negro saloons here.

Mr. Raker: About how many negro saloons were there do you suppose, on the 2nd of July this year?

Mr. Hunter: I am not in position to say just exactly how many, but I believe at one time there might have been a dozen.

Mr. Raker: Was there a great deal of drinking and carousing at these places?

Mr. Hunter: Just the same as they do in other saloons.

Mr. Raker: Well from your knowledge, was there a drinking, carousing, and tough element gathering around these saloons?

cyl 160 Mr. Hunter: To some degree, yes, sir.

30 Mr. Raker: Have you folks done anything on your own behalf to stop that kind of disturbance and prevent it, among your own people, now? I want to see what you are doing.

Mr. Hunter: Well, it has always been desirous that no matter who it was, we have never encouraged, never hoped to encourage any vice, no matter whether it was black or white here. We knew that it was a dangerous thing, no matter who was engaged in it.

Mr. Raker: Well, have you discouraged it? Have you tried to shut up these negro saloons?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I have never done anything particularly. I felt that if a man wanted to drink and it was a businessstthat they were going to do, that they had just as well drink in that negro saloon as to drink in a white saloon, but make that negro saloonkeeper manage his saloon in the right way.

Mr. Raker: Well, from your observation, has there been more lawlessness from the negro saloons, than from there has been from the white saloons, more hangers on more thugs around the saloons - loafers as they call them here?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I guess I am around the negro saloons more than I am around the white saloons, and I suppose I see that more, because my business calls me in there. Not that I am a drinking man, but my business calls me. If I have a call into that saloon, I will have to go there. I don't feel that I am too good to go into that saloon, no matter where my business calls me, I feel that I should

31 go there.

Mr. Raker: Well, is it your observation, now, from what you have seen of the conditions, that this trouble is primarily one of hatred against the colored people here?

Mr. Hunter: It is labor.

Mr. Raker: I ask you as against the colored people.

Mr. Hunter: It is because of labor conditions.

Mr. Raker: And not against the colored people?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir: I wouldn't think it would be because of the colored people at all. Now of course they make the negro the goat in the conditions, but labor conditions have been the cause of it.

Mr. Raker: What do you mean by that now?

Mr. Hunter: Well, here is what I mean by that: There are conditions here in this city - that is the labor conditions here, strikes, and those things, which have been going on from time to time in the different plants and they couldn't be successful from what I can understand, in organizing within those plants, and they had an opportunity to make a strike, but they couldn't direct the strike at the plant, and they made a strike at the individual whom they could get at.

Mr. Raker: And that was the negro?

Mr. Hunter: The negro.

Mr. Raker: Now, have you gone in that - have you given that subject any considerable investigation, study and thought?

Mr. Hunter: Well, as a man who has business among

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cyl 161

these people, I haven't talked to the employers here at all, but I have serisouly considered it for some time. I figured that if the plants wanted to employ negros or white men, it was their business.

Mr. Raker: Well, have you seen any negro at all, talked with a single living one, that has been approached by the white men, at any time, who said to them, "you ought not to go to work," or "you ought to quit your work; you ought to stay away from work?"

Mr. Hunter: You mean strike?

Mr. Raker: No, I mean any man, any white man. Do you know of any white man in East St. Louis, within the last nine months, who has gone to any colored man and said to him, "don't you work for these institutions; stay away from them, or stop your work?"

Mr. Hunter: I am not in close touch withthose men that way.

Mr. Raker: Well, have you heard that? Has any negro man told you that such a thing existed?

Mr. Hunter: I don't recall a conversation with them.

Mr. Raker: Then so far as your knowledge goes, there hasn't been a single interruption by the white men against the colored laboring men here in East St. Louis within the last nine months?

Mr. Hunter: I have heard that the negroes from the Aluminum plant were attacked on their way to and from the Aluminum plant - the Aluminum One, and they, the negro workmen do congregate - that is get together - at 19th and Bond - that is they have been doing it, that is in

33 squads, in order that they may be together.

Mr. Baker: That is since the riots?

Mr. Hunter: And before the riots.

Mr. Baker: Before the riots too?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; before the riots. I heard that they were attacked at different times going out Bond Avenue, and instead of going out Bond Avenue from 19th Street they go in another direction. They have been interfered with. I have heard that they have been attacked up at the stock yards there. I don't know - that is I have heard of that. That has come to my knowledge.

Mr. Baker: That is all.

Mr. Foster: You spoke of the colored people in these different factories. Have many of the colored people taken the places of the whites in these factories?

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

Mr. Foster: Do you know whether more of them are employed than there were a year or two ago?

Mr. Hunter: I couldn't say, because the plants usually don't allow persons to go in, and I have never gone in there - that is visiting through it.

Mr. Foster: You have been acquainted here with the colored people pretty well in the city, have you?

Mr. Hunter: Fairly well.

Mr. Foster: Do you know whether many of them have been coming into this city in the last year, or year and a half?

Mr. Hunter: At different times, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: When?

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Mr. Hunter: Well, for some little time.

Mr. Foster: Well, give in about what time?

Mr. Hunter: Oh, they travel - they have been traveling for years I find that there were large numbers since I first came here.

Mr. Foster: What do you mean by "travel?"

Mr. Hunter: That is coming into East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster: That they have been coming in here; that they have beencomingin here?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Were you in here when Mr. Nelson testified? Did you hear his testimony?

Mr. Hunter: I believe I was in here.

Mr. Foster: You heard him testify that they are a sort of migratory creature; that they come north in the Spring.

Mr. Hunter: Large numbers of them do.

Mr. Foster: And go south in the Fall?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; large numbers of them do.

Mr. Foster: Did any of them come up here last Fall?

Mr. Hunter: Some of them possibly - I dont know.

Mr. Foster: Well, don't you know that a lot of them came here last Fall?

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

Mr. Foster: Well, then, you don't know much about it.

Mr. Hunter: I know that a great many of them left here and went south, because I saw them.

Mr. Foster: Why?

Mr. Hunter: Because of the winter.

Mr. Foster: Because of the winter?

35

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; the approaching winter.

Mr. Foster: You don't know that a lot of them came here in the Fall of the year?

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

Mr. Foster: Now think about that. We will give you plenty of time. Refresh your memory. Don't answer now until you make up your mind.

Mr. Hunter: I have made up my mind.

Mr. Foster: You have made up your mind that none of them came here last Fall?

Mr. Hunter: I don't know.

Mr. Foster: Very few?

Mr. Hunter: We have large numbers of negroes here.

Mr. Foster: You didn't see them last Fall?

Mr. Hunter: I see them - that is I am in and out among them all the time, but I don't say -

Mr. Foster (Interposing): Were increased numbers of them coming in?

Mr. Hunter: But when they came in, I couldn't say that they came in last Fall.

Mr. Foster: When did they come, do you think?

Mr. Hunter: At different times. Now large numbers of them have come in every Spring, that is last Spring and the Spring before last, and large numbers of them go away in the Fall.

Mr. Foster: On account of the Winter they give up their jobs, do they?

Mr. Hunter: I suppose so.

Mr. Foster: They have money enough to live in the

36 winter until next spring, and then travel back here? Is that it?

Mr. Hunter: I don't know whether they have money enough to live during the winter or not, but they go home.

Mr. Foster: They go back home and stay there in the winter, and then pay their way back in the spring?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And they live all winter down there on that they have made here in the summer time?

Mr. Hunter: I suppose that is it.

Mr. Foster: You think that is true, do you?

Mr. Hunter: I suppose that is it.

Mr. Foster: You suppose that is the case. What do you know about it?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I wouldn't say that I know that they have money enough to live on all the winter through, sir.

Mr. Foster: If they don't have money enough to live on through the winter, would they come up and work through the summer and then go back and stay in the south?

Mr. Hunter: They live with their parents mostly, or perhaps they have money enough. Some of them save their

cyl 163 money. I have induced large numbers of men here, many of them, to save their money. I have taken the money of many of them when they would have paydays, and have taken it to the banks, and have led those men to the banks and caused those men to start a bank account. Some of them would be continual savers; others would not.

Mr. Foster: Some of them were getting pretty well off?

37 Mr. Hunter: No, sir; not well off, but they kept the wolf from the door.

Mr. Foster: Well, that is a good thing. You say that was a moonlight night?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: A pretty moonlight night, wasn't it?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You could see quite a distance?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And you could see a person passing?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Any reasonable distance from you?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You live close to this church where this bell was supposed to have rung that night?

Mr. Hunter: About seven blocks.

Mr. Foster: Didyou hear that church bell ring?

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

Mr. Foster: You heard that it did ring?

Mr. Hunter: I heard that it did ring.

Mr. Foster: Did you see any colored people gathering together?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: In that neighborhood?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: That night when you came on?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; we traversed the route from 19th & Bond through Bond Avenue, I believe, to 10th Street and over the Free Bridge, and came that way back.

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Mr. Foster: How far was that from where these police officers were killed?

Mr. Hunter: Right over the way.

Mr. Foster: Where you stopped?

Mr. Hunter: Right over the way.

Mr. Foster: How do you mean "over the way"?

Mr. Hunter: If it was at 10th & Bond that those officers were shot, we came right through that way.

Mr. Foster: How far were you from there when you heard those volleys of shots?

Mr. Hunter: That happened after we had gotten home.

Mr. Foster: I thought you said you stood there at the machine with this other man and that you heard these volleys fired.

Mr. Hunter: I didn't - you possibly misunderstood me.

Mr. Foster: I thought you heard one volley. Wasn't that your testimony?

Mr. Hunter: I didn't say that I stood there at the machine. The machine - that is Reverend Wallace and I in the machine came to our homes, and while possibly on my porch we heard the volleys of shots in the westward - from a westward direction.

Mr. Foster: You saw this machine go down, you say and the shooting right and left, and then it was lit up enough that they could drive without a light?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: So they were driving without headlights and you heard this shooting as they went by?

39 Mr. Hunter: This shooting as they went by and then for some minutes afterwards, possibly fifteen or twenty minutes afterwards. Then we heard a volley of shots.

Mr. Foster: How far were you from that volley of shots?

Mr. Hunter: Seven blocks, - from 10th Street to 19th Street, nearly nine blocks.

Mr. Foster: You didn't hear any church bell or any noise of this kind outside of this?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I didn't recognize it if I cyl 164 heard it.

Mr. Foster: You would have heard it - you would have recognized the church bell if you had heard it, wouldn't you?

Mr. Hunter: Possibly I might have.

Mr. Foster: I think you would have recognized the church bell. You are in the habit of going to church and know what the church bell is. You would recognize the church bell if it rang at twelve o'clock at night?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That would be an unusual thing. Colored people don't have church at twelve o'clock at night.

Mr. Hunter: Not usually.

Mr. Foster: No, I wouldn't think so. Did you ever hear any reports that there was to be any trouble on the 4th of July here, between the colored people and the white people?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; I did. I heard that there would be further trouble on the 4th of July.

40 Mr. Foster: And what did you hear - when did you hear that?

Mr. Hunter: Why, we heard it between the 28th of May and -

Mr. Foster: (Interposing) What did you hear?

Mr. Hunter: We just heard that the white people were going to come up on the negroes - that is, start rioting again - on the 4th of July; that they were going to fix them that night.

Mr. Foster: You heard that in May, that the white people were going to riot with the colored people?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You never heard any story that the colored people were going to riot with the white people?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: You never heard that?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I don't believe there was any such idea.

Mr. Foster: Well, you never heard it. You don't know whether it is so, or not?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: So the reason you don't believe it is because you never heard it? Is that it?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; I never heard it, because I don't think the negroes were the aggressors, and I don't believe that they were going to attack. It was a matter solely that they were - (answer not finished).

Mr. Foster: So those 4th of July celebrations are held, are they, by the colored people one, and by the white

41 people another? Is that true? Or do they mingle?

Mr. Hunter: No, they hold no celebration here - except possibly they may have a little barbecue. Some church or some institution may have a little barbecue with a baseball game, as they had that figured out, I believe, at 17th and Bond Avenue, the Old Folks Home.

Mr. Foster: So that this 4th of July celebration that they were to hold was to be held by the white people at what park?

Mr. Hunter: At Jones Park. We generally go and see the fireworks and I usually go over there myself.

Mr. Foster: You heard no story that the colored people were going up to Jones Park that day?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: And the colored people were holding no celebrations that day, so the white people wouldn't likely march on them to any celebration?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I believe in Brooklyn they hold a little celebration some times, - a baseball game or something like that, and may be a barbecue. There at 17th and Bond they hold just a little bit of a barbecue, and possibly a baseball game for the benefit of the Old
--cyl 165 Folks Home.

Mr. Foster: Let me ask you one more question. These people, these migratory individuals that migrate in the spring of the year to the North, and back to the South in the Fall, are they about the same individuals that do that each year?

Mr. Hunter: Well, largely they are, I suppose.

42 Some of them come up and work through the summer.

Mr. Foster: So your idea is that there has been no increase of colored people to any great extent, except these migratory individuals?

Mr. Hunter: Some of them come and make their homes here, yes, sir. Some buy their property here.

Mr. Foster: So that the colored population in East St. Louis is much larger in the summer than it is in the winter?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And these industrial plants lose their men in the Fall and get them back in the Spring?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Mr. Foster: And they go south and live with their people in the south, or get along some way, and then come back in the spring again?

Mr. Hunter: Largely, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They don't seem to have any permanent home then, or probably they have two homes?

Mr. Hunter: Their permanent home is in the south.

Mr. Foster: Large numbers of them have a winter home and a summer home?

Mr. Hunter: Well, I wouldn't say that they have a winter home and a summer home.

Mr. Foster: Well, they have, haven't they?

Mr. Hunter: It is for industrial conditions. It is for work. They come north because they get better work and a little more salary for their work - more wages for their work.

43 Mr. Foster: They make enough here to go back and maintain a home in the south. That is all.

Mr. Raker: Just one other question and I am through. Has there been provision made by the industrial plants here for their white help in East St. Louis when they are out of work and when they are not working?

Mr. Hunter: I don't think so. They have a railway Y.M.C.A. here.

Mr. Raker: Just the railway Y.M.C.A?

Mr. Hunter: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Is there any provision for the colored people, the working colored people that work in these industrial plants?

Mr. Hunter: Well, there was attempted here at one time a Y.W. and a Y.M.C.A. We were planning to purchase a building and were holding meetings prior to the rioting at a church on 11th Street, 11th and Kansas Avenue; and we were collecting moneys for the purpose of purchasing property here for a Y.M.C.A. here.

Mr. Raker: Well, is there any provision made by the industrial plants, or anyone else to make the workingman's condition when he is not at work, better; give him a reading room; give him a place of recreation, and places of that kind?

Mr. Hunter: He don't have any.

Mr. Raker: For neither colored or white?

Mr. Hunter: No, sir; except the movies. We have the movies here for whites.

Mr. Raker: Well, that movie business is another

44 thing. That is all.

Is William Mills here?

cyl 166 STATEMENT OF W. H. MILLS, (colored)
1222 Market Street,
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker: State your name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Mills: W. H. Mills, 1222 Market Street,

Mr. Raker: What is your age?

Mr. Mills: 42 years old, colored, black, negro.

Mr. Raker: What is your occupation?

Mr. Mills: Police officer.

Mr. Raker: How long have you been a police officer?

Mr. Mills: Since 1909, October, 1909.

Mr. Raker: What were you doing on the 1st day of July, 1917?

Mr. Mills: On July 1st, 1917, I was walking my beat.

Mr. Raker: Where is your beat?

Mr. Mills: Broadway south, in East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker: From Broadway where?

Mr. Mills: South.

Mr. Raker: From what point on Broadway?

Mr. Mills: Main and Broadway, the principal part of the city.

45

Mr. Baker: And what are the hours of your beat?

Mr. Mills: Twelve hours.

Mr. Baker: When does it commence and when does it end?

Mr. Mills: Nine until nine at night, that is with the exception of Saturday night. On Saturday night we work until ten thirty.

Mr. Baker: At night?

Mr. Mills: Yes.

Mr. Baker: What is your pay?

Mr. Mills: $100 a month at present, now.

Mr. Baker: What was it during May, June and July of this year?

Mr. Mills: $90.

Mr. Baker: Well, on Sunday then, the 1st of July you took your beat at what time?

Mr. Mills: On Sunday July 1st, I took my beat at the usual hour, and worked nine hours on Sunday.

Mr. Baker: When did you commence?

Mr. Mills: At nine o'clock.

Mr. Baker: In the morning?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And you worked until when?

Mr. Mills: Until nine at night. I get lunch at nine o'clock on Sunday night.

Mr. Baker: Was there anything unusual that occurred that day?

Mr. Mills: On the first?

Mr. Baker: Yes.

46

Mr. Mills: Well, on the evening at nine o'clock I was going home on a street car.

Mr. Raker: What occurred, if anything?

Mr. Mills: Now to get to the point, I was standing at 4th & Broadway, waiting for a car.

Mr. Raker: At nine o'clock Sunday night?

Mr. Mills: I reported in on the police box, but the box was out of order and I wanted to catch my car to get home as early as I could, because I was late. I caught the car and reported in about ten minutes later at 17th & Bond over the telephone, from a garage there. They have just started a garage - Mr. Bundy owns it, and I reported in over the telephone in a hurry - wanted to get in as quick as I could, my time, and I come ~~down~~ out and Mr. Pardon and Professor Hughes were standing there. They asked me what the trouble was downtown. I said, "nothing that I now of."

Mr. Raker: Well, was this Sunday night?

Mr. Mills: That was Sunday night, so I told them none that I knew of. They said, "way two colored women just came by and said that the white folks down at 10th Street and the Free Bridge were rocking every nigger they could see." I said, "I'll call up the station about it," which I did. Who answered the telephone I don't remember, but they told me they had officers down there. I said, "I hope you will have somebody down there, because they have been rocking the negroes in the machines when they go by."

So I went on home. That was Sunday night.

47 Mr. Baker: That is at which place, now?

Mr. Mills: At the Free Bridge, 10th and Bond and along the Free Bridge, and when they come down in the machines from the Free Bridge at 10th & Bond.

So I came on home to my wife and family. It was about nine thirty, I judge, when I got home. I went home and went to bed, and about eleven thirty, or near twelve o'clock, I was awoke by several shots. My wife woke me up and I heard shooting. It seemed as though I couldn't wake up - I was asleep you know. I got up and ran to the door and heard a lot of noise going down the street and Mr. Pardon, my next door neighbor, run to the door with his gun, and my boy and the lady upstairs in the house run to the door, and I asked what the trouble was, and they said some machine came through here shooting. Well, I didn't see the machine but I heard the noise. I didn't see any effect from the revolver, guns - whatever they had - and a fellow by the name of - a young boy - by the name of Harry Sanders, he says, "a machine went down Bond Avenue shooting." I says, "who were they?" He said he didn't know; a gang of white fellows. Well, I began to figure about the 28th and the trouble we had before, and my wife was very sick, and I stood there and I guess I stayed up about an hour or two hours. Mr. Pardon and I were right at our house - he lives next door to me - I can step in his yard. So we stayed there and I says, "I don't guess there will be any more trouble," and I went to bed. Well, as usual I go to the office at nine o'clock and report for duty. Before that Mr. Pardons, who was in

48 the back yard with his automobile, told me, he says, "they had a lot of trouble down town. Your chief got killed." I said, "What?" I didn't get no paper that morning, and when I got the paper and read it, it suprised me and got me going. Of course I went to the office.

Mr. Baker: At headquarters?

Mr. Mills: To Police Headquarters, and reported for duty the morning of the 2nd, and we got orders from cyl 68 our Chief of Detectives, Tony Stecker - different things came in about the officers being killed, and I mentioned about the machine that went through Market Avenue, so we get off, officers Green and me, my walking partner, with the assistence of four colored officers, to try and get some information about the thing.

Officer Green and I goes out to work on the case, gets into the neighborhood of 10th and Bond Avenue and were trying to get some information from the colored people, you know, and walked on through Market Street and around 15th and Market, and reported in and made an arrest out there. Officer Green reported, and the Chief told us to bring Eddy Wilson, which we did, arrested him, a colored man. We brought him into the station, and while we were in the station the telephone rang and said they were killing a negro up on Illinois Avenue and Collinsville Avenue. And knowing what was said to us about the trouble, what could we do? We had no one to go out with, so Officer Green and I goes back out to 17th and Bond again to receive more information, if we could, and while We were out there we were called up, - we report every

49 hour - and we got orders to go home; that our lives were in danger, ~~[illegible]~~ and to instruct all the negroes to stay in off the streets. So my partner went on home and I started home. On my way home I stopped several people going downtown on the street cars.

Mr. Cooper: I would like to interrupt you right there. Where were you when the orders came from headquarters for you to go home; that your life was in danger?

Mr. Mills: My partner and I were doing 13th and Broadway.

Mr. Cooper: Who telephoned you that order to go home, or that your life was in danger?

Mr. Mills: That order came from Detective Sergeant McLean, so my partner says. I didn't talk to him. So we went home.

That evening, about dusk I guess it was - six o'clock I could see fires where they would begin to burn downtown; I could see our folks fleeing, going different ways, and I really didn't know what to do myself. I work under the Chief of Police or the Mayor, and if I were called in I would have went in with a body of men to go out. I would have suffered my life to do what was right, but as it was I felt that I had no one to tell me what to do. My folks was all leaving, and the white people seemed to enjoy it more so than we did. So that night I stayed awake all that night. I walked from the back yard to the front of my house. I had to carry my sick wife upstairs and I had to run up and look in on her a couple of times, and I watched the place all night because I was afraid they

50 would set fire to it, and the next morning I got an automobile and carried her across the river, and I goes over there to see how she was, and as I begin to think of affairs and how we were treated and as I figure I was one of the better class and not responsible for what some ornery nigger is doing, - it is our duty, each and every man's duty in this department I believe, to run down a criminal - that hurts me. I can't tell it right. I can't do it.

So I went over the river and stayed with my wife, and came back Friday and reported for duty, went out and made several arrests. Some of them are in jail now, and the next day - we were called the next day or so to make a report in regard to what happened, what we heard, and what we seen at the time of the riot. So I made that report. I don't know what became of it. That was orders from the Chief of Police. That was two days later.

Mr. Raker: What became of your job?

Mr. Mills: I have my job yet. I started to resign. I hadn't did anything. I have tried to do my duty since I have been appointed to this job among the colored, also the white. I have made arrests among the colored and also the whites.

Mr. Raker: But your instruction was to go home and stay there?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; that was our instructions to go home. I judge that was about three o'clock that evening, of the 2nd.

Mr. Raker: You mean in the afternoon?

51 Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; in the afternoon.

Mr. Cooper: You spoke of some colored man having been assaulted up near the Free Bridge. What did you hear about that?

Mr. Mills: I didn't speak of anyone being assaulted. Only what I heard.

Mr. Cooper: Well, that is what I mean.

Mr. Mills: The women came through there at 17th and Market and I were told by Professor Hughes and Attorney Pardon, that there were some women assaulted and they were fleeing, going somewhere out east - were going east on Bond Avenue. Who they were I don't know. Immediately I called the police station in regard to that and they said they had officers down there.

Mr. Cooper: They told you at three o'clock to go home because your life was in danger?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; that was the orders I got; and I instructed each and every negro on that street where I lived at, and those I met, to go in their homes and stay in there.

Mr. Foster: You are a detective?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; plain clothes.

Mr. Foster: Employed by the city?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And your duty is to prevent crime, keep the peace, and arrest offenders when you find them, and to search out offenders when you don't seem to know who they are? Is that it?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

ul 170 Mr. Foster: How long have you been on the force?

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Mr. Mills: Nine years.

Mr. Foster: You are pretty well acquainted over the city?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You know a good many of the colored people?

Mr. Mills: I do.

Mr. Foster: And many of the white people?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Has there been much crime in East St. Louis in the last nine years that you have been on the force?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Have there been many killings?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: White people killing colored people?

Mr. Mills: It is bad both ways, among both races.

Mr. Foster: Has there been ~~---~~ colored people held up white people and robbed them and killed them?

Mr. Mills: Well, along about 1917, along in June, we had a peculiar case of a negro doing stickups. He shot at one of our officers.

Mr. Foster: What do you mean by "stickups"?

Mr. Mills: highway robbery.

Mr. Foster: Stick a pistol up to him?

Mr. Mills: And take his belongings, his money.

Mr. Foster: And kill him if necessary?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; we were trying to apprehend the fellow, and Officer Washington, he and his partner were

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walking together, and they jumped this fellow up.

Mr. Foster: What do you mean by that? Just like a rabbit, jump him up?

Mr. Mills: No, they were going through an alley. They had got some information that this fellow was standing there to highway these people when they came through, and in going down there this fellow took a shot at the officers and they both shot at him, but he got away from them. Well, that is the man we are trying to apprehend, but have been unable to get hold of him.

Mr. Foster: Do you know who he was?

Mr. Mills: No, sir; no more than from his description so in reading the papers, that caused - the way I understand - was getting back at the negroes that came from the South, doing that. We don't know where he was from, whether he was from the south or from the north.

Mr. Foster: But there had been a great many white people held up?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; and a good many white people had been held up by white people.

Mr. Foster: White people had been held up by white people, and negroes had been held up?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; and houses had been robbed, and there had been pick pockets and all such as that, white and colored - not only negroes.

Mr. Foster: There had been a lot of them?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Have your ferreted out many of them and found the perpetrators of these deeds?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: The colored ones?

Mr. Mills: Colored and white.

Mr. Foster: What was done with them?

Mr. Mills: They were sent to the penitentiary. Some of them were hung.

Mr. Foster: Have any of them been hung?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: How many?

Mr. Mills: Two, to my knowing, since I have been in the Department.

Mr. Foster: Were those black or white, that were hung?

Mr. Mills: Two colored.

Mr. Foster: For murder?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Do you know anything about colored people coming up from the south?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Have you seen any large number of them come in here?

Mr. Mills: Well, I have along in the summer.

Mr. Foster: What time in the summer?

Mr. Mills: Oh, along in June - excursions - some come and stay.

Mr. Foster: Did you see any of them come last Fall?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Many of them?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Foster: Quite a lot of them last fall?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: I am glad to hear you say that because it is the first time that I have been able to get any information that was straight. And you saw a lot of them last Fall that came up here?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. Foster: And they were seeking employment?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; we have had several in the line-up. We have a line-up - what we call a "line-up" in the jail, of mornings - people coming in, probably picked up at late hours. They say, "Well, where are you from?" "Well," he would say, "Jackson, Memphis, Mississippi." "What are you doing here?" "I am hunting so and so," and go into his pocket and get his paper where he was hunting his cousin or somebody. "What are you going to do?" "He wrote me to come up here, that there is lots of work." "What do you get down there?" "$1.25 a day, and $1.10 a day." "What kind of work do you do down there?" "Well, saw mill; work around saw mills."

Mr. Foster: Well, now that is the reason they told you that they came. Now who paid them for coming up here?

Mr. Mills: Well, that is what I wanted to know, but I never was able to find out. He would say he come on his own free will, or his brother sent for him, or his cousin, and he sent back for his mother, sister and brother, probably. Some of them are here yet.

Mr. Foster: Did many of these come last Fall on

56 return tickets?

Mr. Mills: I don't know anything about that?

Mr. Foster: You never saw any of those tickets that they gave them to come up here on?

Mr. Mills: No, sir; I never seen a pass.

Mr. Foster: Did anybody ever ask you to write down there and get colored people to come up to East St. Louis?

Mr. Mills: No, sir. I have seen agents getting men to go to Detroit. I judge they were down south getting them to come to East St. Louis from different parts of the world.

Mr. Foster: You did, last Fall, did you?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: There were so many come here that they couldn't take care of them, and they sent them on to Detroit?

Mr. Mills: Yes, they went to Detroit, some to Flint, Michigan, in elevator work, railroad work.

Mr. Foster: So that they did come here in large numbers last Fall, and they couldn't get employment here and they shipped them on to another place where they might

172 get employment. They couldn't get it here. They came here and were walking up and down these streets here - did you see any of them barefooted, the children, and with little bundles in their hands?

Mr. Mills: No.

Mr. Foster: And straw hats on their heads?

Mr. Mills: No, sir; the only time I seen that was the time of the riot.

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Mr. Foster: You didn't see that last Fall?

Mr. Mills: No, sir. They all seemed to be pretty well fixed.

Mr. Foster: Pretty well fitted out?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir; of course some negroes walk around - there is a different class. Some are more respectable and care for themselves, and others are onery and don't care for a thing but a pair of duck overalls, just overalls and a jumper, and have got probably more money than I have. But they don't care. They are in here and they are gone. They don't care. They are just like lots of men. They don't care where they are at, one place or another. But lots of them come here to make good.

Mr. Foster: Well, are these people that come up here as stated, these colored people, are they sort of migratory creatures, like blackbirds, that come north in the spring and go back in the fall?

Mr. Mills: No, sir; I never heard of that, until now.

Mr. Foster: Until the Doctor spoke of it. You have been here and ought to be well acquainted with these colored people?

Mr. Mills: Yes, sir. I get around them more than he does.

Mr. Foster: That is what I thought. And so you had never observed anything of that kind?

Mr. Mills: No, sir; I have not.

Mr. Foster: I believe that is all.

58 Mr. Raker: You may be excused.

Come forward Mr. Green.

STATEMENT OF MR. W. GREEN (colored)

18 N. 13th St. East St.Louis, Ill.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Raker.

Mr. Raker: Will you state your name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. Green: W. Green, residence 18 North 13th Street; occupation police officer.

Mr. Raker: What is your age?

Mr. Green: 41.

Mr. Raker: How long have you been a police officer?

Mr. Green: I have been an officer here for eleven years.

Mr. Raker: How long have you lived here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Green: Twenty years.

Mr. Raker: Were you born here?

Mr. Green: No sir; I was one year old when I came here.

Mr. Raker: What are you, a police officer, or a detective?

Mr. Green: Plain clothes detective.

Mr. Raker: And where is your beat?

Mr. Green: Broadway south. Broadway is the central street of the town and we walk south.

Mr. Raker: Are you the walking mate of Mr. Mills?

59 Mr. Green: yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Who just left the witness stand?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, now, will you proceed - where were you on the 28th and 29th of May last?

Mr. Green: I was walking my beat.

Mr. Raker: What hours?

cyl 173 Mr. Green: Nine in the morning until nine at night- that is, unless we are working nights. In May I was working days, nine in the morning until nine at night.

Mr. Raker: What did you observe on the 28th and 29th of May, unusual?

Mr. Green: Well, nothing whatever. I didn't see anything.

Mr. Raker: You didn't observe anything?

Mr. Green: No, sir; only what I heard.

Mr. Raker: Now, getting down to the 1st and 2nd of July, 1917, what did you see or hear or learn those two days?

Mr. Green: I didn't see anything on the 1st or 2nd of July, only what I heard. On the 1st of July I reported to work at ten o'clock in the morning, and we worked until nine o'clock that night and went home. On the 2nd of July, when I got up I heard that two police officers had been killed by some colored fellows. We reported to work at nine o'clock that morning, and we were sent out to see what we could do on that case, and we went to 19th and Market - that is, in that neighborhood- and there we had orders to arrest a fellow by the name of Eddy Wilson.

60 We arrested him, I guess about one thirty. We got into the police station with him. Then we went back to 19th and Market, in that same neighborhood, because we hadn't had a chance to do what we wanted to.

Mr. Baker: What did you ascertain then about the shooting there the night before - some white men going down the street and shooting into the houses?

Mr. Green: Only what I heard, that there was an automobile passed through that neighborhood that night.

Mr. Baker: Did you ascertain that from the people living there?

Mr. Green: Some people showed me where a bullet went through a post hole - one family where it went through a post hole and through the corner of the house and into another house.

Mr. Baker: You examined that and talked with the people living there at that time?

Mr. Green: No, not with the people living there, no, with people living in that neighborhood. They took us there and showed the hole where it went through the corner of one house into another house, and my brother - they fired into his house. His wife told me that just as she shoved the screen door open to come out on the porch they shot it. She jumped back into the house.

Mr. Baker: About what time was that, that this shooting was supposed to occur, as you learned from your brother?

Mr. Green: Between eleven and twelve, I think. That is what I was told.

Mr. Baker: And your brother's wife and your brother

61 were living on this street where the shooting is supposed to have occurred?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; in the 1700 block.

Mr. Raker: With whom else did you discuss it?

Mr. Green: We talked with a good many in that neighborhood that day.

Mr. Raker: It seemed to be a generally conceded fact that an automobile had gone through there with white men in it?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; from what I could learn it looked that way.

Mr. Raker: Then what did you do?

Mr. Green: We continued to see what we could learn on this shooting, until three o'clock. Then I called at three o'clock - my partner called the station at half past the hour and I called on the hour - we were told by the sergeant of detectives to go home; that it was dangerous to be on the streets. He said, "go home where your family is."

Mr. Raker: Did you do the talking?

Mr. Green: I was doing the talking.

Mr. Raker: Whom did you talk to at headquarters?

Mr. Green: To Mr. McLean, the detective sergeant.

Mr. Raker: What did he tell you to do?

Mr. Green: To go home; that it was dangerous to be on the streets - "go home with your family." And I went home with my family.

Mr. Raker: You obeyed orders?

Mr. Green: I did.

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Mr. Raker: What else did you do then that afternoon?

Mr. Green: I stayed there with my family until they began burning down the town. They burned within four blocks of where I lived. My wife had her grandmother there, about 60 years old, and I told her I had better get them out of the road before they burned that neighborhood.

Mr. Raker: Then what did you do?

Mr. Green: I took them away to St. Louis.

Mr. Raker: You, a policeman, had to take your family out of the home where you were living in East St. Louis, an officer of the law here at the time?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, didn't it seem kind of strange to you that you should be ordered not to come downtown?

Mr. Green: Well, I told everybody in the neighborhood it must be something awful downtown that they would order us off of the streets because on May 28th we were never ordered off of the streets, in the first riot. I said it must be something awful down town. I was telling the negroes.

Mr. Raker: Well, you took your folks over to St Louis that night. Did you get back that night at any time?

Mr. Green: No, sir; I didn't come back until the next Friday. I didn't have any intention of coming back after I got over there.

Mr. Raker: You stayed right over there?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Had you heard it discussed that there

63 was going to be, or liable to be this disturbance, before it occurred?

Mr. Green: No, I had heard people talk about it around the streets, but I never could see any signs of any riot.

Mr. Raker: Well, what seemed to be the reasons, the theory as to why the riot should come.

Mr. Green: I couldn't tell you that.

Mr. Raker: You couldn't learn that?

Mr. Green: No, sir; I could not.

Mr. Raker: Do you know anything further now, about that riot that you haven't told us?

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

Mr. Raker: That is all.

Mr. Cooper: What woman was it that you said told you about her going to the screen door when the shot struck?

Mr. Green: That was my brother's wife. I understood her to say that she was just starting out of the door

175 when the shot was fired right into their house. She was starting out on the porch.

Mr. Cooper: She was just starting out on the porch when a shot was fired into her house, and she turned back?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Do you remember where this shot struck and went through the corner of one house and into another?

Mr. Green: That was in the 1800 block on Market.

Mr. Cooper: And how far from there did your brother's wife live?

Mr. Green: She lived right down in the 1700 block.

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Mr. Cooper: So it was the next block?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; the next block.

Mr. Cooper; On the same side of the street?

Mr. Green: The same side.

Mr. Cooper: Dective Sergeant McLean is in authority over you and Mills, the other officer?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; he is in authority over all the plain clothes men. We take orders from him.

Mr. Cooper:And the situation was so bad that he telephoned you about three o'clock, you and Mills, being colored, that you should go home, that it wasn't safe for you to be on the streets?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir:

Mr. Foss: You have lived here for forty years?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Do you own your own property?

Mr. Green:. No, sir.

Mr. Foss: Do you own any property here at all?

Mr. Green: No, sir.

Mr. Foss: How many colored people were killed during this riot here, do you know?

Mr. Green: No, sir; I never did learn.

Mr. Foss: Has any estimate been made that you know of?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; there was, but I don't remember what it was.

Mr. Foss: The colored population has been increasing right along here every year, hasn't it?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir:,

65 Mr. Foss: Did you notice anything unusual last Fall - colored people coming in here?

Mr. Green: I noticed them coming in, yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: More than usual?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; they come in right along.

Mr. Foss: Do you know for what reason they come?

Mr. Green: No, sir; I don't.

Mr. Foss: Did you ever talk with them?

Mr. Green: I have talked with lots of them.

Mr. Foss: Did they say what they came here for?

Mr. Green: They came here to work.

Mr. Foss: Did they come here for any other purpose, do you know?

Mr. Green: No, sir; everyone that I talked to came here to work.

Mr. Foss: They didn't come here for political purposes at all?

Mr. Green: No, sir.

Mr. Foss: You never heard of any importation of colored people for these purposes?

Mr. Green: No, sir, - well, I have heard some talk round town that the colored people would be brought in here for politic l purposes, but I never paid any attention to it. We were amongst them every day, and we never heard that talk amongst them.

Mr. Foss: You didn't believe that claim or charge was true then?

Mr. Green: No, sir.

Mr. Foss: In your judgment the colored people that

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came here, came here to work, to find jobs?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir. Every morning most, in the police station we would have fellows picked up on the streets come in, who wouldn't know where they were, and we would question them whether they came here on passes, or who told them to come here, and the like of that.

Mr. Foss: Now you take the disorderly and unruly element in the colored race here, what class of people do they come from mostly? From those who have been here a long time or those who have come in from other cities?

Mr. Green: Both.

Mr. Foss: Has there been a great increase in crime and disorder during the last two or three years, greater than before, in your judgment?

Mr. Green: Well, not so much according to the population, I don't think so.

Mr. Foss: You say you thought it was best that night to take your wife and go over to St. Louis?

Mr. Green: I didn't, but I thought it was best for my wife and grandmother to go.

Mr. Foss: You didn't go?

Mr. Green: Yes, they didn't know the way.

Mr. Foss: Were there a great many people who left that night for St. Louis?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: In your judgment, have you ever estimated the number?

Mr. Green: No, sir; I have not.

Mr. Foss: A great many left the city and left their

homes vacant?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Have they returned?

Mr. Green: Some have.

Mr. Foss: But there are still a great many away?

Mr. Green: Oh, yes; the majority of them are away.

Mr. Foss: The majority of them?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Those who lived in this neighborhood down here? (Indicating)

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; mostly.

Mr. Foss: Those from the north end, did they go?

Mr. Green: From all over the city.

Mr. Foss: Are any colored people coming in here to-day from other cities?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; they are coming in here from the south too.

Mr. Foss: At the present time?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: People that haven't been here before?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: New people?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Parker: Mr. Green, were you present at this banquet given here by the Mayor?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Parker: About how many people were present at that time?

Mr. Green: About 300 or 400.

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Mr. Baker: Was the Mayor there?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: How many of the officers of the city were there at that time?

Mr. Green: Well, I don't know.

Mr. Baker: About how many?

Mr. Green: I couldn't say. I didn't pay any attention to that. We never pay any attention to anything like that. We pay more attention to the colored people being there than we would to a city official.

Mr. Baker: Were the police officers there, any of them?

Mr. Green: We colored fellows.

Mr. Baker: Weren't there any white police officers there?

Mr. Green: I think there were a few around there.

Mr. Baker: Well, where was this banquet held?

Mr. Green: At 13th and Bond.

Mr. Baker: The Mayor gave it?

Mr. Green: I don't know whether it was the Mayor. I don't think the Mayor gave it. I don't know who gave it.

Mr. Baker: What was it given for?

Mr. Green: Well, I don't know. I think that Bundy and some of the colored had this banquet, you know, in honor of the Mayor being re-elected.

Mr. Baker: It was given on account of the Mayor's re-election?

Mr. Green: That's it. That is what I think.

Mr. Baker: When was that banquet given?

69 Mr. Green: I can't recall the date.

Mr. Raker: Approximately? Was it before the riot in May?

Mr. Green: Oh, yes.

Mr. Raker: How long before?

Mr. Green: I couldn't say.

Mr. Raker: I just want to get approximately whether it was a week or three weeks before that time?

Mr. Green: It was long before the riot.

Mr. Raker: Was it right after election?

Mr. Green: Right after election, yes, sir; shortly after election.

Mr. Raker: When was he elected? Last November?

Mr. Green: Our election was in April.

cyl 177 Mr. Raker: You had your election in April, 1917, your city election?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And then right following that was the banquet?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, now, did that banquet create any feeling among the people here?

Mr. Green: The white people?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Green: I don't know as many of the white people knew that banquet was going on. It wasn't advertised, only with the colored.

Mr. Raker: With the colored people only?

Mr. Green: Invitations were sent out to the colored.

70 Mr. Baker: Only?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; only - only the Mayor and several others were asked to come there and to make speeches.

Mr. Baker: Who sent out the invitations?

Mr. Green: I couldn't tell you that.

Mr. Baker: Who made the speeches?

Mr. Green: Several men made speeches.

Mr. Baker: Just name us some.

Mr. Green: I think the Mayor made a speech, and Mr. Drury, I think.

Mr. Baker: Who is Mr Drury?

Mr. Green: He is John H. Drury, That is all I know.

Mr. Baker: What is his business?

Mr. Green: He is in the ice and coal business, here.

Mr. Baker: Well, isn't it rather strange that Mr. John H. Drury, ice and coal man, should be present at a colored banquet making a speech?

Mr. Green: I wouldn't say that, because I don't know who invited the gentlemen there - only I was sent there.

Mr. Baker: Well, who else made a speech?

Mr. Green: Well, I can't recall that.

Mr. Baker: What was the tenor of the Mayor's speech?

Mr. Green: Well, what he intended for the city, and the good he intended to do - upbuild the city.

Mr. Baker: What did he say in regard to -"now I am re-elected, and you colored people have helped me, and I am going to do everything I can to make life better, working conditions better - in other words, to advance and make

71 the conditions of the colored people better in East St. Louis?"

Mr. Green: Well, I tell you I can't tell you what the Mayor said in his speech, because I didn't pay any attention to the speeches.

Mr. Foster: You were sent there to preserve order.

Mr. Green: Yes, sir; and I didn't listen to the speech.

Mr. Foster: You didn't know but what the razors might be flying after a little?

Mr. Green: They might, yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And you were watching out for that?

Mr. Green: I know that he spoke, but what he said I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: Was that a dry banquet?

Mr. Green: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Was it wet?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Were pictures taken of it?

Mr. Green: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That is all.

All witnesses that are subpoenaed will be in attendance at ten o'clock to-morrow morning. We will now take a recess until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5.30 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned until ten o'clock a.m., Friday, October 26, 1917.)