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East St. Louis Riot Investigation

Friday Nov. 9 - 1917

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Howard Smith
Photocopy
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Friday, November 9, 1917.

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

STATEMENT OF AUGUST SCHLAFLY,

4442 Lindell Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Give the stenographer your full name.

Mr. Schlafly: August Schlafly.

Mr. Johnson: Where do you reside?

Mr. Schlafly: St. Louis, Missouri; 4442 Lindell.

Mr. Johnson: What is your business?

Mr. Schlafly: Banking business and farming, you might say, but banking largely.

Mr. Johnson: Where is the bank with which you are associated?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, the one that I am in charge and the one that I am president of is the Union Trust & Savings Bank of East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: You desire to make a statement?

Mr. Schlafly: I do.

Mr. Johnson: Proceed in your own way.

Mr. Schlafly: Well, in regard to helping East St. Louis, in 1913-- that is, when Mr. Chamberlain was elected, after the Lambert administration--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:): That office was Chamberlain elected to?

Mr. Schlafly: Mayor of East St. Louis. He called the bankers of East St. Louis and the National Stockyards,

and citizens of East St. Louis to a meeting at his office, to devise some means and ways of making the payrolls. They hadn't had any pay for two months or three months, the firemen and police and the day laborers, and so forth. The treasury was empty: Well, I attended that meeting and rather took a back seat, because I was not for the Chamberlain administration.

There was a discussion as to what to do, and there were so many orders standing out, bills unpaid. I said it would be a small matter for the five banks to help the city out. Well, they didn't know about that. They said it was not a small matter, and so on. So the National Stockyards Bank, Mr. Wright-- that is outside of the city limits-- he said he would have to take it up with his people in Chicago. So after a lapse of a few days-- may be a week-- the Mayor called another meeting, and the National Stockyards people had dropped out. They said they couldn't help. Then at that meeting, I think the Farmers' National, Mr. Foglefort, who was then president of the bank, said well, it couldn't be done; it couldn't be legally done. I insisted that it could; that something must be done, and should be done, and I was willing to join in with the four or with the three. The business men didn't propose to put up any money, so the meeting adjourned again without anything being done.

A third meeting was called. That lets us down to three banks. We said that we would join in and help the city out. It was then at that point that we began to take

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the advice of the attorneys to protect the banks, and we had the fourth meeting.

Mr. Johnson: Well, without so much detail, could you hasten a long with your story? That is all of no consequence whatever, that I can see.

Mr. Schlafly: Well, but I want to show that my part-- that we didn't ask for this; we didn't ask to finance the city, but were willing to join in.

But anyway, finally nothing care of it, and we said that we would finance the city during Mr. Chamberlain's administration-- I mean keep the city on a cash basis; pay for the running expenses, and they would issue us the anticipating warrants, such as I have a sample of them here, if you will permit me to show them to you. (Producing papers) And here are the assignments, and I will explain to you about the assignments.

You know the city could only issue 75 per cent of the assessed value, and then they took the first year \$67,000 to take up claims.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Schlafly, we are of the opinion that this has nothing on earth to do with the investigation which we are making.

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I saw something in the paper that we did wrong. If we did anything wrong, I want to know it.

Mr. Johnson: I haven't heard of anything that you have done wrong. Maybe you have, but I haven't heard of

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it. But what, for instance, could this Committee do with this big bunch of old warrants? I am asking your opinion now. What could we do with them?

Mr. Schiafly: Well, the only point I asked was here, gentlemen, I thought we helped the city very much.

Mr. Johnson: Well, shouldn't you have done that? But if you did or if you didn't, there is nothing criminal in it, and I don't see that it has anything on earth to do with this investigation.

Mr. Schiafly: I felt very much hurt and asked to come here. I thought we did a great thing.

Mr. Johnson: This is what was in the paper. Read it. State the dates and name of the paper (handing paper to witness.)

Mr. Schiafly: This is the St. Louis Republic, I think November 6, this year, when the Treasurer gave his statement, Mr. Caspael.

Mr. Cooper: The day after Mr. Caspael testified?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: That was Monday.

Mr. Johnson: If we stay here to hear a lot of unimportant things we won't get away at all.

Mr. Schiafly: Very well. I will assure you I won't trouble you, but I went out of my way to borrow \$70,000 to help the city out. The system of banking the city funds was scored by Congressman Baker, who indicated that such a plan would subject the City Treasurer and the banks to terms in State's prison; it would make the banks liable

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interested in the election of the Treasurer, who would deposit the money in a certain bank.

Mr. Johnson: What have you got to say about that now?

Mr. Schlafly: I borrowed \$70,000 to put the city-- to keep the city on a cash basis, and have done it for five years, and I thought I was doing the city of East St. Louis a kindly turn.

Mr. Cooper: Don't you think the city ought to raise enough money by taxation so as to pay its own debts at maturity?

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Mr. Schlafly: Absolutely.

Mr. Cooper: And not pay interest to banks year after year?

Mr. Schlafly: Absolutely.

Mr. Cooper: That settles the whole thing, then, I think. I don't think this other testimony is material.

Mr. Baker: I still feel of the opinion that a bank that takes the city or county funds and makes a profit on it must be under the State of Illinois guilty of a public offense. There isn't any question about it in my mind.

Mr. Schlafly: The point of it is that if you gentlemen would understand just what was done, you wouldn't find any fault.

Mr. Baker: Now this question is true, isn't it? You accepted the money from the city treasury in the way of deposits, and that was general deposits? That was put in the general funds of the bank?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Baker: This money, together with other money, was loaned and used by the bank as other moneys of the bank?

Mr. Schlafly: Why, we advanced the money.

Mr. Baker: Now let's get right down to this particular money. What you advanced I don't care about, but I am getting this: Whatever money was deposited by the city treasury was used as other deposits were used?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And interest was made off of that money the same as off of other money in the bank?

Mr. Foster: Now, Mr. Schlafly, as I understand from his statement, doesn't deny that; and as Mr. Cooper and Mr. Johnson say, it is a question of law. He don't deny it, and he don't acknowledge that he performed a criminal act when he did it.

Mr. Baker: Well, there are the facts, and like any other fact, it is my opinion-- and I don't hesitate to say that the use by a bank of public funds and a profit made on that must of necessity be against the law, and therefore not only a civil violation but criminal.

Mr. Foster: Well, we can settle that later, but I don't want it to go into the record that Mr. Schlafly, because he says that he has done that in the State, as every other bank in the State of Illinois has done-- I don't want it to go in the record, as is stated in that paper there, that he is a criminal. I have known Mr. Schlafly for many years. I know all the family, and I

don't want it to go into the record that this man is a criminal because he has done what has been done here throughout the state of Illinois.

Mr. Schlafly: Why, the city of East St. Louis, we loaned them-- I mean we advanced large sums of money. They had no money to deposit, only a little from different funds. We loaned them the money. We advanced the money. That is why these meetings were called for the bankers to come up and help the city. They were in great distress. The firemen were going to resign. They couldn't buy even a bale of hay. They were simply out of money, and I had had some experience in financing Clinton County out here many years ago, and I thought it was easy, and I went out of my way. And, gentlemen, here are the notes that I borrowed \$60,000 on, and the city used out of that money-- I advanced them on assignments. You gentlemen know what assignments are, of course, where a man has claim against the city for labor, he simply assigns his claim to me, or to the bank. I put up the money, or the bank does, and the amount was \$67,000, I think, not \$70,000 at that time. And here is the opinion of two prominent attorneys that it could be legally done (showing paper). The city had little or no money.

Mr. Cooper: Judge Baker, read that into the record.

Mr. Baker (Reading:)

Wich Trust & Savings Bank,

East St. Louis, Illinois, November 21, 1913:

I do hereby certify that the foregoing assignments when properly executed and acknowledged will, in my opin-

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ion, transfer the equitable title to the claims against the city of East St. Louis, as therein described, to the assignees named.

DAN. MCGLENN,
Attorney."

The next one reads:

"East St. Louis, November 18, 1913.

Union Trust & Savings Bank,

East St. Louis, Ill.

Gentlemen:-

We, the undersigned, have examined the forms of assignment attached hereto for the assignment of claims of employees of the City of East St. Louis, Illinois, and in our opinion said assignments, when properly filled out and signed by the Mayor and City Comptroller and payee, and also City Treasurer and City Comptroller, become legal and valid assignments and obligations against the city of East St. Louis, Illinois, and that the city of East St. Louis becomes legally liable for the payments of said assignments in accordance with the provisions and conditions set out in said certificates and assignments.

Silas Cook,

Attorney representing the bank."

Now that is the bank's own attorney. That only relates to the assignments. That don't have anything to do with accepting public money and making a profit on it.

Mr. Schlafly: We advanced the city of East St. Louis-- they had no money-- \$125,000. That is in the

year 1913. We advanced them in 1914 \$202,000.

Mr. Johnson: Did you get any interest on that, on the money you advanced them?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir; 5 per cent.

Mr. Johnson: Then it is just simply a business transaction on which you made money?

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Mr. Schlafly: I made no money. I made five per cent on this which I borrowed, when money those years was worth six and seven per cent or more. Even now they are getting five per cent, and the best men in the country are paying six, 5-1/2 and 6. They are owing us now. In 1915 we advanced them \$188,000. In 1916, \$254,000, and in 1917, the largest amount was \$170,000. At this time the city owes us on these warrants--- I have them here--- \$120,667.48; and on the assignments-- that is the smallest amount--~~\$176.80.~~

Mr. Johnson: Have you that loan secured? Is that indebtedness of the city now to you secured?

Mr. Schlafly: That is not secured. These are simply bills, claims.

Mr. Johnson: When you say "these" I don't know what they are.

Mr. Schlafly: Assignments (showing papers).

Mr. Johnson: Well, they are assignments of some sort of claims.

Mr. Schlafly: Of a man that works on the street.

Mr. Johnson: You bought it from him?

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How did you get it?

Mr. Schiafly: The city approved of it.

Mr. Johnson: The city approved of it. What is it?

Mr. Baker: It is nothing on earth except an ordinary claim signed by the Mayor and Comptroller; a warrant against the city for work done.

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, and they had no money.

Mr. Baker: I don't care whether they had any money or not. This is an ordinary warrant that the city owes this much money. He goes to work and endorses it. He could endorse it to your bank or anybody else.

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, but nobody else would take it.

Mr. Foster: They wouldn't take them before without discounting them 20 per cent.

Mr. Schiafly: 20 per cent and 30 per cent, absolutely.

Mr. Johnson: Are you claiming that you lost any money by the transaction?

Mr. Schiafly: No, sir; I don't.

Mr. Johnson: Then what is your object in being here?

Mr. Schiafly: I have no object more than attempting to show I was not a criminal. I thought we did the city a kind turn. I know we did, and the citizens of East St. Louis told me so.

Mr. Foss: You took these at their face value?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir. We did it for the city

because the administration asked to be kept on a cash basis.

Mr. Baker: Now let's be fair about this. In the year 1913 you claim you had warrants to the amount of \$111,000. How much money did you have deposited in your bank during that time of the city?

Mr. Schlaefly: Well, that would be off and on, you know.

Mr. Baker: The City Treasurer testified that you had as high as \$300,000.

Mr. Schlaefly: That might have been for a week or ten days.

Mr. Baker: Now in 1914 your warrants here were \$160,000 during that year. How much on an average did you have deposited in your bank?

Mr. Schlaefly: I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Johnson: That is very important.

Mr. Baker: In 1915 you had warrants to the amount of \$143,000 plus. How much did you have on deposit of the City's money?

Mr. Schlaefly: I don't know.

Mr. Baker: Now in 1916 you had warrants to the amount of \$178,000. How much money did you have deposited in your bank of the city?

Mr. Schlaefly: I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Baker: Now in 1917 the warrants were \$120,000 plus. How much of the city's money did you have on deposit in your bank?

Mr. Schlaefly: I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Baker: To offset that. Now isn't it a fact that on this \$120,000 you were getting five per cent interest?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And at the same time had a large amount of the City's money on deposit? Isn't that right?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Give me those statements there.

(The witness handed papers to Mr. Baker.)

There are five statements presented here, and each one shows that you had on an average \$125,000 each month on deposit. That is right, isn't it?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Now that money was in the general fund, and being loaned with the rest of the funds of your bank, upon which you were getting from five to six per cent interest? Isn't that right?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And at the time you were lending that money, you had money of theirs in the vaults?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir. Now will you pardon me a moment? We didn't ask to do this. The city asked us to do it, and no banks of East St. Louis would do it and haven't done it. We didn't ask to do this. They asked us to do it, and begged us to do it over and over again.

Mr. Baker: Well, that is just the point I am contending for, that the city officials that have a bank behind them, or interested in that bank, they will deposit

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the money with the bank, and therefore the bank and the officials are interested in electing those officers and keeping them in power.

Mr. Schlafly: Not at all. I was against Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Vollman in the election. We had nothing to do with it at all; absolutely nothing to do with it.

Mr. Baker: Here is the June 1st statement, 1917, which shows \$126,811.04 in these various banks, mostly in your bank. The recapitulation, July 1st, 1917, shows \$153,155.86.

The statement of August 1st, 1917, shows deposits in your bank, most of it, \$144,207.11. That is about right, isn't it?

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Mr. Schlafly: I suppose that statement is correct.

Mr. Baker: Another recapitulation dated September 1st, 1917, shows \$103,614.34. The recapitulation of October 1st, 1917, shows \$82,865.96. The recapitulation of November 1st, 1917, shows amount in deposits \$150,970.69.

So, as a matter of fact, at the end of each month, there ranged from \$100,000 to \$150,000 of the city's money in your bank. Isn't that right?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I don't know-- different funds.

Mr. Baker: Well, that is a fact?

Mr. Schlafly: I suppose that is correct.

Mr. Baker: Now that particular money was the City's money, in general deposit with your bank, and that money was being loaned by your bank at interest from 5 to 6 per cent?

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Mr. Schlafly: No.

Mr. Baker: How much?

Mr. Schlafly: Six; five to six.

Mr. Baker: And at the same time all the warrants that had been assigned to the bank were drawing five per cent interest; that's right, isn't it?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Now if you wish to make any explanatory statement that strictly relates to the matter, the Committee would be glad to hear it, but to ramble out into things that have nothing to do with it, we don't care to burden the record with that.

Mr. Schlafly: I will make it short. The city was in great distress. We didn't ask to put up this money. We didn't want to do it. We wanted to join in with the other banks. They wouldn't do it, and after a lapse of two or three months and the warrants were selling for 70 cents on the dollar-- 80 cents on the dollar-- I thought I was doing a kind turn, and we agreed to put up the money for the time being; and I got the opinion of the attorneys if we cashed these claims for the city, if we could be safe. You have the opinions there, and we did it, and we were commended by the business men, and reprimanded by the bankers of West St. Louis. I don't know what the city would have done if somebody hadn't helped. It is just natural that a man who borrows money, he makes a deposit. These are the facts.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Chairman, let me see if I can't

sum this up from Mr. Schiafly's point of view:

Your city treasury had been robbed here of about \$150,000, hadn't it?

Mr. Schiafly: We had nothing to do with the Lambert administration.

Mr. Cooper: I know you didn't have anything to do with the administration, but there was \$150,000 of the people's money in the city treasury that was gone, wasn't it?

Mr. Schiafly: There was a large sum. I don't know the amount.

Mr. Cooper: The city treasury from that time on was rather behind, wasn't it?

Mr. Schiafly: The city treasury has been behind for many, many years.

Mr. Cooper: The City Treasurer comes on the stand here, Mr. Caspell, and swears that he hadn't a vault down there which he would consider safe in which to leave the large amount of money that they frequently had on hand; and he takes the money up to your bank and deposits it. Of course you are responsible for the return of that money and he and his bondsmen are also responsible. That is in your general funds. The City can't meet its obligations at maturity, and so you advance the money on these anticipation warrants in the ordinary course of business. That is it, isn't it?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, I think that is all there is to

it.

Suppose that a private individual had \$500 on deposit in your bank, some store-keeper, and he came to your bank and wanted to borrow \$700. You would have \$500 of his money on deposit, and yet if you loaned him \$700 or a thousand dollars, he would have to be paying interest on that, while at the same time he had money on deposit there, wouldn't he?

Mr. Schlarly: Yes, sir; that is the only way a bank can live. Banks, unless you go to the large borrowers, in large banks-- unless they leave a balance, they must carry at least 10 or 15 or 20 per cent; or you don't get the money.

Mr. Johnson: That is but another way of charging usury, isn't it?

Mr. Schlarly: No, sir. The bank makes little enough money anyway. You have got to keep your balance and a business man that doesn't keep a cash balance doesn't succeed. He must keep something in his bank.

Mr. Johnson: Do you mean to say that if you loan a man a thousand dollars you require him to keep a certain per cent of it on deposit in your bank?

Mr. Schlarly: No, but I say that where a large commercial house-- if you have a large business and you want \$50,000 or \$100,000, or say be a larger amount than that, and you want to open an account with a large bank, they will say, "Now, what will your balance be?"

"Well, we will carry a balance of \$10,000." "Well, we

would rather you would carry a balance of \$15,000 or \$20,000." And if they don't carry any balances, they don't want his account.

Mr. Johnson: If a man doesn't carry a balance you wouldn't lend him the money?

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Mr. Schlafly: We loan money without that in smaller amounts.

Mr. Johnson: Then what did you mean by what you said, that you require a man to carry balances?

Mr. Schlafly: No, I didn't say that. I say a large bank--

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing:) What are you talking about then, when you speak of men who do carry balances, and at the same time borrow?

Mr. Schlafly: Sure they do.

Mr. Johnson: Well, you say they do, and you say they do that as the result of a conversation or interview with the banker?

Mr. Schlafly: That is the understanding, that they carry certain balances.

Mr. Johnson: The understanding between the borrower and the lender?

Mr. Schlafly: Sure.

Mr. Johnson: And the bank is the lender?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Then when a man, who is the borrower, comes to the bank, who is the lender, he says he will keep a balance in the bank all the time?

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Mr. Schlafly: That is a business man.

Mr. Johnson: I am talking about the borrower.

Mr. Schlafly: He may be paying a little higher rate of interest?

Mr. Johnson: But you are talking about something not that I am not talking about.

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I am trying to explain to you, Mr. Chairman--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:): Yes, but you go off into an explanation which doesn't explain at all, and which leaves the subject matter about which I am inquiring.

Mr. Schlafly: All right; let's hear it.

Mr. Johnson: You have said that the borrower, upon going to a bank to borrow, comes to an agreement with the lender, which is the bank, that he will carry a balance in the bank. Is that right or not?

Mr. Schlafly: No, it is not right.

Mr. Johnson: It is wrong?

Mr. Schlafly: It is this--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:): If that statement is not right, it is wrong, isn't it? It is incorrect!

Mr. Schlafly: No.

Mr. Johnson: It is, then, neither right nor wrong, according to your statement?

Mr. Schlafly: A commercial house wants to do business; it wants to borrow money from time to time.

Mr. Johnson: Instead of saying "commercial house", just say a man wants to borrow money. He does what now?

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Mr. Schlafly: Well, he comes in, and he loan
him a thousand dollars.

Mr. Johnson: On what terms?

Mr. Schlafly: At the rate of interest, whatever
it may be, five or six per cent.

Mr. Johnson: Then tell us about the balance you
have been talking about.

Mr. Schlafly: That is nothing about the balance
at all.

Mr. Johnson: You have been talking about the
balance.

Mr. Schlafly: I am talking about certain loans
when a man wants a large sum.

Mr. Johnson: When a man wants a large sum you
want him to carry a balance?

Mr. Schlafly: Say it is a shoe business, or a
packing business--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:): No difference about
his business. He is a borrower and he wants to borrow
a large sum of money. What do you say to him now?

Mr. Schlafly: We ask him what balance he expects
to carry.

Mr. Johnson: Why do you ask him that? Say, for
instance, a man comes in and tells a banker he wants to
borrow \$100,000; you ask him what balance he expects to
carry with you, do you?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Suppose he says he doesn't expect

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to carry any balance with you; he wants to borrow one hundred thousand dollars at the prevailing rate of interest. What do you say to him?

Mr. Schlafly: We can't handle his account.

Mr. Johnson: Then you don't lend it to him. Then if a man does want to borrow one hundred thousand dollars of you, how much of it do you require him to keep with you on deposit?

Mr. Schlafly: At least 10 per cent.

Mr. Johnson: Ten thousand dollars. Then you make him pay interest on this one hundred thousand dollars and let him have the use of \$90,000, don't you? Isn't that usury?

Mr. Schlafly: I don't think so.

Mr. Johnson: Are you not charging him interest on \$100,000 and letting him have \$90,000?

Mr. Schlafly: He may be getting that money at 5 per cent.

Mr. Johnson: It doesn't make any difference what the per cent is.

Mr. Schlafly: It wouldn't be usury, because the legal rate is 7 per cent.

Mr. Johnson: That is but one method of charging him greater interest than the stipulated interest on the note?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, that is the custom.

Mr. Johnson: I know that is the custom, yes sir; and I think it is an abhorrent one.

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Mr. Schlafly: And you couldn't do business, a man couldn't run his business unless he carries a balance.

Mr. Johnson: Oh, yes; if a man wants to borrow \$100,000 and expects to go and pay that \$100,000 for something that he has bought, he ought to get \$100,000, instead of being able to get only \$90,000.

Mr. Schlafly: Well, he gets \$100,000, but he gets money coming in.

Mr. Johnson: Have you transacted business with the city of East St. Louis along the same business lines with the men that want to borrow \$100,000?

Mr. Schlafly: No.

Mr. Johnson: But you did lend the city of East St. Louis \$67,000 and get warrants which your attorney advised you made you perfectly safe in the transaction?

Mr. Schlafly: No, we got the assignment of claims.

Mr. Johnson: How did you get any if you didn't get assignments?

Mr. Schlafly: The bank didn't loan this money on assignments at all. I did it personally myself.

Mr. Johnson: If an individual lent \$67,000 to the city of East St. Louis and took collateral ~~xxx~~ to secure you for the loan?

Mr. Schlafly: Just the assignments.

Mr. Johnson: What do you call that? Isn't that collateral?

Mr. Schlafly: We didn't take it from the City of East St. Louis at all. We took it from the individual.

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Mr. Johnson: It didn't make any difference whom you got it from; you got collateral to secure the loan, didn't you?

Mr. Schlafly: We got a claim.

Mr. Johnson: The claim is not collateral? You, as a business man, do you say that this claim is not collateral when you take an assignment of it to secure your loan?

Mr. Schlafly: It is collateral when they put it up with a note. They didn't put up any note. It is collateral when they put it up behind a note.

Mr. Johnson: Then I will restate the case. You lent the city of East St. Louis \$67,000?

Mr. Schlafly: No, not the city of East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: Who did you lend it to?

Mr. Schlafly: We advanced it to those individuals, but East St. Louis asked us to take up these claims, because they had no money. They had no money.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever see the individuals from whom you got this pile of warrants that you have got in your hands now?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir; every one of them came to the bank and got the money there.

Mr. Johnson: And then you got the warrant?

Mr. Schlafly: We got the assignment. We got this piece of paper.

Mr. Johnson: You got the assigned warrants?

Mr. Schlafly: No.

Mr. Johnson: What did you get? An unassigned warrant?

Mr. Schlarly: Just a claim.

Mr. Johnson: Well, is that claim a warrant? What do you call it, a claim or warrant?

Mr. Schlarly: This is a warrant.

Mr. Johnson: Then you got the assigned claim?

Mr. Schlarly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: To secure you in making a loan?

Mr. Schlarly: Well, I have to present it to the city of East St. Louis to get a warrant for it.

Mr. Johnson: I didn't ask you when you had to present it to at all. You loaned the money and you got an assigned claim against East St. Louis?

Mr. Schlarly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And in that way you saved East St. Louis from going into its own treasury to pay the claim?

Mr. Schlarly: They had no money in the treasury.

Mr. Johnson: In that way you saved East St. Louis from going into its own pocket to pay the money. Now you say they had no money with which to pay it?

Mr. Schlarly: No, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Haven't you just stated that at the time they did have money on deposit in your bank?

Mr. Schlarly: Those were sacred funds.

Mr. Johnson: That is a "sacred fund"? What fund was it that was sacred?

Mr. Schlarly: The street improvements, if you please.

Mr. Johnson: That fund was a sacred fund?

Mr. Schlarly: I mean the city had no right to use that.

Mr. Johnson: Who has the right to use it?

Mr. Schlarly: They were to be applied on the payment of bonds issued against improving that street. That was not the money of East St. Louis. These deposits that they have belong to that fund.

Mr. Cooper: You mean they couldn't mix the funds?

Mr. Schlarly: They had no right to do so.

Mr. Cooper: To do so amounted to an embezzlement if the City Treasurer does it, under the statute?

Mr. Schlarly: Yes sir, they had no right to use it, only to pay the bonds that were issued for this street and that street, and whatever it might be. The city couldn't have asked and called these meetings over and over again if they had had money to take care of the claims that were against them; and we didn't want to do it, but we did it.

Mr. Cooper: You had certain special assessments here for certain specific purposes, which made the amount collected from assessments a special fund for a special purpose?

Mr. Schlarly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That put into the treasury the money thus realized for a special purpose can't be diverted from that purpose by any public officer?

Mr. Schlarly: That's right.

Mr. Cooper: Except he becomes guilty of embezzlement under the laws of the State of Illinois?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And some of these claims that you have here were for-- well, to give an illustration, for coal, say, lumber or anything else.

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, and police and night watchmen and all that. They were all that.

Mr. Cooper: And that was a debt of the municipality, and there were no specific funds in the treasury for the purpose of paying that, and they had no money in the general fund of the city for that purpose?

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir; no money in the treasury for that.

Mr. Cooper: No money in the treasury with which they could meet that?

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the special funds could not be used under the law to meet those obligations?

Mr. Schlafly: That is just right.

Mr. Johnson: If I correctly understand you, the situation is this: When the city owed an individual and didn't have the money to pay him, you bought that claim from the individual?

Mr. Schlafly: After the city approved of it.

Mr. Johnson: It don't make any difference whether it is before or after.

Mr. Schlafly: I wouldn't buy it unless the city approved that it was a just and honest claim, and they pro-

nised to issue a warrant to pay that claim when the money was in the treasury.

Mr. Johnson: I would be very glad if I could get you to answer the question. The city issued a claim to a man to whom the city was indebted, did it not?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And that man brings you the claim?

Mr. Schlafly: After the city had approved of it; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Would the city issue him a claim that it does not approve of?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, if the man would come with a claim on the city, then we wouldn't pay it.

Mr. Johnson: I am not talking about that, but I don't believe we could get this out of you in a month.

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir; I will give it to you.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I'll give it up.

Mr. Baker: There is another feature that has turned up-- well, go ahead, Mr. Foss.

Mr. Foss: These are claims on the part of the individuals against the city?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And the city had no funds from which to pay them?

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir.

Mr. Foss: If the city hadn't made this arrangement with you such as it did, for your bank to pay these claims at their face value, then these men who had claims against the city would have ~~taken~~ ^{taken} these and gone out and

hawked them around on the streets?

Mr. Schlafly: Sold them for 70 cents on the dollar.

Mr. Foss: And sold them at a discount.

Mr. Schlafly: They did sell them at a discount before we took it up-- 70 and 80 cents. I mean they discounted them 20 and 30 per cent.

Mr. Foss: But instead of that, you took it up and you paid 100 cents for them?

Mr. Schlafly: 100 cents on the dollar.

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Mr. Foss: Well, I think you did a good service to the city.

Mr. Schlafly: The people of East St. Louis think so.

Mr. Raker: Now if a man had a claim against this city, for instance, as clerk, he made his affidavit to the claim. That is right, is it?

Mr. Schlafly: How is that?

Mr. Raker: If a man had a claim against the city as a clerk or stenographer, he made affidavit that the city owed him so much?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Then the Mayor and the Comptroller approved that?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And then the Comptroller and the City Treasurer certified that the claim was all right?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And then you bought it of the man?

Mr. Schlafly: And paid him the money, the face value. But the city arranged for that. The city asked us

to do that because they had no money. The Mayor and the Council of the City asked us to do that, and asked everybody else in town. They asked the merchants and the bankers to do it, and we did it for five years.

Mr. Foss: You said none of the banks would do it except your bank?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: You are the only bank that would do it?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And in doing that the city paid its obligations, and the men, the workmen, got their full amount of their claims?

Mr. Schlafly: The full amount of their claim.

Mr. Foss: Which they otherwise couldn't have gotten?

Mr. Schlafly: Which they didn't get, and men made large amounts of money out of it.

Mr. Foss: And which, as you say, were hawked around here on the streets and were taken up by men who were shaving notes?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: And shaving accounts; doing that sort of business?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: How high did that discount go sometimes before the bank took it up?

Mr. Schlafly: I can assure you they were offered to us at 20 and 30 per cent discount.

Mr. Cooper: For instance, a 30 per cent discount, to get it down to figures, would be this: A man getting \$70 a month-- as some policeman did at that time-- discounted at 30 per cent would be \$21. He would get \$49?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Simply because the city of East St. Louis didn't have money in the treasury to pay its honest debts?

Mr. Schlafly: Those were the conditions, gentlemen.

Mr. Cooper: And you think it is high time they raised money enough by taxation from the property there is in this city to put money into its own treasury and pay its debts at maturity, the minute they are due, and stop paying interest to the banks for money advanced?

Mr. Schlafly: I have been talking that since I have been in East St. Louis in the banking business. I have been talking that very thing.

Mr. Baker: Now let me ask you this question: You had the money in the vaults-- you knew it was coming-- to pay these warrants after you got the assignments, didn't you?

Mr. Schlafly: How was that.

Mr. Baker: I say you felt satisfied that the city would pay?

Mr. Schlafly: Sure, I did. Many others did not. I did.

Mr. Baker: There was no guarantee by the city officials of the payment at all, was there? No written guar-

antes?

Mr. Schlafly: The first year--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) But just answer the question.

Mr. Schlafly: I will make it plain to you.

Mr. Cooper: You can make it plain: I am just asking if there was any written guarantee given to you by the city of East St. Louis as a city, relative to these ~~payments?~~ ^{payments?}

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Then you had the assignment of the warrants?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the individual became responsible also, if you didn't get your money?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You felt that you were going to get your money?

Mr. Schlafly: We did.

Mr. Cooper: And you had the money in the bank?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: For that purpose, now?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I didn't--

Mr. Cooper (Interposing:) There is no other bank that keeps these large deposits, except yours, in the city. It was understood you were to get all the deposits?

Mr. Schlafly: We were to furnish this money to take up these assignments; naturally it would come that way

without saying anything about it.

Mr. Cooper: Without saying anything about it. There must have been something said about it. It was understood the money was to be deposited in your bank, wasn't it?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: By the city treasurer?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the money was to be handled by your bank?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And was to be kept there?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Sometimes one hundred thousand dollars, and sometimes five hundred thousand dollars?

Mr. Schlafly: I couldn't tell you the amounts.

Mr. Cooper: It would run practically as high as about \$500,000?

Mr. Schlafly: That would be for a week or ten days at a time.

Mr. Cooper: You never paid a claim in your life except after it had been approved by the proper officials to be a valid claim against the city, did you?

Mr. Schlafly: That is right. We wouldn't do it otherwise.

Mr. Foster: You would have to do that as a business transaction?

Mr. Schlafly: Certainly.

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Mr. Baker: In other words, you never paid a claim to a man who came with a duly verified claim against the city, saying that he had done his work, but the city hadn't approved it yet in ^{Council} meeting. You never paid such a claim?

Mr. Schlafly: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: You waited until the claim was presented to the proper city official?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And properly approved and properly certified then, and then, and not until then, would the claim ever be paid?

Mr. Schlafly: That is right.

Mr. Baker: And the city did business with you by keeping in touch with your bank, by certifying to you the claims allowed at each meeting of the board, as well as certifying to you the various funds in each account?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: So your bank, holding the money, kept a full record at all times of the city business and transactions? Isn't that right?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: So you were running no risk of losing your money at all, were you?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, a great many people thought so.

Mr. Baker: Well, I am asking you.

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Mr. Schlafly: I didn't think so. I thought I was safe.

Mr. Baker: But this sacred trust fund that my colleague speaks about, you took that as a credit trust fund and loaned it out at interest?

Mr. Schlafly: Like any other bank would do; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: I didn't ask you about any other bank. I asked you if you did it.

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And made a profit on it. At what rate of interest did you loan out the money?

Mr. Schlafly: It might be on demand loans, 4 per cent. It depends on the rate of interest, and we have loaned at 3-1/2, also on demand, or 4 or 4-1/2 or 5.

Mr. Baker: What is the usual rate of interest here?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, you know at this time the rates would be fully up to 6 per cent. Large people are paying even more than that.

Mr. Baker: What were you loaning for in 1916-- the average rate?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, never over 6 per cent. There might be a small loan less than that.

Mr. Baker: Were you loaning any at 4 per cent?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I think some demand loans-- you know, a bank has got to have some money-- some ready money, or loaned out so you can get it on demand. We loaned those at 4 per cent.

Mr. Baker: Did you? I am asking you if you did

actually loan any money in 1916 at 4 per cent.

Mr. Schlafly: I don't think so, in 1916.

Mr. Baker: In 1915?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, we have loaned it-- I couldn't tell you what year-- we have loaned it often at 3 per cent on demand. And that would be in large sums, say \$25,000, or \$10,000, with gilt edged collateral, so you could get it on demand, usually to large brokers that borrowed money of that kind, and you could get it when you needed it. The bank has got to have money when they need it, and you have an account and you want your money, you want it. At the same time we loan that money at a low rate.

Mr. Baker: You felt satisfied, now didn't you, that when you paid a claim, a warrant that was duly assigned to you and was approved by the Mayor, Comptroller and Treasurer, that it was gilt-edged?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, I felt satisfied that it was good. I wouldn't call it gilt-edged. I wouldn't have done it if I hadn't felt absolutely safe.

Mr. Baker: That is what I say; you felt it was absolutely safe?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, absolutely. I wouldn't have borrowed that \$70,000 if I hadn't felt I was safe, and then doing something for the city of East St. Louis. Absolutely, that is what I did it for; not to make any money on it. I wanted to join in with the five banks. We didn't want to do it alone. That is honest, gentlemen. We wouldn't have gone into it to make any money on it. If ever I told

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the truth, I am telling it now.

Mr. Raker: Well then, to make a success of the city officials, why naturally you would be entered ^{into} in what the city officials did, and they would be interested in your business, wouldn't they? You were all working in harmony, you and the city officials?

Mr. Schlafly: They got into a jam, and I was helping them out.

486 Mr. Raker: I am not asking you about a jam. You had it arranged so there wouldn't be any jam.

Mr. Schlafly: I was helping them out.

Mr. Raker: You understand what I mean. You and the city officials worked hand and glove together?

Mr. Schlafly: No, I will say not; no, sir.

Mr. Raker: You don't think you did? You have said each other at arms' length in your dealings?

Mr. Schlafly: No. As far as these city officials that were elected are concerned, when they were candidates I was not for them, but when they got into trouble I was willing to help the city out and did help them out.

Mr. Raker: Then you were not on good terms with the city officials?

Mr. Schlafly: Well, as I said before, when Chamberlain was elected--

Mr. Raker (Interposing:): Oh well; that's all.

Mr. Cooper: I would like to ask one question, Mr. Schlafly. If there had come into your bark one of the citizens of East St. Louis, who had a claim or a note, say, of one other citizen here, on which he wished to get the money,

and didn't want to wait-- couldn't wait-- you would advance the money and he would pay you for that accommodation, wouldn't he?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Well, do you see any reason why a bank that accommodates all the people of a city by paying their debts, to one man, shouldn't pay a bank for doing it? There is no reason, is there, why a bank shouldn't get something for doing that?

Mr. Schlafly: That is what they are in business for. And what the Government do now if it didn't have banks? That is what the bank is in business for.

Mr. Baker: To make money.

Mr. Schlafly: Oh, as any other line of business. And what would the Government do if they weren't taking care of the liberty bonds and distributing money to customers?

Mr. Cooper: To sum it all up, as I understand your case now-- we have heard the City Treasurer--- the city couldn't pay its debts at maturity. Its warrants and other things were going around this town at a discount of 20 and 30 per cent?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: The bankers held a meeting?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: The subject was discussed. You urged that all the banks turn in and help the city?

Mr. Schlafly: I did.

Mr. Cooper: And none of them would do it except your bank?

Mr. Schiafly: That's right.

Mr. Cooper: You borrowed money as an individual over in St. Louis?

Mr. Schiafly: I have three notes here that I paid, \$70,000, three different times. And I never made one cent out of it, and I could have bought those claims and made large sums of money out of it. I never made one cent. I could have had a straw man to have bought them on the streets and kept away from the bank.

Mr. Cooper: At a discount all the way from 20 to 30 per cent?

Mr. Schiafly: That is the truth, and the whole truth, gentlemen; and I think that I have done something for East St. Louis. I know I did.

Mr. Johnson: You are not, however, proceeding on the theory that virtue is its own reward?

Mr. Raker: You had money in your bank to loan, the bank did?

Mr. Schiafly: Not to loan on assignments.

Mr. Raker: Now will you answer my question?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You had money in the bank to loan at this time?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: How much?

Mr. Schiafly: Oh, we take care of our customers,

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you know.

Mr. Raker: Well, but answer me.

Mr. Schlafly: I can't remember that.

Mr. Raker: Well, you have made the statement here that you went and borrowed money individually.

Mr. Schlafly: I mean to take up these assignments. The bank wouldn't take them up.

Mr. Raker: What you mean to say now is that the bank didn't take up the assignments, and you took them up personally?

Mr. Schlafly: I did. I am back of those assignments.

Mr. Raker: Then it wasn't a bank deal in handling these assignments?

Mr. Schlafly: The warrants were. The anticipating warrants were. You know there is two different things.

Mr. Raker: I understand that. I don't care to go over them again.

Mr. Schlafly: The warrants, you know, but a claim is different.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Schlafly, does the statute of the State of Illinois allow a bank to get 5 per cent for cashing anticipation warrants?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: It is limited to 5 per cent?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, on the warrants, 5 per cent.

Mr. Cooper: Under the statute?

Mr. Schlafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And a claim, the assignment of a claim

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for labor or material furnished is a different thing?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir; a different thing. I don't think under the law they would have a right to pay on those assignments.

Mr. Baker: Now let's see if I understand it rightly. All warrants the bank took?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Is that right?

Mr. Schiafly: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And the claims you took?

Mr. Schiafly: I took and endorsed all those assignments.

Mr. Baker: When you endorsed them, what did you do with them? When they were endorsed what was done with them?

Mr. Schiafly: I turned them over to the bank and they were charged to my account.

Mr. Baker: Therefore, the bank handled them?

Mr. Schiafly: Well, the bank handled them that way, you know. I had the money there in the bank.

Mr. Foss: Your own personal account?

Mr. Schiafly: My own personal account.

Mr. Baker: Well, that's all.

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Mr. Johnson. Brother Allison, please take the witness stand.

STATEMENT OF REV. GEORGE W. ALLISON, OF
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Please give the stenographer your name.

Mr. Allison. George W. Allison.

Mr. Johnson. Your place of residence?

Mr. Allison. 923 Summit Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.

Mr. Johnson. Your calling in life?

Mr. Allison. Minister of the Gospel.

Mr. Johnson. What church?

Mr. Allison. First Baptist Church.

Mr. Johnson. How long have you resided in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. Four years and a half.

Mr. Johnson. During that time you have had the pastorate of a church?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Will you please, in your own way, tell all that you may know leading up to the evident unfortunate conditions which have existed in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. I have known of affairs in East St. Louis for a number of years. Formerly I was a railroad man. I worked in ^{Toledo,} this town on one of the trunk lines, the St. Louis and Western Railway, and through that channel I became intimately acquainted with a lot of conditions in East St. Louis. When I came here as the pastor of the First Baptist Church, I had no idea of entering into any investigations or digging

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into the corrupt side of the city life, because that life had become abhorrent to me. I found it a great deal more pleasant to sit in my study, with the best of books, away from such things as that; it was more to my taste and my liking. And for two years that I was pastor of the ~~mm~~ church here, I simply satisfied myself with preaching to the folks that came to my church.

Mr. Foss. Before you came here, where were you?

Mr. Allison. Marion, Illinois, three years and a half. I was aroused to the deplorable conditions in East St. Louis first by young men. Two of them were members of my church, both then ~~were~~ with families, who had lost money in gambling houses, and came to me for aid. One young man had lost upwards of \$200 in a gambling house in Madison, Ill. That is over in Madison County. He had come to me and got me to come to the bank and go on his note for \$75 to have a child operated on. I did it in good faith and the note became due, and it hadn't been paid. The bank called me about it. I got in touch with this young man. He said that there had simply been some reverses. I had known this young man previously, and had some intimate acquaintance with him which led me to be suspicious. So when the note became due the next time and it wasn't paid, I paid the interest on it and had it renewed and assured them it would be paid before it came due again. Then I went after him and made him confess to me that he had been gambling. I had him give me the name of the place; told me all about it. I went and woke this gambler up at his home in Madison, talked the situation over with him, and finally by making a Believer out of him, I made him come

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across with that young fellow's money. He paid the note at the bank. Then I ~~me~~ began to realize that the corrupt conditions of the City of East St. Louis were affecting the work of my church. Then there came to me another instance of a young man who had lost considerable money and had borrowed money from all the loan sharks in East St. Louis and was hopelessly tied up. I felt my way into that situation. I made personal investigations of it. I visited the place myself. I became thoroughly satisfied that the officials of the City of East St. Louis knew all about the existence of that gambling house, because it was just within a block or two of the very place we are now. It was across the street from a member of the Police Board; it was a notorious place; it was known as the Cahokia Athletic Club. I dealt a little more carefully with this second young man, because he was an exceptionally bright lad, and a high school graduate. There wasn't anything mean about him at all, and I knew that something had been done to rope him. The name of this place, as I say, was the Cahokia Athletic Club, and he told me about receiving a nice little embossed card, an invitation to become a member of the club. So after I had gotten on the inside of the thing, I went farther. I got money enough from this gambler to pay off all the loan sharks that this young fellow owed. I told the gambler that I knew there was no use to go to the city officials; I knew they knew he was there; I didn't want to disturb him; didn't want to get into the limelight in the newspapers to appear that a place had been raided and nothing to be gained by it. I knew he ~~would~~ would be doing business at the same old stand in a few days, but

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I wanted to do something practical that would help that young fellow. I also knew that if I got it this way, that would brand that young fellow as a *snitch*, and he wouldn't dare to go back to the gambling houses, and I have every reason to believe he never has gone back.

Then there came to me some letters from mothers--- of course, a little of this thing that I am telling you had, some of it, gotten out into the newspapers, and the minute that my name was mentioned and got before the public, I began to receive letters from mothers about their girls. I have quite a number of them. They are heartrending appeals.

Then a newspaper reporter here in town came to me and began to suggest the existence of certain things, and telling me about them, and I made two or three trips with him to investigate, but always when I went with the reporter, my name came out in the paper. I didn't want the notoriety of the thing. I wanted to get the facts. I knew if they found out I was doing it, I knew what it meant, that it would simply wreck my plans for getting further information, so I began to work single-handedly. I took some men into my confidence, and I found out that when certain men knew about things, everybody else knew about them. So I kept eliminating and cutting off, lopping off, until I did get to a place where I had a system of finding out things in East St. Louis that I did find out. I visited most all of the houses of prostitution, checked up everything carefully, and ~~then~~ when I got the information all in my hands, knew what I was talking about, then I began to go to the officials and put things up to them, but always met with a denial, telling me that such things couldn't be. Well, of course it became so inter-

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esting to me then that I wanted to find out just how much involved the city officials were in the thing. I knew that I---that is, I realized that I couldn't do anything. I wasn't thoroughly familiar with the laws along certain lines controlling such operations. It never occurred to me to go to an attorney to find out definitely about those things until I happened to get a close acquaintance with an attorney here in town who became a fast friend of mine, who hooked up with me solidly, and did give me a lot of valuable information.

These dance halls that I am telling you about existed here---they were---I have visited them when there were upwards to 300 young people---girls 13, 14, 15, 16 years old, in short dresses, middies, hair ribbons in their ~~hair~~ hair, dancing in the midst of drunken revelry---a horrible thing. I think the dance hall still exists, but it was one of the most disreputable ones in town, the Labor Temple up here on Collinsville Avenue. I visited that thing myself; saw what was going on. However, there weren't so many young girls there. ~~whitewash~~

Mr. Johnson. While that---if you will permit an interruption---while that temple has the name of "Labor Temple," it is privately owned and is not owned by the labor people?

Mr. Allison. No; the laboring people---I know some of the laboring men here in town personally with whom I have talked, and one of the men, Mr. Johns, who is head of the Carpenters' Union here in town, I consider him a very fine gentleman. He has told me that he didn't approve of such conditions as existed there, and had gone to that place and

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found the door locked so he couldn't get into his office. Now, I took those things up with the City officials, and they refused---

Mr. Cooper. Tell first what you saw there.

Mr. Allison. At those places?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Allison. Well, all sorts of indecent dancing; serving drinks after hours, brawls, things that were vulgar beyond anybody's desire to describe. There was very vulgar dancing; everything suggestive; bad language; and such as that.

Mr. Baker. Did the girls drink too?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes. Now, those were mostly women that were there. I wouldn't classify them as girls. Some of them were 18 or 19 years old. But I hardly think---there might have been one girl there that night possibly 17 years old. But these other dance halls were out at the edge of the city here, and they were crowded with young ~~mm~~ girls, some of them were with knee dresses on.

Mr. Cooper. Were they drinking too?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; drinking---now I have understood that drinks were served to them through their companions. Some one man would order a dozen bottles of beer to be put on a table, and then girls would gather around it and drink it---yes, and not only drinking beer, but dancing in very indecent positions with drunken men. The water closet there---there was just one entrance to it, with a ~~mm~~ partition up between, and the ladies on one side and the men on the other; the most indecent thing that you could

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imagine.

These letters that I received from mothers were in reference to their girls who were going to the bad. One mother, that I have in mind now, has three daughters that have been ruined in these places.

Then the situation---of course now all of this happened at this place before our municipal election.

Mr. Johnson. What year?

Mr. Allison. The city election we had last spring.

As I say, I talked these things all over with the city officials, and before election time I had every promise in the world that all of these conditions would be eliminated. After the election was over, the fruits were not forthcoming, and then we began to---I kept up the investigation and thrashed out all manner of things. By that time I had gotten in touch with an Attorney General Brundage, of this state, through a common interest in this one mother who had lost the three ~~daughters~~ girls. I want to tell you the story of one of these girls. I think it ought to be made public.

Mr. Cooper. I shall not interrupt again.

Mr. Allison. I will be glad for you to interrupt me.

Mr. Cooper. I want you to tell just such instances as you are going to tell. You also said you unearthed other disreputable things. Just give the specific instances as nearly as you can, and all about it.

Mr. Allison. I will.

Mr. Cooper. The Committee wants it.

Mr. Allison. I will; and I shall give you the conversations of prominent men, such as we got through detective in-

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vestigations, and things that were ~~corroborated~~ corroborated, things that we know were true, and things that the men themselves confessed to me were true when they were faced about it.

Mr. Foss. Before you start, were you doing this work personally yourself?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. You had not---there was no committee working with you, was there?

Mr. Allison. Not in the start.

Mr. Foss. Alright.

Mr. Allison. I want to say this, though, in justice--- there is a lot of good men here in town who have contributed no little amount, and in justice to one man whose name has been mentioned, but who is dead, that was Mr. W. C. Thrasher. He was the treasurer of my organization in the end that we had investigating things here, and he and one other man in town---and I don't want to mention the other man's name because of injury that might come to him---were the largest contributors. They financed the thing, and I think that is the reason why Mr. Thrasher was not appointed a member of the Police Board, because it was known that he was active and knew all of these things.

Mr. Cooper. You started to tell the story of one of these young girls.

Mr. Allison. One of these young girls had been taken--- that is, she had, through the influence of her two older sisters, she began going to one of these disreputable dance halls. It was a dance hall owned by John Peters and his

wife, at 4200 Bond Avenue. She was barely 15 years old. That was two years ago last election, the first time that Mr. Mollman was elected. We have---all of these things could be had through the former State's Attorney of this county, Charles Webb. This girl was locked in a room by Mr. Peters.

Mr. Johnson. In what house?

Mr. Allison. At that place, 4200 Bond avenue; at that dance hall. They had rooms upstairs. She was locked in a room, and the girl's sister tells me that nine men were sent upstairs to that girl who was barely 15 years old. One saloon keeper, ⁱⁿ this town slept all night with the girl and I think he is---

Mr. Baker. The same night that the nine had been there?

Mr. Allison. That was the night of the election that this saloon keeper ~~with~~ slept all night with her. And the city officials know that and the man has been running a saloon here in town since. This girl became---she got in a critical condition.

Mr. Johnson. Pregnant, you mean?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; she became pregnant and they shipped her to Sacramento, California, where she gave birth to a baby boy. But before they shipped her to California, the father of that little girl and Paul Kisselbach, a constable, took the girl and the three of them went before Charles Webb, the State's Attorney of this county, and told the whole story; had the girl tell it. The girl made a sworn statement to all of those things. Nothing was ever done about it at all. Not one move was made.

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Mr. Cooper. Does that saloon keeper still run a saloon here?

Mr. Allison. I think he is.

Mr. Cooper. The police authorities knew all about it?

Mr. Allison. I don't know about the police authorities knowing about it; Mayor Mollman knew it. I have told him about it personally. Now, that is one case.

Now, we have been trying to get that girl back here. The girl's folks are here in town, can corroborate every statement, and I have asked Mr. Charles Webb, through some friends---I asked him for those things off of his files, and I did it to let him know that I knew it, more than anything else. I need not tell you that I didn't get it.

Mr. Foster. Was there nothing done by the State's Attorney?

Mr. Allison. Not a thing done.

Mr. Foster. At that time?

Mr. Allison. Not a thing.

Mr. Foster. To prosecute the guilty parties?

Mr. Allison. Not a thing to prosecute them.

Mr. Raker. Before you leave that incident, you say there were rooms up stairs over their dance hall?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And were they used for assignation purposes?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. There were not young girls there?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; that is where this girl was ruined. It was for general assignation purposes. That is

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what it was there for.

Now that was one of the cases that I ~~was~~ tell you about, and it was the mother of this girl who carried this thing to Attorney General Brundage. After they had failed to get any response from the city officials or the county officials, she wrote a ~~letter~~ letter to Attorney General Brundage, which he has on his files, begging that something be done; pleading if there isn't some man in the State of Illinois who would enforce the law. That is the very thing that brought Attorney General Brundage into this county?

Mr. Cooper. When?

Mr. Allison. He came in here last---early last spring. he began his work here in the county.

Mr. Cooper. You said there were other incidents?

Mr. Allison. Yes; other instances. For instance, this thing happened. I took the matter up of these disreputable places. I went before the Mayor. I explained to him that the Attorney General was working here in the county to clean the county, and I appealed to him to chip in and cooperate with him. Mayor Mollman wrote Attorney General Brundage a letter thanking him for what he was undertaking to do in the county and offering him his support, anything that he could do; ~~that~~ his police department or otherwise, to help in the clean-up. Now then, I knew that these very folks that the Attorney General was after out in the county, that they largely lived ~~near~~ here in town---that is, they played back and forth. So we began at once to get some specific thing for the city officials to do to contribute to the

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betterment of the situation. We went into the question of the dance halls in town and then these disreputable localities. I took that matter up with the Mayor and ~~then~~ at first he seemed to approve of it and said that he would get after these fellows, but he seemed to think that I was mistaken ^{was} and/exaggerating the actual conditions. We employed five detectives, reputable men. We were careful in securing our men.

Mr. Johnson. Local men?

Mr. Allison. No, sir. We got men that we felt we surely could trust. We put them in touch with the situation and investigated these localities. We found out the awful condition that was here, and then we undertook to get specific evidence as to whether the owners of the property knew what was going on there; the agents for the property, and the lessor of the property. We wanted to find out whether the people who had anything to do with that property really knew what was going on. So these detectives staged a scene-- set up a proposition first to buy the property. They did that to be sure/~~so~~ they could find out who owned it. Then they went farther and undertook to lease it. They knew they couldn't buy, but they found out the owner that way; found out that he lived in New York City. One of these places--- they speak of it ^{The} as Commercial Hotel---at the corner of 3rd and Missouri Avenue, of whom Canavan and Farlton are the agents for it, and it is leased to the Central Brewery---

Mr. Cooper. Prominent men in political circles here?

Mr. Allison. All of them; yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Among your prominent citizens?

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Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Leading citizens?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. Wasn't he on the stand?

Mr. Baker. Canavan was on the stand; Tarlton hasn't been yet.

Mr. Allison. So we took the matter up then with the people, who were in the place, to buy them out. A man by the name of Stewart was running the saloon, and a Greek whose name I don't recall was running the hotel, the rooming house. We got a complete invoice from them and the detectives' reports can verify this. In that invoice were two women as chattels, with their earning capacity per day.

Mr. Cooper. In the inventory were two women as what?

Mr. Allison. As part of the property.

Mr. Cooper. Chattels?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; with their earning capacity per day.

Mr. Cooper. As prostitutes?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. In this Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Of which Canavan and Tarlton, ~~are~~ among your leading citizens, are the agents?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Then we wanted to find out if Mr. Stuernagel, who is a representative ~~man~~ for the Brewery---we wanted to know if he knew what was going on in there, and we also wanted to know if Canavan and Tarlton knew what was going on in there,

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so in the buying of the Greek and Mr. Stewart out--we sent these five detectives out to Mr. Stuernagel to be sure that he knew what was going on, and we so satisfied ourselves. The conversation between Mr. Stuernagel and these detectives, as I recall it, from the reports, was that---and those reports have been seen by, for instance, the Attorney General of this state has had these in his possession---the reports read like this: That these men who were going to buy out the Greek and Mr. Stewart wanted the assurance from Mr. Stuernagel, the man from whom they would rent, who was the representative of the Brewery---they wanted the assurance from him that they could run such a place as the Greek and Mr. Stewart were running it. He assured them that they could. He said he would like for them to buy Stewart out anyway; that he had been trying to get Stewart to go into another part of the city and establish a similar business; that he ~~was~~ could work up a proposition like that to a great degree, and that he had another building in another part of the town that he would be glad to put him in. Mr. Stuernagel told these men that so far as he was concerned, he didn't give a damn what they did there so they didn't commit murder. Then they said to him, "we want some way--- you have surely got some way that you are convinced through the city administration that you can operate this business, or that those fellows can". "Well," he said, "now I'll tell you, Locke Tarlton is the political boss of this town and he owns the Mayor boots and baggage. I'll call him on the 'phone and send you men down there to him, and he can tell you. You can just talk it out with him". So they went down to see Mr. Tarlton, having been sent there by telephone---having been

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given a telephone date with them. They went to Mr. Tarlton. Mr. Tarlton told them that he didn't have anything to do with that place over there. All the interest he had in ~~mm~~ it was getting \$208 a month, the rent on it, and he felt sure that they could continue the business there, and he satisfied them to the fact that Stewart and the Greek were conducting the business and getting along alright. He was very crafty about it. He said this, however---he said, "This Mayor is a damned fine guy, and at heart he is wet. He never did want to close the saloons even on Sunday, but there came an agitation here on the subject and he told the saloon keepers that for a time, at least, they must close their front doors, but they could work their side doors and back doors. But", he said, "the damned bastards didn't have sense enough to ~~cooperate~~ cooperate with the Mayor and so they left the front doors open and so he had to clamp the lid on and close them on Sunday". Now that is the inside of that thing.

Now Mr. Tarlton has confessed to me that that conversation took place. We will get to that a little later on.

Now then,---

Mr. Foss. Was anyone present at the time you had that conversation?

Mr. Allison. With Mr. Tarlton?

Mr. Foss. Yes.

Mr. Allison. Mr. Mollman. It was in the Mayor's office.

Now then, when we found out this situation and we saw that it was very evident that these men weren't going to---

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they weren't going to clean the city. The only thing they would do was what they were driven to do. They went no step at all. They thwarted on every hand. They tried to tell me that things didn't exist that I knew existed. For instance, it got so that some of the men on the police force talked with me. The man they had in here as night chief ~~was~~ seemed to be---

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Allison. Con Hickey. He was the man through whom it seems that all of this stuff was allowed to go on. For instance, here is one thing that the policemen have told me about, that they had apprehended a fellow with a sack of sugar. A man stole a sack of sugar; was brought up to the station with the sack of sugar. The fellow was put into the coop for over night and the sack of sugar was ~~put~~^{but} into the patrol wagon and sent out to Mr. Hickey's home. (Laughter).

Mr. Johnson. Order must be preserved in here, and those who are not going to maintain order must get out.

Mr. Cooper. A policeman told you that?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; and it was the common ~~man~~ talk around.

Another instance was a man apprehended that had stolen two bolts of silk. The silk was left---I think this came in under the day man's time of service---and when they got ready for trial they demanded that this silk, of course, be produced. One bolt of it was gone. And they got after one of the sergeants over there about it, and he said that he knew where ~~was~~ the silk was, and so it finally twisted around till they sent out to Hickey's house and

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got the bolt of silk.

A policeman here on his ^{beat} told me an instance that happened---to^{just} show you how the thing was carried on---he walked into a saloon out here one night on his beat in what they call the "Bad Lands", and just as he stepped to the door of the saloon he heard^s loud ~~was~~ voice, and he saw ~~was~~ ~~two men in there~~ two men in there who were holding up the saloon keeper.

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean by holding him up?

Mr. Allison. That is, robbing him. They had their guns drawn on him; had him with his hands up. They were going to go through his cash drawer. He pushed the door open and shot one of them.

Mr. Johnson. Who did?

Mr. Allison. This policeman; and caught the other fellow before he could turn, of course. He made him drop his revolver. The man that he shot was an ex-convict from the penitentiary out on parole. This man was sent back to the penitentiary within a few days. The other man was a young fellow here in town, a vicious character. He brought him down to the station. Mr. Gerold went on his bond for \$500, I think.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Gerold was formerly city treasurer during whose administration that large sum of money belonging to the city was lost?

Mr. Allison. I think it was the same man. Anyway, it was Gerold that went on his bond. I don't know whether it was that young Gerold's father or which one it was, but it was Gerold that went on his bond. He said in two days he met

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the young fellow on the street and he smiled at him. He said, "What's the matter?" "Oh", he said, "I'm out of it". Now this policeman told me that that young fellow's trial never did come to any trial, and he said, "I know that the bond was never forfeited".

Now, those are the things that we were running into, and we knew that it was hopeless to get any kind of law enforcement from this proposition here.

Mr. Nelson A. Schein, who is president of the police board, came to me one day and said, "I would be glad to cooperate with you on cleaning this town up". I had made no pretensions to wanting to clean the town up, but the condition was such that I knew something ought to be done. So I thought I would try him out. I wasn't going to tell him anything till I felt him out to know that he was sincere. I found it.

Schein a very sincere man, and he didn't did not double cross me any place in any of our dealings. I use that term "double cross" because it is perfectly understood in this town.

I said to Mr. Schein, "Well, now, if you are sincere in this thing, I will tell you one thing that ought to be done. You ought to take the bar away from that **Bar Tenders and Waitresses Union**." It was directly across from the Illmo Hotel. I said, "I sat with five ~~men~~ men last night and saw many young girls go up those stairs with grown men". There had been murder committed up there; nothing much had been done about it at all. It was known as the "bucket of blood". That was the name of it.

Mr. Baker. ~~is~~ That is in the Illmo Hotel?

Mr. Allison. Across from the Illmo Hotel. It was over

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House's Hardware Store.

Mr. Raker. Is it there now?

Mr. Allison. No, sir; it isn't there now. It is down over Frank Wyant's saloon on the corner of Broadway and Main Street.

Mr. Raker. The same "bucket of blood"?

Mr. Allison. Largely the same "bucket of blood", I guess---I don't know---but it was all that it claimed to be at that time.

So I suggested to him it would be a good thing for the city officials to take that bar out of there. I had found out that they didn't have a license; that they were just running the thing. So within a night or two they raided it, and, as I remember, the newspaper report of the account had it that something up close to 100 men and women were gotten in that raid. Then it broke the place up. They went out of business for a time, at least, and since then they have moved down to the place that I tell you about.

Mr. Foss. How long ago was it that it was broken up? Do you remember approximately?

Mr. Allison. That was early in the spring.

Mr. Foss. This year?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; this year. Then I began to deal with Mr. Schein. I was impressed with him. I had never known him intimately, but I became impressed with his sincerity. Mr. Wallace Watkins, a close and warm friend of mine, was president of the police board, and I felt quite sure that Mr. Watkins didn't approve of a lot of things that were going on. We made a trip into Southern Illinois one day, and

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while going down on the train I had a long conversation about the conditions that existed here, and I found out that he was fairly well informed on all of them, and that he resented it---he didn't just tell me in so many words, but I gathered it from what he said, that he found himself hampered ~~and~~ at all kinds of turns to enforce the law.

After this other thing that happened, Mr. Schein said to me---he asked me if I knew anything about other conditions, and I told him yes, that there was a great deal of prostitution here, and it was flagrant---awful. He and Mr. Mathins suggested to me that I plan a raid, and I told them I would under certain conditions. They wanted to know what the conditions were, and I told them that it would be under the condition that members of the police force would know absolutely nothing about it at all, and that there would be no publicity of the affair, that is, that my name wouldn't be published in connection with the raid.

So I met them at a luncheon and we planned the raid. I met them Saturday noon and the ~~was~~ raid we planned---I was to meet them at 7:30 that evening. We met. The plans that we had worked out perfectly. I got ahold of some soldier uniforms and put one of them on the president of the police board; I put another on; and I got two young men out of the camp who had gotten passes, and they were both ministerial students, young fellows that we could trust, and the four of us went out on our checking-up expedition. The plan was this: We went to the places, took the address of the place; got the number of inmates; found out who the keeper was; and if we bought liquor, we got the charges specific,--selling liquor

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without a license, ~~keeping~~ keeper of an immoral house, inmates of immoral houses and frequenters. We got those specific charges all arranged with the place it was at and the number of people that were there. We checked the thing up. I think we had somewhere--if my memory does not fail me, we had seventy five.

Mr. Johnson. Houses?

Mr. Allison. No; 75 individuals.

Mr. Johnson. Women?

Mr. Allison. Men and women.

Then I turned the thing over to them and suggested the plan was that they were going together to the police force and tell them to go to a certain address and get a certain number of people, and insist that they do it. Well, that was on Saturday night. Sunday morning it was in the morning paper, all about the whole thing, and my name was connected with it as leading the raid; and told all about the method employed and everything. I understand the Mayor was down town that night. Mr. Schein tells me that he met the Mayor on the street. The Mayor found out **about it**, and he was very much angered to think that we would do such a thing as that.

Mr. Johnson. Is that the present Mayor or a former one?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; Mr. Mollman.

Sam So on Monday when I went down town, when these cases were to come up--I think they had all leaked out on the road to the station but about 35---I don't think there were over 35 of them ever brought to trial. I watched the thing closely just to see what would be done ~~with it~~ about it. Some of the detectives told me that they had let a certain woman

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go because she had tipped them off as to how to raid another place at some other time, and they felt like she had been a friend to them, and that is why they owed it to befriend her. One of these women, Marie Hall, whose place we checked up that night, had been running all the time, and it was current talk that the man at the police station, Mr. Tom Hurly, was giving her specific directions, and that he was---I have heard it said that he was helping her finance the institution. Anyway, I was interested to know just how many they got to the station; how many they brought to trial and what the result would be. When these cases came up, Mr. Hollman said to the City Attorney, in my presence---he said, "Now, Tom"---that was Tom Fekete-----"we want to keep these cases all in the city jurisdiction. Don't make any charges that will take the cases out of the city. I think we ought to get about \$100 out of that crowd." Well, that told me the way the thing was going, and it did go that way. They were brought in to court and they were all urged to plead guilty. This woman, Marie Hall, that I am telling you about---that was the third time that she had been arrested, the third charge within less than thirty days on selling liquor without a license---the fines for selling liquor without a license were \$25 and costs; and the fines were stayed. They paid \$1.85 costs. That was done in Justice Eggman's court. They were going to stay the costs and Justice Eggman said, "What am I going to get out of this? I have got to get the costs out of it. You are not going to ~~me~~ throw me off of this". So they decided then they would pay the costs. That is that they paid for selling liquor without a license---\$1.85.

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Mr. Cooper. Didn't they pay the \$25 fine?

Mr. Allison. No, sir. I am corrected---Eggman is Police Magistrate.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; you want to give his full title. Now, just a minute; what do you mean by "staying" a fine?

Mr. Allison. Why, just leave the thing there unpaid on the promise that they are going to do better. Then the keepers of ~~the~~ places---

Mr. Johnson. Does that mean sell more or less? (Laughter).

Mr. Allison. Well, I don't know. Then the keepers of ~~the~~ places of ill fame were fined \$10 and costs. Some of them paid their fines, and I think ~~in~~ in an instance or two the fines were stayed with them. Inmates and frequenters were fined \$5.00 and costs.

Mr. Foster. Let me ask you there, who has the power to stay a fine in the City of East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. The City Attorney is the only one that has.

Mr. Foster. That has the power---not the Mayor and City Council?

Mr. Allison. I don't know whether anybody has or not. I have heard it said that nobody has the right to stay a fine.

Mr. Foster. And in this case it was the City Attorney?

Mr. Allison. The City Attorney and the Police Magistrate.

Mr. Cooper. The Supreme Court of the United States decided not a great while ago that even a United States Judge hadn't the right, after conviction in due form by jury, to suspend sentence and allow the criminal convicted to go free.

Mr. Johnson. That is in violation of the right to pardon.

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Mr. Cooper. Exactly. Now then, there cannot be any statute, can there, or ordinance, which leaves it discretionary, whether a penalty like that should be paid or not?

Mr. Allison. I have been told when I faced certain folks with that statement, they told me that there was a statute that allowed a staying of a fine---that it was at the option of the City Attorney to stay a fine in cases of plea of guilt. Now, I don't know whether that is so or not.

Mr. Raker. It all depends on the statute.

Mr. Cooper. Yes, sir; it all depends on the statute and something depends on the City Attorney.

Mr. Allison. Yes; certainly.

Mr. Raker. ^{It} Doesn't seem that anything ^{good} was dependable on any of those fellows.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead, Mr. Allison.

Mr. Allison. So there were two young men who were caught in this net that night, frequenters.

Mr. Johnson. The night that you went around on the search?

Mr. Allison. The night that we made the raid---who refused to plead guilty. They stood trial. It was ^avery interesting trial. It was such a trial as Justice Townsend described to you here. Mr. Alexander Flamigan was the attorney for the defendants, and there was no plea to it. There was no nothing. The jury was gotten, and the case was heard. When you got up there---for instance, two detectives took the witness stand---the two men that were slain, Coppedge and Hodley---they took the stand and swore that the place that these men were in was a place of ill fame; that these men were there; that they were caught there. Of course, they made

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the plea---one of them did---that he roomed there, and that this other young man had called up there to visit him. The jury was out about five minutes, and I heard a lot of laughter, and they brought in a plea of not guilty.

Mr. Cooper. A verdict of not guilty?

Mr. Allison. A verdict of not guilty---thank you. And then they immediately adjourned to the Court Bar, ~~where~~ where there was a lot of uproars, laughter and I suppose drinking to the health of the men who had won their case.

Mr. Foster. Was that a jury trial?

Mr. Allison. That was a jury trial. I especially noticed the way in which the jury was picked. There were one or two men brought in who were respectable men. I knew them. They said that they didn't know anything about the case, and they could give a fair and impartial hearing to the evidence, and I was amused at one statement. Mr. Flannigan asked one young man---he said, "You are a truant officer, aren't you?" "Yes". "Well, you can step aside". It seemed to be that a man that was connected with the School Board in any way at all wasn't eligible to serve ~~in~~ on the jury.

Mr. Cooper. That would indicate they didn't want either intelligence or integrity on the jury?

Mr. Allison. No; I was thoroughly convinced that they didn't want any such men of that stamp on the jury.

Mr. Foster. Tell us more about the selection of that jury if you know, Mr. Allison. I would like to know just how they selected them.

Mr. Allison. Well, they called them in and they were questioned, and those that were selected---all that were selected seemed to answer the questions in a uniform way. They

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know that to say; they didn't know anything about it; didn't know the defendant in the case; had no prejudice in the matter, and could give an absolute, fair and impartial hearing. There wasn't any question about whether they could give a fair trial or not.

Mr. Foss. It indicated that they had had great experience as jury men, did it?

Mr. Allison. They indicated to me that they were soldiers of the cause.

Mr. Cooper. And acquainted with Mr. Flannigan?

Mr. Allison. Well, they knew him. They all said that they knew the attorneys---the attorney for the defense, they all knew him.

Mr. Baker. Who was prosecuting?

Mr. Allison. The City Attorney Fekete.

Mr. Foster. Did these jurors appear as the business men or better element of the people here? Do you know about that?

Mr. Allison. No; they were not the better element of the folks in East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster. They were men picked up?

Mr. Allison. Men that they had picked up.

That was the last of the trying of all the cases. The rest of them, as I say, ~~man~~ pleaded guilty. I was asked by one of the citizens---Mr. Schein told me that he was thoroughly disgusted with the thing; that they hadn't imposed the fines that should have been imposed; and that he wasn't pleased with the way the whole thing had been conducted. I was asked what I thought about it by---I think it was Mayor Hollman, who said, "Well, Reverend, we gave it to them, didn't

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we?" I said, "Yes, you gave it to them". "Why", he said, "what do you think about it?" I said, "Do you want me to really tell you?" He said, "Why sure". "Well," I said, "if the Lord will forgive me for this one participation, I will never be guilty again". "What do you mean"? I said, "I simply mean that I feel as though I had helped you to put the fear of God in the hearts of these poor devils so you could more easily shake them down".

Mr. Cooper. That meant get money out of them?

Mr. Allison. Yes. Every sinner then---that was the beginning of the lack of cordiality between the Mayor and I.

Now, back again to that question of these hotels and to corroborate a thing that I said a moment ago, that Mr. Holliman and Mr. Farlton were thoroughly familiar with these things. This man Stewart became so coarse in the manipulation of his Commercial Hotel that the Mayor himself took his saloon license away from him at the demand of the Police Board, Mr. Schein and Mr. Watkins. This is Mr. Schein's own story to me. And then there are other conversations that I have had with the Mayor and Mr. Schein which corroborated it. The Mayor promised Mr. Schein that he never again would give a license to run a saloon--for Stewart to run a saloon in that place. Well, the license was kept away for two or three months, but they continued to sell liquor over there. We had a check on it. The fact about the matter, in this invoice that these detectives had, and in the complete description of it they had shown them all about the thing--how they handled it; how they tilted the lid on Sunday; ^{they} had taken them into all the ramifications of it and showed them where they

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had their gambling room and everything else. It was all staged.

Now the Mayor had promised Mr. Schein that he would not give the license back in that place. As I say, about two months went by and he did give it back. And two nights about after it was given back, one of the city detectives was shot over there in the rear of that place. It was---the story came out that he was shot by a negro whom he was trying to apprehend. I have heard that it was a little bit different from that.

Mr. Cooper. What did you hear?

Mr. Allison. I have heard that it was sort of a fuss they had over there and that he was shot by someone else. They didn't give any names as to who had shot him, but I was led to believe that it was all through that place there that he was shot. His name was Neville.

Now then, after the Mayor had written to the Attorney General offering him his help and when we had---

Mr. Cooper. One moment. Do you know where we can get a copy of that invoice or the invoice itself in which those two prostitutes were ^{mentioned} ~~named~~ as chattels?

Mr. Allison. If I cannot get you a copy, I think I can get you at least two or three of the detectives who would make sworn statements as to those things. I can do that.

Mr. Johnson. And they were valued according to their daily earning capacity?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; the average earning capacity of those women was \$7.00 a day.

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Mr. Johnson. Did they get any part of it, or do you know?

Mr. Allison. The women?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Allison. ~~Yes~~ Well, I don't know about what part they got.

Mr. Johnson. You don't know whether these men kept it all from them or not?

Mr. Allison. No.

Mr. Foss. Did you ever make any inquiries as to the number of houses of that character there were in this town?

Mr. Allison. The number of houses of prostitution?

Mr. Foss. Yes.

Mr. Allison. Not completely; I didn't have the nerve to go into the colored districts.

Mr. Cooper. Now, let me see if I get this. These women were sold as part of the invoice of that property?

Mr. Allison. They were given as part of the invoice.

Mr. Cooper. They proposed to sell them?

Mr. Allison. They were to be turned over with the property.

Mr. Cooper. And \$7.00 a day?

Mr. Allison. They had an earning capacity of \$7.00 per day; that was their average.

Mr. Cooper. And that was part of the money, of course -- some of that money would be used to pay the rent of that hotel?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And that rent was collected by Tarlton--- by Canavan and Tarlton?

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Mr. Allison. It was collected from Stewart and the Greek by Mr. Stuernagel, or the Central Brewery, and Mr. Canavan and Mr. Tarlton took their money from the Brewery. The Brewery had it leased from Canavan and Tarlton. Canavan and Tarlton were the agents for Mr. A. E. Hollingsworth of New York City.

Mr. Cooper. Mr. Tarlton is now the president of your Levee Board, isn't he?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; Mr. Canavan is Superintendent of Public Improvements in the City of East St. Louis---I think that is his official title.

Mr. Cooper. He didn't include the possible improvement of that hotel in public improvements, did he?

Mr. Allison. No, sir.

I was beginning to tell now of my relation to Mr. Mollman and Mr. Tarlton as specifically related to that hotel.

Mr. Raker. Showing that Tarlton knew these conditions?

Mr. Allison. Showing he did know them; and he told me he knew them. The Attorney General discovered that in the clean-up he was making in the county that these things disreputable places in East St. Louis were vitally related to those things, so he writes Mr. Mollman a letter calling his attention to the fact that he had written to him offering him his help ~~in~~ at such a time that help would become needed.

Mr. Cooper. That is, the Mayor had written?

Mr. Allison. The Mayor had written complimenting the Attorney General on what he was doing in the county and offering his services. That was in the spring before Mr. Mollman was elected. Now then, the Attorney General writes ---

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Mr. Foss. Before he was first elected?

Mr. Allison. Before he was elected the second time.

Mr. Foss. That was when---what year was that?

Mr. Allison. Last spring, last April.

The Attorney General wrote to Mr. Mollman and asked him, calling his attention to the fact that he had offered his help and cited specifically these disreputable ~~hotels~~ hotels; named them---the Southern Hotel, the Commercial Hotel, the Arlington Hotel, the Home Hotel, the Weiss Hotel---I think he named seven of them---the Savoy Hotel---he named these hotels and stated to the Mayor that they had specific evidence and asked him to immediately close them because they were assignation houses. The Mayor received that letter and came to my home to see me. He came to my home one night and showed me the letter that he had received from the Attorney General, and asked me what I thought he should do. I told him there was only one thing for him to do and that was to immediately act upon the advice and the suggestion of the Attorney General. He said, "Well, of course I don't know anything about those places". I said, "Well, the Attorney General tells you that he does, and he tells you that he has the specific evidence. You have his letter stating that". And I urged that he immediately take action. "Well," he said, "I want to see you". So he set a date for me to see him and talk it over with him. He said he would like for me to see him and Locke.

Mr. Foss. Locke?

Mr. Allison. Locke Tarlton. So on Thursday before this riot on Sunday---it took place on Sunday---this was on Thurs-

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day, just before July the 2nd. I met with the Mayor and Mr. Locke Tarlton in the Mayor's office and we had about a three-hour conversation. I begun by telling them that I felt that they owed some consideration to my plea, because I had supported them in the municipal election in the spring. I didn't know how many votes I had delivered to them at all, but that was left for them to determine. I knew I had worked for them, and I felt they owed it to me to hear my plea to this matter. I began to tell them, and right away they began to say that the things I was saying weren't so, and that the ~~man~~ detectives would lie and all of that and that the Attorney General---oh, they said a lot of things accusing him of political motives and things like that. I said to Mr. Tarlton---I said, "Mr. Tarlton, you must think I'm a fool to come into this office, in your presence, and tell you of a specific instance, if I don't know something about the actual facts", and I said, "To prove to you that I do know ~~what~~ what I'm talking about, I'm going to quote your own conversation", and I up and fired it at him just what those detectives said that he said about the Mayor being a "damned fine guy and at heart he was^a let man and didn't intend to close the saloons on Sunday". I fired the thing at him and he started to raise up out of his chair, and he said, "I remember those damned sons of bitches". I said, "Of course you remember them", and then he tried to get out of it by saying that he didn't mean to say it was so. "Well", I said, "It is a confession that it is so", and then I began to drill it into him, and I went after him hammer and tongs, and I finally drew from him this statement---he said, "well,

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Reverend.", he said, "the trouble about it is, the damned city is just like it has always been". The Mayor arose and said, "Locke, Locke, you don't mean to say this town is like it has always been?" He said, "Yes, Mayor, it is just like it has always been". "Why, Locke, didn't I run these penitentiary birds and these bums and thugs out from the rear of the police station here?", and Tarlton ~~smiled~~ laughed and said, "Yes, Mayor, you ran them out of there, but they are still in town; your old friends are all here, Mayor; they are all here". And Hollman said, "Well, I'll be damned if I don't believe I'll join this 3rd Artillery and go to France".
(Laughter).

Then Mr. Tarlton sailed into me to ask me what I was going to do with the prostitutes. That was the great problem. He told me that a school girl friend of his was in business here in town, and a lot of things like that, and he got very vulgar. I guess he knew that it would be distasteful to me, but he emptied out---I don't think he emptied all he had in him out on it, because it seemed to be very fluent language for the gentleman.

And he poured it into me hot and heavy to know what we were going to do with all the prostitutes, and if he closed up the Commercial Hotel, what would be done with the girls---things like that. I assured the gentleman that that wasn't our problem first hand; that our problem first hand was to enforce---that the lawmakers of this country, it is to be presumed, had thought this thing out and they had decided that certain things were a menace to the peace and prosperity of the community; and that it is also presumed that the enforcement of the law would restore a normal and rightful

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condition, and "How", I said, "the first thing for you to consider, and everybody else, is the enforcement of the law", and I said, "In harmony with that, I am serving on you a five-day notice now to abate that nuisance in that hotel, or we will close the thing up and nail it up for a year until you can't rent it for any purpose". That is under the new law which we have in this state today, under which you can do that. So I served notice on him, Canavan and Tarlton, agents of the building. I served one on him for Mr. Hollingsworth, the owner of the building, and got him to give me Mr. Hollingsworth's address. Then I began to appeal to them to clean the town.

Mr. Johnson. Did you send notice to Mr. Hollingsworth?

Mr. Allison. I did; I sent one by registered mail and I have the return registered card from Mr. Hollingsworth. I began to appeal to them to clean this town up. They said to me---Tarlton said to me, "Well", he said, "Reverend, go on and nail the damned place up". I said, "No, that is not the main thing; you ought to stop it yourself". The Mayor said, "Well, let General Brundage come in here and let him go in and close it up, Reverend. We don't give a damn". I said, "Mayor, do you realize that what you are saying makes the very prima facie evidence upon which you can be taken out of office, for malfeasance in office?" And he turned and looked at me for a moment and I said, "You're pursuing the course that everybody down here is pursuing relative to the Attorney General. If he can do it, you say let him do it. You have no regard for your oath of office and you aren't going to do the thing. You don't want to do it." Well, our conversation drifted

on. We didn't get anywhere, and I said this to them---in the course of those remarks I said, "If you don't clean this town and get rid of this idle thug crowd that you have got here, you will have a riot here one of these days to / that little thing that you had in May will not be a patching." Now I had heard the rumors of this thing and there had been niggers continually assaulted; negroes were being assaulted every day and every night almost; they were being insulted from May 28th clear on up to the 2nd, and nobody was being arrested or convicted. That thing was going on, and I saw the drift of the thing, and I had heard these stories being circulated/^{that} had been gotten out among/^{the} white people that the negroes were going to mob the 4th of July picnic, women and children, and they had given it to the negroes that the white people were going to mob them on the 4th of July. Now, Mr. Mollman didn't intend to close those hotels. He wanted to know of me what he could do, if he thought it would be any good to go and see the Attorney General, and I said, "It might do ~~any~~ you some good to go and see him; you'll find a splendid gentleman, but you'll find out that he will simply ask you to do what you ought to do". So that ended the conversation.

That is about the conditions as they led up to the riot. Possibly there are some other things.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know about the barrel houses?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; I know about those. I could tell something about that. When Mayor Mollman in the spring---this is in justice to him---and you know it is fair to say this--- I found it out too, to my disappointment---it isn't an easy

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matter to enforce the law in East St. Louis, and one of the reasons why, it is a whole lot easier---a whole lot easier to let conditions be as they have been than it is to go in and do something. It is mighty rough sailing, because of the men who own the property that house this criminal class. Now, in justice to the Mayor, when he started in to clean up this town, he used to come to me quite often, and I think as long as I ~~was~~ stayed in my pulpit and didn't ~~turn~~ do too much, he would still have been my friend, but he asked me to help him and when I started in to help him I was too much help. (Laughter). He started to close these barrel houses, disreputable places. Now, Mr. Hollman told me that leading citizens of this town employed attorneys and came over here and camped on his trail and pleaded with him, and they brought all kinds of pressure to bear to let ~~them~~ reopen those barrel houses.

Mr. Cooper. Who were the "leading citizens" who did this?

Mr. Allison. He told me, for instance, that Mr. Curtis Dodson---he said he told Mr. Dodson---it is just as well to have this out---he told me that he went to Mr. Dodson and said, "Mr. Dodson, you ought to be ashamed for running the sort of place that you are running down there next to my Harness Shop!" Dodson owned some property down there, and he got after him about it. He told me himself that Mr. Joyce had given him a great deal of trouble---Mr. Maurice Joyce had given him a great deal of trouble about closing up barrel houses that were in property that he owned, and revoking licenses of saloons. He also told me that Mr. Jordan, here in town, a man who owns considerable property, had camped on his trail. Those are the principal ones that he

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told me about. There is also some ~~man~~ real estate men here in town---I will think of the name now in a second---

Mr. Baker. While you are thinking about that, what is this double shuffle involved in ~~that~~ where they run two saloons, ~~negro~~ and white, with one license?

Mr. Allison. I think that has been the rule so long and niggers running saloons without any license at all.

He has told me that Fisher Brothers here in town give him a good deal of trouble, too, and that other real estate agents had given him considerable trouble about him taking licenses away from saloons that were in the property that they rented. And then breweries got after him.

Mr. Cooper. Just one second. I want to ask you if this is a fact: The law of the State of Illinois requires the giving of a license for the selling of liquor, and provides a penalty for the violation of the law, doesn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. These men owning these buildings in which there had been violations of the law, knowing that the law had been violated, went to the officers whose duty it was to enforce the law and asked them not to enforce it. Is that it?

Mr. Allison. That is Mr. Kollman's---that was Mr. Kollman's story to me of why he couldn't get along more rapidly with the enforcement of the law.

Mr. Cooper. In other words, ~~some~~ certain so-called prominent citizens would consent to the violation of the criminal law in this state, a law enacted by the legislature of the State to protect, if they could get money out of it?

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Mr. Allison. That is it.

Mr. Raker. They would be running business without paying this .500 or \$750 license. That is the condition, isn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes; that is true.

Mr. Raker. Who is Maurice V. Joyce, a real estate man?

Mr. Allison. No; he is an attorney here.

Mr. Raker. Is that the same gentleman that was on the stand?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And Fisher, who is he?

Mr. Allison. Fisher Brothers are just real estate men here.

Mr. Raker. And these other men you named are men---

Mr. Allison. Mr. Dodson lives out on Brighton Place; Mr. Jordan, I don't know just where he lives, but he owns property up at Collinsville and Illinois Avenues.

Mr. Raker. Now go on with your barrel-house proposition.

Mr. Cooper. Just one more question, Mr. Allison, that awful story of that young girl and her sisters and the mother's letters---did you ever narrate that to any of these officials? Did they know anything about that?

Mr. Allison. I told that to Mr. Kollman. I gave him the name of the saloon keeper.

Mr. Cooper. And Mr. Webb?

Mr. Allison. No; I never ~~narrated~~ narrated it to Mr. Webb, because Webb was out of office.

Mr. Cooper. Who is the saloon keeper that has now got the

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license here?

Mr. Allison. I think the name is Pickering--now I want to get that correct---that is the name, Pickering.

Mr. Cooper. How long after that was that place allowed to continue open there? Or is it open now?

Mr. Allison. No; it ran until the Attorney General got an injunction to close it.

Mr. Baker. That is outside of the city?

Mr. Allison. Yes; it is out at the edge of the city, but she has a residence here in town. and she---we found out through our investigations that when there came very nearly being---about the time that the prohibition law was to go into effect in this state---that is, it seemed as though ~~th~~ it might go into effect---Mrs. Peters said that they stored several thousand dollars' worth of liquor in their basement to ~~ti~~de them over, and that---where the liquor was stored here in town was here in the city.

Mr. Cooper. You were telling about the barrel houses.

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Foster. Let me see if I get that clear. This house that you speak of was located outside the city limits?

Mr. Allison. Just out at the edge.

Mr. Foster. Well, that would come under a county board ---the county board would grant a license in that case?

Mr. Allison. Yes. The woman lives inside the city. She has a residence here in the city, and it was in this residence that the liquor was stored to violate the law out at the edge of the town.

Mr. Baker. To make it clear right there, the Attorney

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General handled those cases outside of the city limits?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Raker. And not within the city limits?

Mr. Allison. No; he took Mr. Hollman's word that he would take care of the situation in the city.

I want to just say this word, too, about a thing Mr. Hollman told me, and also told Mr. Gillette, who is the attorney in Chicago for the Anti-Saloon League. Mr. Gillette came to ~~him~~ town one day and we went to Hollman to talk to him about the situation in the County. It was deplorable. This was before the Attorney General got into it. I was trying to ~~get~~ find somebody through whom I could work to get a hold on the situation. Mr. Gillette came in here and we went to Mr. Hollman about it, and talked to him about it. Mr. Hollman told Mr. Gillette and I both that he had a gentleman's agreement with Mr. Schaunleffel that he would lay off the conditions in the County and have nothing to do with it, if Mr. Schaunleffel would allow him to run the city.

Mr. Raker. Who is Mr. Schaunleffel?

Mr. Allison. He is State's Attorney of St. Claire County.

Mr. Raker. Here?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. Now---

Mr. Raker. A gentleman's agreement?

Mr. Allison. A gentleman's agreement; yes.

Mr. Raker. Now what do you understand that gentleman's agreement was, what it meant?

Mr. Allison. Well, Mr. Hollman's own words were these, that each man would stay on his own bailiwick---that is, that

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he wouldn't disturb these saloons out at the edge of town, and that Schaumleffel was to leave Mollman to handle affairs in town. That was the understanding. Mr. Schaumleffel was to use his influence to support Mr. Mollman for re-election. The gentleman's agreement was had just before Mr. Mollman's election.

Mr. Baker. That would be, then, sometime this year?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. Then I did have some affidavits ---that is, the copy of some affidavits made by negroes who were in a meeting here in town---I think Mr. Joe McGlynn, who was the City Attorney prior to this administration that went in, had drawn up those affidavits. They are affidavits of negroes telling of a meeting that they were in; called in by Mr. Schaumleffel, and the affidavits state---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). What were the names of the negroes?

Mr. Allison. I can get those for you, Mr. Chairman. The affidavits state that Mr. Schaumleffel called a large number of negroes into a meeting down here and told them that they must support Mr. Mollman for Mayor; that if they didn't do it the town would be closed up tight; it would be dry; they couldn't make any money; couldn't run any gambling houses, or anything like that; the town would be closed up tight, and nobody could make any money. So the negroes were whipped into line.

Mr. Baker. For that election?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. The April election?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Raker. Right there---is this gentleman still ~~in~~ a public official in St. Clair County in the State of Illinois?

Mr. Allison. Schaunleffel?

Mr. Raker. Yes.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Go on.

Mr. Cooper. This is a non-partizan affair all around, isn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; there is nobody that wants to claim---I wouldn't want to belong to a party that would claim any of it.

Mr. Raker.. But both parties are reaping the benefit?

Mr. Allison. Yes; it wasn't a question of a man's politics; it was a question of his adaptability to be used in the situation.

Mr. Raker. Now with your barrel houses, complete that.

Mr. Allison. Back to the question of the barrel houses, and corroborating the Mayor's statement that these certain gentlemen did camp on his trial, I heard Mr. Jordan say one day ---

Mr. Raker. What is Jordan's full name?

Mr. Allison. F. B. Jordan. I heard Mr. F. B. Jordan bemoaning the fact that Mr. Mollman was nothing but a German Kaiser; that he had closed up three saloons in his property; and that he couldn't do anything with him, and said that Mr. Mollman was a damned fool. I heard Mr. Jordan say that, make the statement that he couldn't do anything with him. I have been in the Mayor's office when I did see Mr. Dodson--- I had ^{seen} Mr. Dodson in the Mayor's office---I saw Mr. Dodson in

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the Mayor's office to see the Mayor. I don't know whether he ever had an audience with him or not, but I know I saw him in the Mayor's office waiting for an audience. Mr. Mollman told me that some of these men had employed Jephtha Howe, of St. Louis, to come over here and intercede for their interests in these barrel houses.

Mr. Raker. Those are the ones now that they had closed?

Mr. Allison. Yes. And a lot of them were blacklisted saloons.

Mr. Cooper. Now just what is a barrel house as distinguished from a respectable cafe?

Mr. Allison. I am not up on that; the only thing in my mind of a barrel house is that they sell a very inferior grade of liquor there, and that it is just a noted hang-out for down-and-outers.

Mr. Raker. I didn't quite get your question, Judge--- the distinction between a barrel house and a respectable cafe?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Allison. Well, I think that distinction is very clear.

Mr. Cooper. I took particular occasion to say cafe.

Mr. Allison. I can say this to you: When I was a railroad man I used to go with the boys and young fellows and visit saloons. The trouble with East St. Louis is it has got very few saloons in it, but it has got an innumerable amount of dives.

Mr. Cooper. Rendezvous for thieves and thugs?

Mr. Allison. That is what they are. To tell you about one of these instances---

Mr. Johnson. The Committee will now take a recess until

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half past one, and you will please come back then, Mr. Allison.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

(Whereupon at 12:30 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned for recess).

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Allison, will you take the stand?

In your testimony before lunch, you said that your information was that a man by the name of Jordan had undertaken to interfere with the authorities for the purpose of preventing the cancellation of a saloon license?

Mr. Allison. That ~~statement~~ was Mr. Mollman's statement to me.

Mr. Johnson. Is this Mr. Jordan a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Allison. I think perhaps he is.

Mr. Johnson. What are the initials of the Mr. Jordan to whom you refer?

Mr. Allison. F. B.

Mr. Johnson. Then you also mentioned a man by the name of Dodson. In the same connection, do you know whether he is a member of the Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Allison. I have seen him at the Committee's meetings. I am not sure whether he was one of the members or not. I think perhaps he is.

Mr. Johnson. Are his initials C. S. Dodson?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Then we know from the list that we have

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that he is a member of the committee.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Do you know whether or not the activities of these gentlemen as members of the Committee of One Hundred, which committee was expected to bring order out of chaos and riot here, ever did anything looking towards the suppression of loafer houses and lawless saloons in their own property?

Mr. Allison. Why, I am quite sure that these men of themselves did nothing. In some meetings of the Committee of One Hundred, in the beginning, when we talked about getting down to the facts in the case and bettering conditions here, I appealed to the Committee of One Hundred that one of the most essential things to do was to get after the owners of property, the people who housed this criminal class, and that we were to make them responsible for these things. Three or four different times I brought that up in the meetings of the Committee of One Hundred, but never received any encouragement on it, and no definite action was ever taken.

Mr. Johnson. Is it your opinion that if the Committee of One Hundred had directed their activities towards putting out of the houses, in which they were quartered, the criminals, that violation of law here would have become less frequent.

Mr. Allison. Oh, I am satisfied of that.

Mr. Johnson. Or, in other words, if they hadn't been housed here by the very powers that be, they would have had to have gone elsewhere?

Mr. Allison. They would have. There is this thing to be considered: East St. Louis is at a disadvantage. We are a

city of approximately 90,000 people, but we have to deal with an underworld of a city of 900,000. They play back and forth across the River.

Mr. Johnson. You refer to St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. For instance, to prove that to you, in a lot of our investigations we tracked a lot of this stuff to certain saloons in St. Louis, and people who are my friends and know of some of those conditions---that is, they have known me for a good while and believed in me---came to me and warned ^{me} about not going much farther along some lines. It wasn't a threat, but they knew of the danger that I was getting into. The criminal element has played back and forth across these rivers. Now I have jotted down a thing here that I think ought to come into this report in reference to this Commercial Hotel. That place, I am informed by men who know, was promoted by Canavan and Tarlton. They went to St. Louis and encouraged this man Hollingsworth to come to East St. Louis and build that place.

Mr. Johnson. Hollingsworth is now living in New York?

Mr. Allison. Living in New York City. Hollingsworth has been known as conducting places of assignation. He had three or four places in St. Louis; he made all of his money that way, and I am informed by citizens here who know, that this place was built specifically for that. That was the purpose of it. Now there is this to be said about the Commercial Hotel: There is nothing favorable in its history. Some of the worst crimes that have been committed in this part of the country have been committed by individuals that have emanated from that place. Now to make that clear to you.

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during the regime of Nick Roselli---I don't know how to pronounce that--now this man Nick Roselli ran that place under Chamberlaine's administration here, the Mayor of the City. Chamberlaine was supported in his first campaign by Canavan and Tarlton. They supported him. This man Roselli conducted a notorious place there; one of the worst crimes ever perpetrated in this part of the country was pulled off there, when a paymaster in St. Louis was waylaid, murdered and robbed by three fellows that came from this place. Now the crime happened in St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. When you say "this place", what place do you mean?

Mr. Allison. I mean the Commercial Hotel. They came out of there, and the Tourist---it was then the Tourist Hotel---it is the same building. Dutch Archme ~~is~~---he was one of the criminals,--and a fellow by the name of Smithsinger was another, and a young East St. Louis lad by the name of Carl Caldwell owned the machine and was the chauffeur that conducted this campaign, led this company that waylaid this paymaster, murdered him and robbed him. Caldwell turned state's evidence---snitched on them---and he was murdered in the Missouri Penitentiary. These other fellows are there now doing time.

Mr. Johnson. How much money did they get from him?

Mr. Allison. About \$9,000---\$10,000.

Now that is the history of this place. And also these machines that went out that night and harrassed the negroes in the negro part of this town---

Mr. Johnson. When you say "machine", you mean automobile?

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Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What night?

Mr. Allison. On Sunday night, the night of the 1st of July.

Mr. Cooper. This year?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. They initiated that riot. They drove up and down through the negro sections of the town firing into the negroes' buildings, cursing them and telling them to leave town or ^{they} were going to run them out. I have had some good negroes, who have been to me--a large committee waited on me and told me about it. One man told me of going to the door and a bullet burying itself right in the casing of the door by the side of him. //

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Allison. Reverend Wallace was his name. Now that is the history of that place down there.

Mr. Baker. This automobile is supposed to have started from that place?

Mr. Allison. It did start from that place. I forget the young fellow's name that owned that machine---it has just slipped my mind.

Mr. Johnson. We would be glad if you could recall it.

Mr. Allison. Masserang.

Mr. Johnson. Did he live in the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Allison. He drove the machine and it started from that place and came back here. A man who saw the machines there ~~the~~ the machines were riddled with bullets---saw the machines there that night when they drove up there after they had come back. They had quite a hilarious time over there.

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Mr. Johnson. You say ~~these~~ machines were riddled with bullets?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Fired by whom?

Mr. Allison. I suppose that the negroes were firing at them. The negroes told me this story, that there were public services there at one of their churches, ~~this~~ church where they congregated and where the bell rang, and that ~~these~~ machines came through there ^{and} fired through their church when service were going on. They turned the lights out, disbanded, ~~and~~ went home, armed and came back there, and I suppose when the machine made another trip through there they fired at it and that was probably the first firing that was done, and that is what called the police and sent the police into that district.

Mr. Foss. How many machines were there, do you know?

Mr. Allison. Two on the first trip. The officers went down in one machine. //

Mr. Johnson. Was that one of the two machines?

Mr. Allison. No; that wasn't one of the two.

~~and~~ Now I have stated that concerning that Commercial Hotel, because that is very important to the issue of this thing.

Mr. Baker. Before you pass that, do you know what this man Masserang's first name is?

Mr. Allison. Gus Masserang.

Mr. Baker. Where is Gus now?

Mr. Allison. He is indicted by the Grand Jury.

Mr. Johnson. Is he out on bail?

Mr. Allison. I presume he is. I don't know whether ~~am~~ he is or not.

Mr. Baker. Who is this man that saw the machines after they returned?

Mr. Allison. W. A. Miller.

Mr. Baker. Where is he?

Mr. Allison. Secretary of the Railroad Y. M. C. A.

Now then, I started in to tell you before we left---before ~~am~~ luncheon, about some specific instances.

Mr. Baker. About that paymaster, about how long ago was that?

Mr. Allison. ~~It was about six years ago~~ I think it was just immediately after I came here as pastor of the church.

Mr. Baker. How long has that been?

Mr. Allison. About four years ago, or maybe a little longer than that.

Before we discuss the question of the riot, I think it is very necessary to understand somewhat of the lawless condition that existed in East St. Louis, because it paved the way for this thing. In some of the investigations that I made here---

Mr. Cooper. May I interrupt the witness to say that just as we adjourned, he started to tell us some instance.

Mr. Allison. I am going to tell you that now. It is in reference to a saloon conducted by Gus Brown on Collinsville Avenue, near the Arcade Building---

Mr. Johnson. Who owns the real estate in which it is conducted?

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Mr. Allison. I don't know who owns that real estate.

Mr. Johnson. Will you find out and let us know?

Mr. Allison. Adam Smith, I am told, owns the building.

In our investigations we found that this saloon of Gus Brown's was a notorious place, in that there was a lot of prostitutes that gambled there and some were kept up stairs; gambling was going on there and things of that kind. And I went and appealed to the authorities about the closing of that place. I took Mr. Schein with me and we went over and put the proposition up squarely to the officials. Mr. Hollman said he would look into ~~the~~ it right away. So they went and he came back to me and said that the detectives were wanting that thing left alone for a little while.

Mr. Johnson. Whose detectives? The ones you employed or city detectives?

Mr. Allison. City detectives; they wanted his place left alone for a little while, as they were using it as a sort of watering place for crooks. They were watching for some safe crackers, and they gambled at that place. They seemed attracted to that place and they would like to leave it for a little while. Well, it is still a "watering place".

Mr. Johnson. Still left alone?

Mr. Allison. Still left alone. Nothing was ever done to the place.

Mr. Johnson. Do they have any water there at all?

Mr. Allison. I don't know (Laughter).

Mr. Baker. What is the name of that place?

Mr. Allison. Andy Brown.

Mr. Baker. Where is it located?

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Mr. Allison. It is on Collinsville Avenue near the Arcade Building.

Now back again to that one idea. Here is another "back again" in reference to that Commercial Hotel. Mr. Schein and I---when I went to Mr. Schein and told him what we had discovered about the Commercial Hotel, he said to me, "Do you have gilt edge evidence on that place?" I said, "Yes". He said, "Are you sure it will hold?" I said, "Sure it will". He said, "Will you go right now with me to the Mayor's office and let us put this up to him?" I said, "Certainly". So Mr. Schein and I went to the Mayor's office and put the matter before him. The Mayor said, "Well now, I'll tell you what we'll do. Let's leave that alone until after we collect the July license." He said, "The city needs the revenue and let's wait till we get the license money and then I'll close them up". I made this remark to the Mayor: I said, "Mayor, that is a dangerous procedure. Anybody who might want to could cause you a lot of trouble with that." I said, "That might get you in bad", and he said, "Well" and moved his hands. I said, "That is another point in the question of malfeasance in office," I think; I am not sure about it .

Now Mr. Schein tells me that---I think it was that night ---that in ~~conferance~~ conference with Corporation Counsel Jerry Sullivan, Locke Tarlton---I think he said that Tom ~~Caravan~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ in the conference---~~Mayor~~ ^{and} Mayor Mollman---Mr. Schein says that he told this conference about the things that I had reported concerning the Commercial Hotel; about what I had said to the Mayor; about what the Mayor had said about waiting until they got ^{the} license money and then would close them, and

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Mr. Schein said that Mr. Sullivan arose and said, "Mayor, did you say that"? Mr. Mollman said that he did. Mr. Schein said that Mr. Sullivan said to the Mayor, "My God, Mayor, you must not talk like that".

// Now in reference to the negro saloons here, Mr. Mollman took the licenses away from all the negro saloons---that is, he told me he was going to do that before he was elected. Mr. Mollman said he didn't believe in any negro conducting a saloon. So after he was elected he took the licenses---so it was stated in the paper---took the licenses away from the "bad lands" of the negro district and closed them up; as he issued the statement through the press, all of the "disreputable joints".

Mr. Johnson. How how many of those negro saloons were there?

Mr. Allison. Well, I can't tell you the exact number. I went down there through there, but, as I said this morning, I didn't have the nerve to go into the investigation that I had in other places, and I left that to other folks to discover for me, but I found out about the conditions that were there. But he didn't stop those negroes from running the saloons. He took their licenses away from them; then they went on running the same kind of joints---prostitution and gambling and selling liquor without any license whatever. Now this thing came out in that first riot. The soldiers came to town and this is the statement to me of Lieutenant Bill Crookston, who worked in the treasurer's office in Springfield. He told me this personally.

Mr. Cooper. This is May 28th?

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Mr. Allison. This concerning the riot of May 28th. He said that he was detached to watch that negro district there, and they had orders from their officers to see that all large gatherings of ^{either} white or black were broken up and dispersed. He said they noticed that a lot of negroes were assembling in these places, so they planned a raid and raided them. He said, "We found whisky, beer, all kinds of gambling devices", and he said, "We began to look for licenses". He said, "We didn't even find a government license in the place". So they rounded up about 100 of these negroes and 'phoned to the police station. The police officers arrived on the scene and they began to upbraid the soldiers for raiding the place. Then one of the young fellows who was with Crookston told me this in connection with it---he said to the policemen that "we had orders to do it and we were going to do it", and he said he cussed him, and I told him that the soldiers had not received the cooperation from the Mayor and the police of this town that they should have received. He said, "You marched us down the street into things that we knew ~~was~~ nothing about at all, and we might have gotten our heads shot off. Now if we get orders to raid the ~~the~~ police station and the Mayor's office we will come over there and raid them". One of the policemen was about half drunk and looked at one of the negroes and said, "My God", he said, "did they ~~ng~~ get you?" "Yep, they ~~anna~~ got me". Then this policeman about half drunk turned to this young fellow and said, "You fellows haven't got any right to arrest anybody in town, and if you get

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am smart I'll arrest you and take you to the station." So this young fellow said, "Well, I've been on the boards for two or three months and I guess you've got a gun on you. Now let's see which one of us can draw first", and he cursed him out.

Now this whole thing I ~~has~~ told to the Mayor after it happened. Those negroes were brought in but I don't think the books will show where a single one of them was prosecuted. Not a one of them conducting places there without even a government license; no city license.

Mr. Johnson. Has any effort been made to ascertain who owns the property in which these negroes' saloons were operated?

Mr. Allison. Not now. It has all been burned.

Mr. Johnson. Still somebody owns the real estate---

Mr. Allison. Somebody owns the real estate.

Mr. Johnson. on which the houses stood?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. But there has been no effort, in so far as you know, made ~~to~~ to ascertain who owns those places?

Mr. Allison. No, sir.

~~Mr. Johnson.~~ I think that about covers the situation, possibly, of the lawless conditions that existed up prior to the 2nd of July.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know how many negroes were beaten up on the night of May 28th?

Mr. Allison. I do not.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know anything about the Flannigan speech?

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Mr. Allison. Now I have heard about that only. I heard this---it was in the paper; the report of it was in, I think, the Journal. It was in some of the papers that a meeting was called in the City Hall at which the Mayor, Mr. Jerry Kane, and Mr. Alexander Flannigan spoke. The speeches, as I heard it, were inflammatory from all three of them. The Mayor decried the fact. One man whom I am quite sure was one of the working men in the crowd told me about it. He said the Mayor said that 7,000 negroes had been brought into this town in the last few months. That was the trend of his---there were too many niggers in town. and then that Mr. Kane had said something about the working conditions. Mr. Flannigan had gotten up and talked about the crowding of negroes in here and that they were encroaching upon the white men's rights and didn't know what they were going to do about it, but he did know one thing; there wasn't any law against mob violence. And that crowd came down out of the City Hall and---

Mr. Cooper. Did he say there was no law against mob violence, or that he ~~never~~ never knew of anybody having been convicted of rioting under that law?

Mr. Allison. It was in the paper---I think the paper stated it specifically that there is no law against mob violence, and I have understood that Mr. Flannigan didn't deny that he made that statement.

Mr. Baker. Before you leave the conditions^{leading} up to the ~~and~~ of July, you stated the conditions as to the whites at the houses of prostitution and hotels. Were there any places, hotels or places conducted by negro women?

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Mr. Allison. There were no hotels, I think, but only ---these were rooming houses that were conducted down in there and saloons.

Mr. Baker. There has been something said about places near the City Hall.

Mr. Allison. Well, ~~there~~ there were prostitutes all around City Hall.

Mr. Baker. Whites and Blacks?

Mr. Allison. Yes; there were blacks. I remember of going on some investigating trips down through the old "Valley" and finding all kinds of conditions---negro prostitution and white, side by side.

I want to say this, too. It is fair to the situation to say it. It was charged at the time that Mr. Florence, who was night chief of police, killed Detective Trafton. It was charged that that quarrel came over Trafton ~~and~~ a house of ~~and~~ prostitution conducted by Mr. Florence. I understand that Florence owns that property that that house ^{of} prostitution was ~~his~~. Either he or his wife owned it. They owned it at that time anyway. That house ^{of} prostitution was never closed up.

Mr. Baker. Were both police officers, and ~~Mr. Allison~~. One police officer killed the other?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. Mr. Trafton was the chief of the morality squad. Mr. Florence was the chief of detectives---sergeant of the detectives.

Mr. Cooper. How do you spell Florence?

Mr. Allison. F - L - O - R - E - N - C - E. Frank Florence. He was assistant chief of detectives.

Mr. Cooper. I wasn't paying attention when you started

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that. Do I understand you to say that the assistant chief of detectives in this city owned property that was used by white people for ~~the~~ purposes of prostitution?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; that is the charge.

Mr. Cooper. Was he running it or did he own it?

Mr. Allison. Well, it was charged that he was running it; that he was operating it.

Mr. Cooper. At any rate, he owned the property?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And the place was pulled by the chief of the morality squad, Trafton, ^{of the} a member of the police force of this city, and the other man killed him?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. How long ^{was it} before he was tried?

Mr. Allison. Oh, several months elapsed. He was admitted to bail and several months elapsed.

Mr. Cooper. Then he was acquitted?

Mr. Allison. Then he was acquitted.

Mr. Baker. In what court?

Mr. Allison. In the Circuit Court at Belleville.

Mr. Baker. Do you remember who defended him?

Mr. Allison. Thomas Webb.

Mr. Baker. Who had been---

Mr. Allison. A hnd brother to the Charles Webb who was State's Attorney.

Mr. Cooper. Who prosecuted?

Mr. Allison. The State's Attorney.

Mr. Cooper. Webb?

Mr. Allison. No; Schaunleffel. This prosecution came

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under Schaunleffel's administration.

Mr. Baker. But the killing was under the other State's Attorney's administration?

Mr. Allison. No, sir; the killing was under this State's Attorney's administration.

Mr. Cooper. Where did he kill him?

Mr. Allison. Why, I was told by members of the Police Board that it was just a question of Crafton having raided the place.

Mr. Cooper. Where did he kill him?

Mr. Allison. He killed him in front of the Savoy Hotel.

Mr. Cooper. On the street?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What kind of a hotel is that Savoy Hotel?

Mr. Allison. That is one of those disreputable places. Let me tell you something about that place, too. Mr. Schein told me that along last winter sometime the police apprehended a very high-class snafu crook at Mr. McGee's place. Now Mr. McGee is the man who runs this place.

Mr. Cooper. The Savoy Hotel?

Mr. Allison. Yes; and they brought him up to the police station and---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Brought who up---McGee or the crook?

Mr. Allison. This high-class crook, ^{They} brought him up to the police station; went down and searched his room; found all kinds of burglar's tools, blank marriage certificates, blank forms for deeds and all sorts of things, and he said that Mr. McGee came up there and just raised the diabolus with them because

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they would dare to come down there and molest one of his patrons, and I think Mr. McGee went on his bail and got the fellow out, and finally the fellow was gone.

Mr. Baker. No prosecution?

Mr. Allison. No.

Mr. Baker. Evidence was not taken from them and preserved?

Mr. Allison. No; I don't think it was. It might have been. Mr. Schein could tell of that.

Mr. Baker. The mere possession of the tools is sufficient.

I was just trying to find out if the officers kept the evidence against this fellow.

Mr. Allison. I don't know. Mr. Schein could testify as to whether they kept that, I guess.

Mr. Baker. About what time of day was this killing done in front of the Savoy Hotel?

Mr. Allison. It was at night.

Mr. Baker. While Florence was on duty?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; while Florence was on duty.

Now Mr. Schein tells me the story of it that they had notice that this place was continuing to run open.

Mr. Baker. What place?

Mr. Allison. The property that was owned by Florence. They had notice that this place was never raided and nothing was done to it.

Mr. Baker. What was the name of that place, Florence's place?

Mr. Allison. I don't know.

Mr. Baker. Where was it located?

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Mr. Allison. It is off down on 2nd Street; 232 North 2nd Street.

Is it
Mr. Raker. /Still running yet?

Mr. Allison. I don't know about it running now, but it was up until a short time ago. It is right behind the Savoy Hotel. I am told about that thing, that Mr. Schein told me that they were anxious to clean the town up; and now I personally know that Mr. Schein and Mr. Watkins made a good, earnest, conscientious effort to do those things. Now I know they did; and when the Committee of One Hundred was demanding their resignation I fought that thing on the ground that the trouble was deeper than the Police Board. I knew that it was, and I personally advised Mr. Schein not to resign. I told him that I wouldn't allow those fellows to make a goat out of me.

Mr. Raker. Is Mr. Schein living in town now?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. Is ^{Mr.} Watkins too?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Watkins has since left the city and is located in Birmingham, Alabama, in the employ of a packing house here--that is, he was one of their representative men.

Mr. Raker. What was the defense set up by Florence after he killed Trafton?

Mr. Allison. I think it was self-defense. But Mr. Schein said that they had noticed this place wasn't raided. They called Trafton in and told him he had to get that place and asked him why he didn't get it, and he would always dodge the issue, ~~and~~ but he did go and get it. Now Mr. Schein knows that he did go and get it, and then he was killed.

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Mr. Raker. How long after he got the place was it that Florence killed him?

Mr. Allison. It was only a short time.

Mr. Raker. In a week or ten days, something like that? I just want a close connection.

Mr. Allison. I don't think it was a week. I don't think a week elapsed.

Mr. Raker. And still that place was not closed?

Mr. Allison. No, sir; it was not closed. It was running at the time of this last riot that we had here several months after the killing.

Mr. Raker. Well, do you know whether Trafton got evidence of this place being an illegal place and other conditions in connection with it?

Mr. Allison. Let me say this: Every prostitute in this town that has been here for six months I am satisfied is personally known to the whole police force. They know their names; they know where they are; they ^{have} their records; they can go and get them any time they want them. Now I have talked with the detectives about it. For instance, here---

Mr. Cooper (interposing). Have they been able to do that kind of a business in this town for a long time except they stood in with the police?

Mr. Allison. No; of course not. Now I have talked with detectives---

Mr. Raker. (interposing). Before you get to that, they have had to go farther; from your testimony even the police ---they had to get protection above the police?

Mr. Allison. Most assuredly. There was a hand back

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of this thing. There is no question about it. For instance, one policeman told me this story: When Con Hickey's daughter was to be married, Con Hickey called him in and gave him to understand that he had to get some whisky and some El Maco cigars from the fellows out on the diggings, and some other things that he had to get. Now he went out on his beat and he gathered the things up from the saloon men. He got everything but the El Macos; he couldn't get the El Macos. He got another brand and Con complained because he didn't get El Macos. Now that is the story of a former policeman to me.

Mr. Cooper. Did they pay for the goods?

Mr. Allison. No; certainly not.

Mr. Raker. Where is Con Hickey now?

Mr. Allison. He is employed by the Levee Board. He was the night chief of police here and immediately that his resignation was demanded he was given a place on the Levee Board.

Mr. Raker. Tarlton and Canavan are heads of the Levee Board?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. And Canavan is also an officer under the city government?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And Con Hickey is under indictment, is he?

Mr. Allison. I think he is.

Mr. Raker. You told us this morning, what is the present address, ^{the} to-date address of the "Bucket of Blood"?

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Mr. Allison. It is at the corner of Main Street and Broadway, over Frank **Wyant's** saloon.

Mr. Cooper. Only a little ways this side of the Eads Bridge?

Mr. Allison. Just a little ways this way from the bridge over Cahokia Creek.

Mr. Baker. Is Frank still doing business?

Mr. Allison. I guess he is. Now the only connection that I know of that Mr. **Wyant** has with this thing is that it has moved up stairs over his place.

Mr. Baker. I know; I am not assuming for an instant or even laying the slightest charge against Mr. **Wyant** for the fact that he runs the saloon there and the "Bucket of Blood" ~~is~~ is over his place of business---not at all.
(Laughter).

Mr. Cooper. Who owns that building that that "Bucket of Blood" is in?

Mr. Allison. I don't know.

Mr. Cooper. Have you ever heard who owns it?

Mr. Allison. No, sir.

Now there is another thing, another element of corruption here that ought to come in this, and that was traffic in negro votes. I knew that a large amount of money was spent among the negroes. When Mr. Mollman was making his last campaign this last spring, I called him out to my study one afternoon. I was an ardent supporter of Mr. Mollman. I called him out to my study one afternoon; in fact he came out several different times to my study and spent quite lengthy time going over the campaign. He came to my home.

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He had me in his home. One day I got the word through some of the negroes, because I have always wanted to see the negro get a square deal, and they have been friendly to me. I got ~~man~~ the word through they that they were lining up largely behind the other candidate. I called Hollman out to my study and laid these things before him, and he dismissed it at once and said, "Well, we'll not worry about the negroes at all". He said, "Locke will take care of them".

Mr. Baker. Did he mean Locke Tarlton?

Mr. Allison. That is who he meant. He said not to worry about them, that Locke would take care of them. I didn't ask him what he meant by that. I wish now I had. I would like to have told more about this thing, but anyway, I can go farther with it and I think I know what he meant. After the election there ~~was~~ were charges of all sorts of pollution among the voters. . . I heard it stated that the city administration spent \$30,000 on their last municipal election. Anyway, during this last riot somebody made the charge that a negro was a nigger; he said "A nigger is a nigger". I resented it and I said, "You have no more right to put a blanket charge on the negro than you have to put a blanket charge on the white man", and the Mayor's secretary, a Mr. Ahearn, spoke up and said, "Well, you name a good nigger". "Well, I said, "here is this fellow Parker"---I didn't know what I was going to get---"here is this fellow P. C. Parker; he is a good fellow". "Good God", he said, "we had to pay him \$50 to get him". Parker was a negro Baptist preacher here in town that I knew. Now I got hold of Mr. Parker and I drew it out of him, but he denied the \$50. He said, "No,

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sir: they didn't give me \$50. Locke did give me \$40 for my services". How---

Mr. Baker. Locke did that?

Mr. Allison. Locke gave him \$40 for his services. I don't know whether somebody "pinched" \$10 or not. (Laughter). But now that is just the setting of this whole thing; and it was the common talk upon the streets among the business men of this town everywhere, the terrible corruption in municipal affairs and in all sorts of deals.

Mr. Baker. Where is Parker now?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Parker was over in St. Louis the last I heard of it.

Mr. Baker. Just tell us what you know about the banquet given by the Mayor to the negroes after the election.

Mr. Allison. Well, I only just heard that that was ~~an~~ charged. Now, I don't know about that.

Mr. Foster. Is the negro vote in East St. Louis looked upon as just a purchasable vote by whoever can get him in any election?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. any election.

Mr. Foster. It makes no difference what it is?

Mr. Allison. It doesn't make any difference what it is.

Mr. Foster. That he stands around and expects to be bought?

Mr. Allison. Yes. I understand that one negro down here in the Am Arcade Building got \$50 that day. They came high this time, you know; the negroes were shrewd enough to make them come across to the limit.

Mr. Foster. Each side ^{was} bidding for it?

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Mr. Allison. I guess it was. Anyway, they got them up there. //

Mr. Cooper. Well, these white barrel-house bums around this town---are they for sail?

Mr. Allison. Sure; most assuredly.

Mr. Cooper. So the complexion doesn't make any difference?

Mr. Allison. It doesn't make a bit of difference about the ^{color.} the/

Mr. Foster. But still all of them, white and black, are out for what money they can get?

Mr. Allison. Tarlton told me in conversation I had with him in the Mayor's office---that is, the afternoon I raised that question about the corruption in the political affairs here and buying negro votes---Locke said, "Yes, we say to all of them 'If you haven't got lots of money you better stay out; ~~there~~ there is no place for pikers in this election'". He made that statement to me himself.

Mr. Foster. Is that so in your county elections?

Mr. Allison. I don't know about that. Newspaper reporters told me that he saw Mr. Locke Tarlton standing with stacks of five-dollar bills and the negroes passing by in single file, him paying the money out.

Mr. Johnson. When?

Mr. Allison. Immediately at the end of that ~~new~~ municipal election.

Mr. Johnson. Last April?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Now, let's see---"no place for pikers in this election"?

Mr. Allison. Yes; little fellows with little money.

Mr. Cooper. Then, in other words, to get office in this town or to run for office with any hope of success, you either had to have money yourself or have the big money behind you?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; certainly. One man in this town told me this, Mr. Cooper---I might just as well call a *spade* a spade here---that was Judge R. H. Flannigan, former judge of the city court.

Mr. Cooper. Now attorney for what company?

Mr. Allison. I don't think he is attorney for any company. He is a member of my church. He told me that--- you know I wouldn't tell any of these things, only the hope before us that this situation can be cleansed---he told me that when he was judge of the city court in East St. Louis he found out that Tarlton and Canavan were not going to support him, and he thought it was because of his decision ~~what~~ in a certain sewer deal. When he found that out he went to Locke and put the question up to him.

Mr. Cooper. Locke Tarlton?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; Locke Tarlton. And Tarlton told him that Judge Browning was a fine young fellow and they weren't going to hinder him from running---in fact, they were going to support him. Judge Flannigan told me that he told Tarlton. "If you will give me an open field, I'll contribute \$1,000 to your *slush* fund at your next election", and Locke refused to do it. Locke Tarlton says that the Judge finally offered him \$2,000.

Mr. Cooper. Well now, that goes---that is a matter ~~which~~ which in municipal affairs, and extended as it

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might be to county and state and national affairs, would ultimately possibly lead to the overthrow of this republic?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Cooper. It means this, that a man that will run for office must be rich himself or have money behind him?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Cooper. And then when he is elected he is supposed to do the bidding of the men who furnish the money?

Mr. Allison. Most assuredly.

Mr. Cooper. They don't give him money; they don't put him into office unless the understanding ~~him~~ is that when he is in office he will do his best to protect them, and then when they don't mean that, they mean they will get into office themselves; somebody supplies them the money to get in, and then they take the money out of the public treasury, or they take the money on contracts, or they take it in some other way to get even again, don't they?

Mr. Allison. That is it; ~~was~~ certainly.

Mr. Cooper. That is the meanest and most corrupt kind of politics, and the man that is punished ultimately is the tax payer.

Mr. Allison. The Winstanley Sewer Association of this city has turned over to ~~me~~ their entire files. They had a controversy up with this present administration, with Mr. Conavan and Mr. Farlton, about their sewer projection that is going through here; the contract was let and they had every reason to believe that the contract was not being--- that the work was not being done according to the ~~specification~~

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specifications. Now they tried to---the Winstanley Sewer Association, made up of citizens in this part of the town where this sewer was going through, tax payers who were going to have to foot the bill, came forward and said, "We'll put up---we'll get a man and pay him from a bonded engineering company to supervise this work and see that it is done correctly." They wouldn't let them do it, and they had a lengthy conversation over it. Mr. E. E. Eversall, who ~~is~~ is secretary of the Winstanley Improvement Association, could give you a lot of splendid information on that.

Mr. Cooper. Right in that connection, when it comes to the payment of the special assessments for a sewer fund like that, the little property owner, the little householder, cannot escape, can he?

Mr. Allison. No.

Mr. Cooper. He has got to pay?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They have got him every time. Were you in here the other day when the report was read here, portions of a report submitted by expert accountants, showing that big property owners, or as they said, "prominent" property owners, in this town, were---if the testimony or statement of the Controller was true---escaping the payment of their special assessment taxes? That was a report submitted to your city government, that some of the big property owners were deliberately escaping, manipulating things, so that they didn't pay their special assessment taxes. And it is utterly impossible, isn't it, for the small property owner to do that;

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they can't manipulate anything, can they?

Mr. Allison. Certainly. Here is another thing along this line showing to you how hard sailing it is in East St. Louis: Just recently we had a case---it is a wonderful illustration of this thing---I am informed that the statistics from the courts of this country show this terrible fact: In 27 states where interstate commerce shipments are interfered with by thieves, one-third of all the stealing done in 27 states is done in St. Clair County. Now I am informed that that is statistical.

Mr. Johnson. I beg your pardon, but I was interrupted by the Sergeant at Arms just as you were making that last statement. I didn't hear it. Will you please repeat it?

Mr. Allison. I am informed that it is a matter of statistical record in our courts that in 27 states where interstate shipments are interfered with by thieves, that one-third of all the stealing in these 27 states is done in St. Clair County, Ill. Now then, effort after effort has been made to apprehend the thieves. They always have somebody that fronts for them. A detective told me---

Mr. Johnson. What do you mean "fronts" for them?

Mr. Allison. Comes in and gets in front of the fellow and puts up a **good** face to let him go free. A detective told me this story. He said, "I came to East St. Louis--- a fellow that had been used to doing **half way** a square deal---and I was put on a job here to apprehend some negroes who had stolen a lot of pig lead out of a car". He said, "I went with a certain man here in East St. Louis, and we went and found out where---we located our negroes. ..."

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rounded them up and when we started into the thing, this fellow said---I understood him to say---'every man get a negro'. "Well," he said, "instead of that, he meant for us to get just one negro". "But", he said, "I misunderstood him and I singled out my man and I got him. I shot at him and I came so close that he quit running and said, 'For God sake, don't shoot' and he came back, and I brought my man up, thinking that I had discharged my orders." He said, "I was cursed and told that they only wanted one negro, and he told this negro whom I had captured to beat it". He said, "When that negro was gone he turned to the one negro that he had captured and said to him, 'Now where have you hid that lead?'" He said the negro took them and showed them where they had it; had it in some sand. He said, "He took the negro up the track and said, 'You beat it and don't you ever show your head in East St. Louis or I'll kill you'. The negro left and he turned to one of the fellows and he said, 'Go and get so and so'---called him ~~name~~ by name---'and have him come down here'", and he said, "Pretty soon a fellow drove down with a wagon, a junk dealer, and that pig lead was loaded ~~in~~ in the wagon" and he said, "That is the last I ever saw of it."

Another thing: Here recently---and this was a thing I wanted to illustrate to you---that thing can be verified. Another thing was this: When a large shipment of cigars^{ettes} were stolen, and I think they were stolen from the Southern Railway, the shipment of cigars^{ettes} were found in possession of Mr. Henry Albrecht, a man who runs a large liquor house here in town, and he has been very active here in politics, and Mr.

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Hollman said he was one of the "dirtiest politicians in town"--- that is his own statement to me---and that he thought he had taught Henry Albrecht a lesson that would keep him out of politics. The cigarettes were found, as I say, in the possession of Mr. Albrecht. I was shocked to find large numbers of my Committee of One Hundred over at the Union Station ready to go to Danville, Ill., to get up and testify to the good character and the respectability of this citizen, Henry Albrecht.

Mr. Johnson. Who were those citizens?

Mr. Allison. Well there was a large number. Among them was Mr. Ed Coffey, who is the agent for the Southern Railway, and he took me to one side and said, "I am in a hell of a fix; here I am; my company is spending all kinds of money, and here it has run down the very fellow that has these cigarettes and now I'm subpoenaed over there as a character witness".

Mr. Johnson. Name another, please.

Mr. Allison. Nat McLean, and Mr. Coffey a member of the Police Board, too. But now Mr. Coffey was sincere in that. He had nothing to do with being subpoenaed over there; he didn't want to go. He told me so. He didn't want me to go, and he tells me that the questions that were asked were very general. Mr. Nat McLean was another. Now these men---now here is what I am telling you---these men had nothing to do with being calling over there, but they went.

Mr. Johnson. And testified?

Mr. Allison. And testified.

Mr. Johnson. On to this man's good character?

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Mr. Allison. Mr. Dan McGlynn was attorney for Mr.

Albrecht. Mr. McLean tells me that the questions were so framed that they could answer them without perjuring themselves. How here is the seriousness of this situation: I have got no personal regard in this matter at all, but before God, this situation is awful in East St. Louis!

Mr. Baker. Let me ask you this question, Reverend. Mr. McLean ~~was~~ and this other gentleman, as to the man's character, would have to have been asked, ~~originally~~ generally, "Do you know him?" - "Do you know where he lives?" - so as to get him located in that place, and "Do you know his general reputation as to truth and veracity among his neighbors in the place in which he lives"? That is generally recognized by all the courts.

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Now, they either had to say yes or no. If they knew his reputation to be bad and said it was good, they committed rank perjury, didn't they?

Mr. Allison. Why; that is my statement out and out; yes.

Mr. Baker. Sure. And those two men are men of this Committee of One Hundred?

Mr. Allison. Oh well, there were scores of them.

Mr. Baker. I am going to get the rest. We aren't going to shield anybody, if we can get their names.

Mr. Allison. Locke Tarlton was one of the men. I met numbers of them there in the Union Station. I was on my way

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to Chicago.

Mr. Cooper. Was ^{the} Mayor along?

Mr. Allison. I don't recall.

Mr. Raker. Can you think of anybody else ~~that~~ taken over there now besides these? Let's get their names.

Mr. Allison. I can't recall them.

Mr. Raker. Let's put this question so it will make the evidence specific. As a matter of fact, everybody knew in this community the reputation of this man Albright, for truth and veracity, was bad?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Raker. And if they had subpoenaed witnesses and they had told the truth they could have proven by practically every decent man and woman in East St. Louis as to his reputation being bad?

Mr. Allison. Now the testimony showed this, that Mr. Albright claimed that he bought those cigarettes from Frank Mint. That is the man that runs the saloon under the "Bucket of Blood". That is what the testimony showed, and it showed this, that cash was paid for this shipment of cigarettes, when all his former business---now this is my understanding of it---that cash was paid on this specific case, when in all other instances checks were paid.

Mr. Cooper. Where were these stolen from?

Mr. Allison. From the Southern Railway.

Mr. Johnson. At what place were they stolen?

Mr. Allison. Here; East St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. How many of them? ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Mr. Allison. I think it was \$900 worth of the cigarettes.

Mr. Johnson. They found them out in a barn somewhere, didn't they?

Mr. Allison. \$3500 worth, I am corrected here. Those figures and things---the horrible thing in it is, that when you get some man cornered you can just get anybody; the best citizens in the town will come to the front to relieve him.

Mr. Cooper. What they call the "prominent and leading citizens"?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; certainly.

Mr. Johnson. And they need the protection of the thieves---a lot of them?

Mr. Allison. Well, now here is what I know, and any other man knows it, that conditions in East St. Louis couldn't exist unprotected.

Mr. Baker. Now is there any way that you could get for the Committee the additional names of these men that were taken to the district court for the purpose of proving the good character of this man Albright, that are members of this Committee of One Hundred? I have got a special reason to just hang on to that Committee of One Hundred---for many reasons. Do you think you could get them? Before you get through you could find out somebody that knew them, couldn't you?

~~Mr. Baker.~~

~~Mr. Baker.~~ Was Judge Crow himself one of the witnesses?

Mr. Allison. I don't know. I know that I saw a large number of men over there. Now there was Mr. Coffey and Mr. McLean and Locke Earleton, and a number of men and they have

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all spoken to me---How this, as I say, my only reason in telling this, it is a serious thing, most serious to my mind. There has got to be a separation between the best people and the crooks in this town if the situation is ever helped.

- Mr. Cooper. It is not only serious, but it is dangerous.

Mr. Allison. It is dangerous.

Mr. Baker. Now right in this connection, it has been stated here by three or four witnesses---I have let it pass because I didn't care to take the time of the Committee, but I am going to take the time right now and ask you the question. It has been stated that these saloons here in East St. Louis, that there are a few bad ones, but the others are respectable saloons doing a legitimate business and complying with the law. Now if that is the case, just point out to the Committee which ones of these saloons are those "respectable" saloons that are complying with the law.

Mr. Allison. Well, I wouldn't make the statement that there were a few saloons that were disobeying the law; I would put it that there are very few real saloons in East St. Louis, and that the major portion of these ^{are} nothing but dives. I think I know of one man in this town who tries to conduct his business properly. Now I haven't been in his place of business. I don't know anything about it, but I know he has come to me and told me how he was trying to conduct his place of business. I know that when he discovered that prostitution was being carried on in a building that he owned, that he abs. lately **threw** the fellow out that was conducting the business ^{own} that man was his brother-in-law.

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

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Mr. Allison. Frank *Geary* . That is all I know about that.

Mr. Baker. Then is it your statement that there is only one?

Mr. Allison. That is all I know anything about.

Mr. Baker. Well then, if the statement has been made that there were respectable saloons conducting a legitimate business, so far as you are concerned, from your investigation and knowledge, it is just to the contrary?

Mr. Allison. Oh, I am satisfied of that.

Mr. Baker. Well, has this enormous number of saloons, the method and manner, the way they have carried their business on, together with their associates, surroundings, had anything to do with this horrible condition that you have described in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. Most assuredly.

Mr. Baker. In what way? Just tell us in what ~~which~~ way.

Mr. Allison. Why, the liquor interests have always been back of every move to clean the city.

Mr. Cooper. Back of it or opposed to it?

Mr. Allison. I mean opposed---against every move. That is what I mean. Now for instance---and yet one of the members of our Committee of One Hundred was the head of the *Heim* Brewery out here. He lives there on 10th St. He seemed to be very much interested in cleaning the city up in cleaning the city up, making it respectable. He told me that he did believe in law enforcement, and he congratulated me on my stand that law ought to be enforced to the limit.

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Mr. Baker. Outside of him go on with the rest.

Mr. Allison. Now then these liquor interests get together here and they get back of any move that will thwart the clean-up of this town. Now you take in this last election here, just in this last election---and I have this mighty straight; it comes from good sources---the city administration, to line these saloons and gamblers and everybody else up, told the gamblers that they ~~was~~ could cut loose here and go the limit; that this money that was raised by the Committee of One Hundred, \$105,000, would be spent, would be exhausted a long in January, and then they were going to ~~be~~ put Heating, the Chief of Police, "Doc Reed and his regime, *who are* on the Police Board now---they were going to "flop" them out of office and "we will be in the saddle and we will take care of you fellows." Now they lined ^{up} the saloons, the gamblers ---that element--- lined them all up against this campaign for the commission form of government. The object was to establish a gambling house ^{within} one block of ~~the~~ Chief Heating's home, so when the hour came they were going to discredit the Chief of Police and this Police Board by showing that gambling had broken out suddenly all over East St. Louis

~~Mr. Johnson~~ under these men who posed to be good citizens, and who were endeavoring to do everything they could to clean the town.

Mr. Baker. What source did that come from?

Mr. Allison. That only comes from one source---from that *liquor* over there that runs this situation.

Mr. ~~Johnson~~ Johnson. Who are they?

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Mr. Allison. Now, it is Mollman and Canavan and Farlton and that crowd. Now Mr. Mollman says that he was neutral on the question of the commission form of government. Well, whether he was neutral or not, he had in his own office those little dodgers that were distributed around over town --- "Mr. Working Man" and "Little Tax Payer, why do the corporations want a commission form of government? Think it over and vote no". Now he had those in his office. Then another thing, he rounded up all the city employes; even street sweepers and had them out distributing these dodgers. I spoke at the Missouri Pacific Iron Works on Monday at noon, and there was an old fellow out there, whom I know, handing those dodgers out, and I said to him, "what are you doing out here?" "Well", he said, "you know I work for the city?" I said, "Yes". "Well", he said, "I got my orders this morning", and there he was passing those dodgers out on the day of the election. ~~Another fellow~~ Mollman had been out on an inspecting trip and came back down town, drove up there in front of the Mayor's office and two or three of them rushed out and asked him how the thing looked, and he said, "Well, it is gone; the commission form of government is going to carry all; can't stop it". "But", he says, "let's don't let up", and put his hand in his pocket and pulled out the key to his office and handed it to the gentleman and said "Go into my office there ~~and~~ get the rest of those dodgers and let's stay with it. Let's stay with it". Now that is the real situation, and now he thinks that he is politics enough that he is going to make the folks believe that he was neutral on it. He is for the commission form of government now. He is for it now, so he says in the paper, and he will do nothing

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to block it. You know here is the real trouble in East St. Louis: Men have lost a high sense of honor. The corruptible influence of East St. Louis has been so contaminating and has so stealthily crept in on the lives of men that it is ~~very~~ pitiable. It is horrible. There are men here who would try to give you a square deal, but who before God don't know what a square deal is. Now Mr. Mollman thinks he is a splendid citizen, and I don't think for a minute that Mr. Mollman ever got a penny of money out of any ~~man~~ corruption in this town. I don't think he did. Now I am candid in that and I think that Mr. Mollman has thought that he was doing the right thing, but he is so enamoured with the corruption in these things that are done, his conscience has become ~~seared~~ seared that he wouldn't believe now that the thing I have told you, about taking the ~~men~~ that the tax payers of this town pay and throwing them into a political campaign with the corrupt influences: he couldn't believe that that was little and contemptible.

Mr. Baker. Well, how can it be possible that he can permit his friends, ~~such~~ like Tarlton and Canavan? They must be getting something out of this regime.

Mr. Allison. Somebody is getting something. I have understood that the amount collected here---and I got it from a pretty good source---would approximate \$50,000 a year that they got from gambling and prostitution.

Mr. Baker. What do you mean by that, that these men that are in power---

Mr. Allison. Collect from these fellows just like Sam-

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Lords collect rent.

Mr. Baker. Then use it as a slush fund for political purposes and put a part of it in their own pockets?

Mr. Allison. I suppose so. For instance here--- now there is one man in town whom I have come to admire. That man is Paul Kisselbach whom I told you about who was constable and whose farther---he and his father ran one of these places out here, 4200 Bond Avenue. He ran a place next door to Peters. When we started into this campaign to clean this thing up, Paul Kisselbach came to ~~me~~ my church to see me. He told me afterwards that he thought he was coming to see a damned fool, and I was surprised at him when he came in, he said, "What do you guys want?" I said, "We want nothing at all". He said, "How much money do they want?" I said, "There is no money wanted".

Mr. Baker. This is a constable?

Mr. Allison. This is a constable, who is running one of these illegal saloons---one of these saloons within the two-mile limit of a corporation. He said, Well, there isn't any political campaign on". I said, "No". "Well, what in hell do they want?", and I said, "Well, all they want now is that folks shall abide by the law". He looked at me a minute and said, "Is that on the square?" I said, "That is on the square. That is all they want." "Do you mean to tell me that all they want us to do is to close those places up?" I said, "That is all now. That is all; just abide by the law". "Well", he said, "are they going to make everybody do it?" I said, "I guess they are. That is the

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intention, to show no favoritism to anybody". Well, sir, he was astounded to think that that was all anybody could want in East St. Louis, now, in this regime around here. These saloons out here in the two-mile limit that were conducted, I have seen the form---we have that form for evidence, the blank form that is used to collect from them. You know these saloons within the two-mile limit cannot get a license under the state law. They ran on a presumption of arrest, indictment from a grand jury, with a fine fixed. I have seen the blank form. The blank form was issued through---I am told by those who knew that it came, of course, from the State's Attorney of the county, but it was issued through Mr. *Waglin's* office in Belleville.

Mr. Johnson. Give his full name.

Mr. Allison. Lewis E. *Waglin*, Justice of the peace out there. Now it came through that way, that the proprietor of a place would get a notice on this blank, printed form, "This is to notify you that you have been found guilty---that an indictment is against you charging you with selling liquor without a license, and that you have been fined a certain amount". The fact about the business is, there had been no jury at all to find an indictment---no indictment at all. There had been no trial at all; there had been no plea of guilt; no conviction; but that was the method whereby they collected the revenue from these illegal saloons within the two-mile limit.

Mr. Baker. They did that up until sometime in February or March of this year?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

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Mr. Raker. Is that man still in office?

Mr. Allison. Yes; he is in office.

Mr. Cooper. Well, the indictment wouldn't go in the justice of the peace court. You mean a warrant of arrest and indictment would go to some higher court---you don't mean indictment, no warrant, ~~no~~ warrant issued?

Mr. Allison. All the thing was, was just a notification of a supposed grand jury session, with an indictment, and the idea of a conviction. That was the thing that was *carried on*. Now that has gone on for a number of years and Mr. Hisselbach told me that one time his amount that he paid he found out was more than some other fellow was paying, and he kicked about it and they cut it down and made it alike.

Mr. Raker. Now go on and tell what Hisselbach finally did.

Mr. Allison. He did close up his place and he played on the square. He closed his place up absolutely, and then he lent his support to us in closing other places. One of the supervisors that lived next to him continued to run his place.

Mr. Johnson. What was his name?

Mr. Allison. Hoenigstein was the man's name. He is one of the supervisors.

Mr. Raker. Of the county?

Mr. Allison. Yes; of the county. He continued to run his place, and Hisselbach saw a load of beer driven in there one morning just before sunrise. He knew that that meant

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something and he began to watch it. He notified us and through the work, especially through the work of the Attorney General, he sent some men down there and arrested the place; had an injunction served, and I think they put him out of business.

Mr. Raker. What do you know about the method of the constables here, their way of handling business here?

Mr. Allison. Well, I know this, that at two or three of these disreputable dance halls, these constables work on Sunday as the special directors of the affair. You would go out there and they would act as pimps. They would get you prostitutes to drink with and dance with and everything else, and deputy sheriffs there, R. O. Shepherd there, for one, that hung out at the Peters' joint, and ^{he} seemed to be the regular house man of the place.

Mr. Raker. In other words, they were **pimps**.

Mr. Allison. These saloons at which these deputy sheriffs, ^{hung out} and these fellows operated, they were paid \$5 a day by the saloons to do that.

Mr. Raker. The constables, or do you mean deputy sheriffs?

Mr. Allison. Deputy sheriffs.

Mr. Raker. Are any of those men still living yet?

Mr. Allison. Yes; Shepherd, I guess, is still alive; he is bailiff of our court.

Mr. Raker. Here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. I believe he is bailiff out here at Belleville in the circuit court out there---one of the bailiffs.

Mr. Raker. And a deputy sheriff, supporting a dance

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house as a pimp?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Furnishing introductions to these young girls, some of them 14 or 15 years of age? Some of them were good girls taken there, weren't they?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. From the community; from the residents of these various towns, isn't that right?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. And introducing them so they could drink beer with them and have sexual relations?

Mr. Allison. Sure.

Mr. Baker. That was the real object obtained, wasn't it?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Baker. And in addition to that, they received \$5.00?

Mr. Allison. \$5.00 a day from the saloon. They were bouncers for the place, too, you know. They saw that the thing was conducted to the heart's desire of the proprietor.

Mr. Cooper. Who appointed him? ~~and deputy?~~ The sheriff?

Mr. Allison. I suppose if he has the appointment to make, I suppose he is the man.

Mr. Cooper. And the sheriff knows all about it then, that he did out there, and he was appointed out there to preserve order, wasn't he?

Mr. Allison. Yes. They do that about all the time.

Mr. Foster. And he gets pay from the house?

Mr. Allison. Yes; \$5.00 a day.

Mr. Baker. How much would the girls have to pay to the house or to these men?

Mr. Allison. I don't know about that.

Mr. Raker. A rather flourishing business, wasn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes; and up at Brooklyn up here, a negro town, there is an interesting thing up there. It was---

Mr. Raker. I don't want to get to Brooklyn. I want to hang to this other for just a little bit. How many of these kinds of places were there?

Mr. Allison. I think we closed 44.

Mr. Raker. And then there would be apt to be something like that number of deputies?

Mr. Allison. Yes; there is a large number of deputies, constables.

Mr. Raker. In other words it was quite a position to be appointed a deputy in one of these places?

Mr. Allison. Yes. Now there is this about it, you know. They got pretty obstreperous there. For instance, they put a sign up at one place, and they would offer a reward for anybody who would show them a newspaper reporter in the place. *They caught one* newspaper reporter out there took him outside and said, "Now I'll count so many and you had better be gone from here or we'll kill you".

Mr. Raker. That was a deputy sheriff?

Mr. Allison. No; the proprietor or cohorts did that.

Mr. Raker. Well, if the deputy sheriff was there?

Mr. Allison. He was there, of course.

Mr. Raker. He would see the sign, and would know of the sign and know of the orders to be carried out?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Raker. The proprietor or his subordinates would

make the order and the deputy sheriff was there to see that it was enforced?

Mr. Allison. Yes. And this whole thing was like that. For instance, this administration over here, the Hollman administration, became very much incensed at newspaper reporters who dared to publish the facts concerning city affairs.

Mr. Baker. Just what you know about that.

Mr. Allison. Well, the Mayor told me that he either whipped or threatened to whip one of the newspaper reporters here at this table (indicating).

Mr. Baker. Mr. Anderson?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Anderson; yes. And the Mayor asked me if I couldn't take it up with the editor of the Post Dispatch and see if they couldn't have Mr. Anderson thrown out of his job here in East St. Louis. The Mayor asked me to do that one time. He asked me if I couldn't use my influence to get Anderson's job.

Mr. Baker. What was Anderson doing that he should be thrown out of a job? He appears to be a very affable young fellow.

Mr. Allison. He was interfering with the business.

Mr. Cooper. Telling the truth?

Mr. Allison. Well, I guess that is it.

Mr. Baker. What he could get, he was telling?

Mr. Allison. What he could get; yes. They were getting a good deal of it. You know this that I am telling you, everybody laughs in this room. They know it has been current rumor here in the town. This isn't a thing that just one man

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knows. This stuff that I am telling you ~~has~~ is current rumor in the City of East St. Louis. The people have known it.

Mr. Raker. Then these good citizens are not hearing anything new?

Mr. Allison. Nothing new at all; nobody is going to be surprised or shocked. (Laughter).

Mr. Raker. Now before we get to---what was that city out there, Brooklyn?

Mr. Allison. But that is just the same kind of an affair.

Mr. Raker. Now I want you to tell about the constables here in the city. The constables didn't assume jurisdiction outside of the city limits, to those dance houses, did they?

Mr. Allison. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Raker. Now what was their attitude with reference to these same conditions in the city, similar to those you have described as to the deputy sheriffs?

Mr. Allison. Yes. For instance one deputy sheriff here, Mr. Stewart Campbell, he is now the head of the employment bureau here, told me that Mr. Tom Early had asked him to lay off of 208 St. Louis Avenue. That was Marie Hall's place of prostitution, and Mr. Campbell, I understood, lost his job because he was going out to Brooklyn and raid that thing out there, and the sheriff took him out of office because he was too obstreperous.

Mr. Raker. Is the same sheriff in office?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker. What is his name?

Mr. Allison. Logan Mallon.

Mr. Baker. What about the constables being compensated for their most ardent and valuable services?

Mr. Allison. I have no information on that.

Mr. Baker. But it is reasonable to suppose that they received compensation for their work?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; they went outside of the city, too, and I heard that they went outside of the city and operated and received \$5.00 per day.

Mr. Baker. Now these are the same gentlemen that subpoena your jurors here to the city?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. And the same gentlemen that maintain order and decorum and see that criminals don't escape?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. They are the same men that protect ^{the} lives of your wives and children and yourselves?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Now these deputy sheriffs are the same men, aren't they?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. They are on the job watching to see that everything is in apple-pie order, that no crimes are committed, and to protect your lives and property?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. These are the same gentlemen that were in power during the various mobs?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

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Mr. Baker. How tell us about Brooklyn.

Mr. Allison. Brooklyn ~~has~~ became a very notorious place. The State's Attorney of Madison County, Mr. Struber, issued an ultimatum to the gamblers and drove them from Madison County. They came down to Brooklyn and built additions to buildings there; they put up quite an elaborate affair, and I understand it is going on again now. I have a letter from some negroes out there asking me if something can't be done; that ~~things~~ thing is getting back into the same old rut. The night that I went out there I drove my machine up at the side of one of these places and a colored gentleman with a star on came out and told me that I had my machine on a sidewalk. Then he showed me where I should drive it, and he would patch it for me. So I drove it in and then he proceeded to tell me where I could get "the best action" on my money. So I went over and went into that place, and I found that there were three crap tables in full swing, and at these double-deck crap tables there are two men, one stick man and then a banker at each end of the table, and they do a kind of office-business. You know they have gotten progressive---gamblers as well as anybody else. The crap tables that I used to know a little bit about when I was a railroad man were a very insignificant affair beside the crap tables they operate these days. Well, there was an enormous crowd of young fellows gathered around these crap tables. Large amounts of money in sight; ~~and~~ that was one place. There were three crap tables in operation in that place. I went into another place and there were two crap tables. Another one I didn't go into because I recognized

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a fellow standing in the door whom I knew.

Mr. Johnson. You had been steered against the first by the policeman?

Mr. Allison. Yes; the policeman steered me into the first one and I knew better than to go into the third place. I didn't have any spite at myself, so stayed away from there. Then I went over and went through what they called "Aunt Kate's Honky Tonk".

Mr. Cooper. ~~Who's~~ Honky Tonk?

Mr. Allison. Aunt Kate's; it is run by a colored woman. They have got a sign up---they had a sign up there, "Something doing ever hour in the day".

Mr. Johnson. What was doing in the "Honky Tonk"?

Mr. Allison. Well, I went in. It is a beer hall and a dance hall. And then they put on all sorts of stunts for the *lascivious* curiosity of a lot of white *lo*ngers.

Mr. Baker. Whites?

Mr. Allison. Yes; white women were in there. The night I was in there, it was loaded up with white women and white men.

Mr. Baker. Seeing the "Honky Tonk"?

Mr. Allison. Yes; seeing the "Honky Tonk".

Mr. Baker. Does the "Honky Tonk" really come out? (Laughter). Now I just use that in a mild method. I just want to know if the vulgarity ~~at~~ is shown as much as it can be.

Mr. Allison. This night I was in there it was fairly tame; it was early in the evening, and I am glad it was. I didn't care to tarry any longer or see any more. It was

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vulgar enough. There were all sorts of suggestion, and there were rooms for rent and everything else.

Mr. Baker. What do you mean "rooms for rent"?

Mr. Allison. Well, for momentary purposes, for prostitution, of course. And this I have been told---now that deplorable condition at Brooklyn I was told by Mr. Jones out there, who was superintendent of the schools, that in the graduating class---that is strictly almost ~~an~~ unanimously 'a negro town,' Brooklyn is, or Lovejoy---he told me that ---I want to get these figures right---

Mr. Baker. Is he ^a white man or a colored man?

Mr. Allison. A colored man, and principal of that high school, and a very fine gentleman. He told me that year before last---that is, 1915---that out of a graduating class of colored girls that he should have had 18. He had three. Fifteen of them had gone to the bad.

Mr. Johnson. They had graduated down to Aunt Kate's?

Mr. Allison. Graduated in vice; yes. This last year, in 1916, out of a class of 24 that he had,--I think these are the exact figures---~~affirmatively~~--he only had one to graduate.

Mr. Baker. The rest had gone to the bad?

Mr. Allison. The rest had gone to the bad. That is the horrible condition.

Mr. Baker. Well this year he won't have any?

Mr. Allison. Possibly not.

Mr. Foster. Is Brooklyn in this county?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. They would take those girls in there and

fill them with drink, I suppose?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Were girls allowed to drink?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; anybody.

Mr. Cooper. White or black?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Encouraged to do it?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes.

Mr. Baker. Was that allowed in these other places that you have described?

Mr. Allison. Girls were allowed to drink.

Mr. Johnson. Simply allowed or encouraged?

Mr. Allison. You couldn't call it anything else but encouragement; everybody drinking and just maudlin revelry.

Mr. Baker. What I mean, now, were the colored and white intermixed?

Mr. Allison. Well, not so much intermixed. Negro girls served the tables. There weren't any negroes and whites seated at the same tables together.

Mr. Baker. But ~~was~~ were there places where the negroes and whites associated together?

Mr. Allison. Not that I know of. One of those colored men out there told me of finding a white woman stripped of all her clothing, drunk, lying in the street, one morning as he was going to work. He called some neighbors and they got clothing on her and got her sobered up. She was sent to St. Louis. Now, there were numbers of these girls that were brought to that Brooklyn place; were young girls that were gathered in and brought from St. Louis, and these gambling

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joints there had machines running regularly every few minutes, and they had a man at the door who announced---

Mr. Johnson. By "machines", you don't mean gambling machines, but automobiles?

Mr. Allison. Automobiles. They had automobiles running from Venice, Madison, Granite City, East St. Louis and St. Louis, and they had a fellow who stood at the door and announced "all aboard for St. Louis"; if anybody was going to St. Louis, there was an automobile to carry them. If anybody ^{was} going to ~~St. Louis~~ Granite City, there was an automobile; anybody going to East St. Louis, there was an automobile. It was a regular Monte Carlo. //

Mr. Johnson. Where were these automobiles stationed for this purpose?

Mr. Allison. At those gambling places.

Mr. Foster. Brooklyn is a municipality of itself, and not in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. Was this gambling here in East St. Louis something similar to the others you have described?

Mr. Allison. Well, it was not carried on so openly.

Mr. Baker. What do you know about this case that was just brought up here day before yesterday in which a man's license was taken ^{a way} from him and he made the statement that he would go on right on just the same---the Mechanics' Club? Do you know anything about that, about the gambling here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. No; I know about this---now this is in reference back to that first riot, May 28th. It also shows

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the lawless spirit that existed in this town. The man by the name of McKee down here that runs a saloon---the order had gone out from the soldiers that all saloons must be closed. They discovered this fellow McKee was with his place open; they went in---now, as I understand it, he is an ex-prize fighter---they went into his saloon and he struck at one of the soldiers and did strike him, and the soldier pulled out his large service gun, side arm, and shoved it into his side and told him he would kill him if he made another move, so McKee cursed him and said, "It won't do you a damned bit of good to take me to the police station. You can take me up there and I'll be back here and I'll be open before you can get back down here." So they took him to the police station and this soldier lad, who had arrested him, told me that McKee cursed him in the presence of the officers and told him that he would be open before he got back down there; before he could get back down there, he would be open again.

Mr. Baker. Did the officers make any pretence to stop McKee's swearing at the soldier?

Mr. Allison. Not so far as I know.

Mr. Baker. In other words, they showed encouragement of it?

Mr. Allison. Yes. That is the spirit of things. That is just it now.

Mr. Baker. Now, from all the statements you have told, what effect has this had upon the young girls that are here in East St. Louis who attend high school, or ought to attend high-

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school?

Mr. Allison. Well, this condition that exists here has paralyzed the function of every institution in the town. No church ~~na~~ can do what it ought to do; no school can do what it ought to do. And it has thrown the whole city into just a state of vice that is contagious, and, like I said a moment ago, it has crept up into the lives of some of the men in high places, men who ought not to countenance a lot of things that they do countenance. They do countenance it and let it go and they laugh and joke about it on the streets and in the places of business.

Mr. Baker. Have you ever heard anything about *rewards being* given in the way of *presents* by these hotel proprietors of these hotels, ^{which} you have described, to ~~any~~ ~~justices~~ any of the justices here in this city?

Mr. Allison. I never heard anything about the hotels doing it. I understand ~~Mar~~ Hall gave Justice Clark the new desk he has in his office as an election present. She keeps a house of prostitution.

Mr. Baker. Where?

Mr. Allison. At 208 St. Louis Avenue. That is the last place that she was located. And he was the man who came to the front--he was the man who came to the front when her place was one of the places that I helped raid, and he was the man that came to the front and I think used his influence in getting the fine of \$25, for selling liquor without a license, stayed.

Mr. Cooper. Right in ~~the~~ connection with Justice Clark, let me read the witness an item that appears in the Globe Democrat of today: "St. Louis, The Globe Democrat, Friday morning,

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November 9, 1917". An item on page 3: "Two Saloon Keepers Fined.- James Schrab, a saloon keeper, 201 Exchange Avenue, East St. Louis, was fined \$20 and costs by Justice E. E. Clark yesterday when he pleaded guilty to a charge of remaining open after midnight, and Drew Easton, a saloon proprietor, 8609 State Street, was fined \$5 and costs by Clark for selling liquor on Sunday. He pleaded guilty. Motorcycle patrolman Harry Schultz testified that he saw fifty persons drinking in Easton's saloon on Sunday".

One saloon keeper who pleaded guilty got \$20 and costs. Another saloon keeper the same day ^{at saloon} whose the policeman said fifty people ~~that~~ he saw in there drinking---nobody knows how many more pleaded guilty---and he got \$5 and costs. Do you know anything about how that sort of discrimination happens in Justice Clark's court?

Mr. Allison. No; only the thing that is the common current rumor around here, that any saloon keeper that will line up behind the administration ^{and} would have fifty people in his place after 12 o'clock Saturday night would be fined \$500, while ^{some fellow that didn't line up would be fined \$20}.

Mr. Johnson. The fellow that had fifty persons in his saloon was fined \$5.00---10 cents a head. Maybe the fellow fined \$20.00 had two hundred. (Laughter).

Mr. Allison. No; he was fined for keeping open after hours and the other was fined for violating the Sunday law.

Mr. Cooper. Is that ^{the} same Justice Clark you were talking to Judge Baker about?

Mr. Allison. Yes; the same man.

Mr. Baker. What about the price of this desk the judge has?

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Mr. Allison. This Justice Clark is the same justice that turned that bunch of rioters loose, too, immediately after the riot on July 2nd.

Mr. Baker. About what is the price of this desk?

Mr. Allison. I don't know.

Mr. Baker. What does it look like?

Mr. Allison. Well, it is a nice desk.

Mr. Baker. A hard wood desk?

Mr. Allison. It would cost about \$30, I guess.

Mr. Baker. Is Marie a married lady?

Mr. Allison. Well, I don't know that she is, ~~Julia~~ (laughter)

(to audience in court room)
Mr. Baker. This is not a laughing matter at all. If they have got any information they want to give instead of laughing, I would like to hear it. If you want to be decent and honest, come forward and don't sit back and laugh. That is my theory on the matter. I never permit in a court room or any other place a lot of people sitting around and making a court room a place for ~~for sportsport~~. They can be gentlemen there or not at all. That is my theory on the matter, and I never permit it. While I am on a committee, as far as one is concerned,--and I know all the rest of the committee is concerned,--I am not going to submit to it, as long as I ^{can} hold myself.

Mr. Allison. I don't know whether she is a married woman or not. I have been told that she was quite wealthy. I have heard that she---

Mr. Baker (interposing). For what purpose could she have

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given this desk to the judge?

Mr. Allison. Well, friendship of course, which probably possibly had its aim for protection. I can't conceive of anything else.

Mr. Baker. Now, what do you know about turning these men loose, these rioters that were arrested, some eighty or ninety of them, by Justice Clark?

Mr. Allison. I just know that they were turned loose; that is all.

Mr. Baker. Without any hearing?

Mr. Allison. Well, they may contend that there was a hearing. I wasn't present at it. I heard they were turned loose, and I think his claim afterwards---I heard this. I think, that he had acted upon instructions from State's Attorney Schumleffel.

Mr. Baker. To turn them loose?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. How did you hear that?

Mr. Allison. I heard that at the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson. Do you remember from whom you heard it?

Mr. Allison. It was being talked in just a bunch of men. It was being talked and I heard the statement made. I don't remember just who was present.

Mr. Baker. Would there be any way which of any expense to you to find out who owned the property that was destroyed by fire here on the 2nd?

Mr. Allison. The number of pieces of property?

Mr. Baker. No; who owned the property that was destroyed, the real estate?

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Mr. Allison. You can get that from the real estate men. I understand there was about 247 homes burned.

Mr. Baker. I just wanted to know if you thought it would be easy.

Mr. Allison. The Controller, I think, ought to have that. I think the claims were filed with the Controller.

These things that I have related, gentlemen, I have related them before we came to the question of the riot, because they are pertinent to it. These conditions were the open highway over which the riot proceeded, and I think that fairly well covers the situation. I have no checked-out, methodical program to follow; only in my mind things as they happened and were said to me, things that I know about.

Mr. Cooper. In You mean by that last statement, of course of yours, that in your judgment the good people--- and there are many good people in this city---

Mr. Allison. Lots of them.

(continuing)

Mr. Cooper. have become absolutely hopeless of any enforcement of law and order in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. I found it exceedingly difficult last election time to stir up any enthusiasm at all among the better class of citizens.

Mr. Johnson. Do you mean the election of last Tuesday?

Mr. Allison. No; the election campaign---the mayoralty campaign last April. I found it exceedingly difficult to stir up any kind of enthusiasm among the better class of people.

They would answer me by saying, "It is hopeless". I would tell them that Mayor Hollman had promised me, the pledges he had made, and they would smile and say, "We have heard that so

often that we can't believe it".

Mr. Johnson. They just seemed resigned to what seemed to be inevitable.

Mr. Allison. It seemed that way.

Mr. Cooper. Did you have fathers and mothers speak to you often about the terrible dangers which surrounded their growing young children in this town?

Mr. Allison. No; the only people who ever spoke to me were folks who had children that had become involved.

Mr. Cooper. Did you have several of those?

Mr. Allison. Quite a few of them came to me; yes, sir; fathers with boys---

Mr. Cooper. Gambling houses, etc?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson. What gambling games did they have here besides craps?

Mr. Allison. Well,---

Mr. Johnson. Faro bank?

Mr. Allison. I don't know whether they did or not.

Mr. Johnson. Roulette?

Mr. Allison. I don't know. I saw ~~cluck-cluck~~ games at Brooklyn; stud poker; draw poker, and crap games.

Mr. Cooper. Were those games on the square, the poker games and the others, or did they have professional cappers who stood around?

Mr. Allison. They were professional games.

Mr. Cooper. And beat innocent players and honest minded players, robbed them?

Mr. Frank Allison. Certainly.

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Mr. Baker. Before he starts in on the riot, I would like to ask him this question: You have heard of "Whisky Chute"?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. What was the condition on that street before the riot, now?

Mr. Allison. Well, I can tell you how the railroad men always looked at it. As the boys used to say, "If you want excitement or a foot race, that is a good place to go for it". It was a dangerous place. The saloons that were conducted up there were---it is not bad like it used to be.

Mr. Baker. Well, I am talking---say the 27th of May; confine your testimony to that.

Mr. Allison. A newspaper reporter, Mr. Altrock here in town, told me he had gone through that district up there--- I never checked it up personally myself---and he told me he had gone through there and there were lots of prostitutes there in connection with the saloons on the "Chute". That was a year ago.

Mr. Baker. What I was getting at now is, have you heard any statements as to the way they treated the cattle men that came to the stock yards to sell their horses and cattle and mules and hogs and sheep?

Mr. Allison. Only what I have read in the paper of men who were out-of-town men who lost some money occasionally, but that has been done down town here.

Mr. Baker. It has?

Mr. Allison. Yes; some of those instances.

Mr. Cooper. I want to ask you a moment about those

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stolen cigarettes---over \$5,000 worth of them stolen---
\$3500 worth. Now, about a thousand dollars' worth, or
that,
approximately/was found in Albrecht's place?

Mr. Allison. I think it was \$900 worth.

Mr. Cooper. Just where is his place located?

Mr. Allison. His place is located on Broadway, directly
in the face of Collinville Avenue.

Mr. Cooper. Is it a very prominent place?

Mr. Allison. Yes; a very prominent place. He is a
wholesale liquor dealer.

Mr. Cooper. Now where were these cigarettes found in his
place; do you know?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Coffey said that the secret service
men had tracked them down and found them there.

Mr. Cooper. The United States or the railroad secret
service men?

Mr. Allison. He didn't say which.

Mr. Cooper. Some secret service officers located them
there?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. And this man was arrested for receiving
stolen goods?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. What statement did he make about it; do
you know?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Albrecht?

Mr. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Allison. I don't know; only in a general way, as
I remember having glanced over it through the paper. I think

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he contended that they were bought ~~proceeds~~ in his absence, ---something like that. I think that was his plea.

Mr. Cooper. What is his name in full?

Mr. Allison. Henry Albrecht.

Mr. Cooper. Is that what the sign reads over his place?

Mr. Allison. Well, I think it is the Albrecht Liquor Company---A - E - B - R - E - C - H - T - is the way it is spelled.

Mr. Cooper. In your opinion, ^{he} didn't bear a good reputation in this community?

Mr. Allison. That is the general concensus of opinion of such men as Mr. Hollman, that he had dabbled in politics and he refused to close his saloon and things like that..

Mr. Cooper. You said that Mr. Hollman told you that he was one of the dirtiest politicians in the City?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Hollman made that statement to me, and he said, "I think I have him proven of dabbling in politics. Now this Mr. Albrecht played a lottery there in his place, something similar to that, and was apprehended and made to stop that.

Mr. Cooper. Yes; that is what I was getting to. I have a note of that. Now we have a man whom the Mayor of this city said was one of the dirtiest ~~in~~ politicians in the City, and a man he had been arrested for the violation of the laws of the State of Illinois in keeping a ^{house of} public lottery---

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

(continuing).

Mr. Cooper. in his place; and a man whom the reputable portion of the community didn't think had a good character, a good reputation; and \$900 worth of stolen cigarettes are

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down in his premises and he is arrested and charged with receiving stolen goods?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Then when he is brought to trial, a very considerable number of these gentlemen who are on the Committee of One Hundred to see that proper conditions obtain in this municipality, go up before this jury at Danville and testify to his good character?

Mr. Allison. Yes. *H. Conroy Reeb* President, Southern Illinois National Bank, was one of the men.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know whether Albrecht banks with him?

Mr. Allison. I think he is a stockholder in the bank.

Mr. Cooper. Well, that would tend to help his character some. Those things have a powerful influence, you know, in estimating the character of some of our leading citizens, if they are stockholders in our banks sometimes. (Laughter). Now these people that you are called "leading and prominent", had some of them anything to justify that word "leading" and "prominent", except that they have got money?

Mr. Allison. I need to say this in justice to Mr. Joyce-

Mr. Cooper. Well, I don't mean Joyce, but I mean some of these others.

Mr. Allison. I have mentioned his name as charged by Mr. Hollman that he blocked the enforcement of the law. Mr. Joyce says that that is a lie, and says he'll face Hollman in it that he didn't block him from the enforcement of the law, and I have found Mr. Joyce a very damn fair man.

Mr. Cooper. I'll say that good citizens here have told me or spoken to me in high terms also of Mr. Joyce. I don't

know anything about him at all.

Mr. Allison. There are a lot of mighty fine people in East St. Louis, good citizens. I have been warned what I would get if I pursued the course that I did pursue, and if I did what I am now doing. It came in an indirect way.

Mr. Johnson. Did you get any warning or any threats as to your testimony before this Committee? Will you be good enough to bring it to the attention of the Committee?

Mr. Allison. If I do?

Mr. Johnson. If you get any warning or any threat from anybody because you testified before this Committee, bring it to the attention of the Committee.

Mr. Allison. I'll be glad to do it.

Mr. Johnson. We'll be glad to have it.

Mr. Cooper. You haven't ~~mm~~ impressed the Committee as being an especially timid man.

Mr. Allison. Well, I'll tell you now seriously, I have weighed this whole thing.

Mr. Cooper. You appreciate the danger, I suppose?

Mr. Allison. I do. They sent a man---I say they sent a man to my church and told me they were going to kill me--- that is, he came and ~~mmmm~~ posed as a friend, saying that he had got it that it was framed up in a certain saloon---now he came to me on Monday---

Mr. Johnson. Monday when?

Mr. Allison. This was back--

Mr. Johnson. Not relative to this investigation?

Mr. Allison. No; not ~~mmmm~~ relative to this investigation at all. He told me he knew it was framed up in a certain saloon here on the Sunday before that they were going to get me,

and I asked him what he meant by "get" me, and he said that they were going to "croak" me. And he said ~~that~~ that he believed that I was a pretty good fellow; said he didn't agree with me on many of my ideas about closing saloons, and things like that, but he believed I was a square guy and he had come out there as a friend to tell me. I made this reply to him and this is the way I felt about it, absolutely---I told him that he could go back and tell them that I knew they could do it; that ~~any~~ I knew that any one of them in a cowardly cur-like movement could put me off watch, but that I wanted him to ~~go~~ tell them this, that I believed implicitly in what I preached; that I accepted the reality of the other life like I accept the reality of this life; that I was satisfied that my relationship with my God was right; that I had a good heavy life insurance to take care of my wife and boys until my boys could bear the burden. Whatever they were going to do, they could do it any time, for I was determined that I had rather die, be killed by that gang, than to back up or run one inch from them.

Mr. Cooper. East St. Louis ought to have more like you.

Mr. Allison. Now I don't say that to be saying that sort of thing, but I feel that way about it. I have the friendship of all the people in East St. Louis. It has been with a great deal of---I haven't wanted to mention things here that I have on certain men. I would rather not have made them in this kind of a statement, but something must be done in East St. Louis to awaken a lot of these people who at least were good men ~~and~~ at one time, and I am tell^{ing} you frankly that I have studied the situation, and I believe there are men in

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East St. Louis today who don't mean to be corrupt but who have become so accustomed to the contamination of the vice and the corruptness that ~~has~~ is here that they unconsciously drift into things and are really not aware of the heinousness of the situation in which they find themselves. I believe that. If that thing is conceivable at all, I believe it. Now I love these men. Lots of them I have learned to love. But something must be done in East St. Louis, and it must come from the better class of citizens.

Mr. Cooper. Well, it is the corruption in the high places, among the so-called better element, who pose as respectable, but who are really whitened sepulchres---that is the corruption that has got to be exposed.

Mr. Allison. That is so.

Mr. Cooper. That is the menace, a most contemptible and fraudulent kind of corruption. There are lots of people. Lots---and too many---who are so indifferent to public criticism or private opinion that they go bad and stay so and let everybody know it; care ~~nt~~ nothing about it, but there are others who pose as respectable, ^{who} get into high positions and places of trust, and there isn't anything about them that is honorable, not a thing at heart. Isn't that so?

Mr. Allison. That is so; and the chief sinner in this town is the owner of property. Now I have tracked that thing down and found it so. They take exorbitant rents. Now you take this place that is occupied by Marie Hall, this prostitute, 208 St. Louis Avenue---and I am informed that Fisher Brothers have the representing of that. One of them went to the deacon in my church and said that I had no business doing what I was doing; that I didn't have any business meddling with

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anything outside of my pulpit.

Mr. Johnson. Which one of them was it that did that?

Mr. Allison. I don't know. Mr. McNight can tell you. I can find out which one it was. Now that place down there, if you go and look at it, it isn't worth \$15 a month. It wouldn't rent for that for a legitimate purpose, but I understand that the last rent that woman was paying was \$35 a month; that she had paid \$50 a month for that shack.

Mr. Cooper. A poor building, is it?

Mr. Allison. A poor building, in a very bad location; it is low and water stands in there when it rains. It is beside railroad tracks; smoky, dirty, filthy, and all of that.

Now these saloons, these dives here in town that are housed by these property owners, they all pay an enormous rent in order to occupy some prominent place. Now that raises the rent on other pieces of property. It makes it hard for the little merchant next door. Here is a real estate man and says, "Here, so and so next door to me there, that saloon pays me a certain amount of rent. You have got to raise your rent". He has got to come up to it. It raised ^{the} rent on the property that I live in out here in town. It is an economical curse. That is what it is.

Mr. Cooper. Then when it comes to an investigation of corruption, distressful conditions in the community, some of these property owners get on a Committee of One Hundred, that is appointed or selected to investigate these conditions, and report a remedy or do something to help stop it?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; they do better than that---the moment that their tenants are arrested, either they

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come to the front for them, or they have professional bondsmen there before the police can get them to the police station to go on their bond immediately so they won't be disturbed and can get back at once and get at their business. Now you take the night in which that raid was conducted that I tell you about, why Mr. Schein was present in that and told me that before the policemen got back with those people that they sent for, bondsmen were there in the police station, inquiring if they had anybody there from such and such a number, ready to go on their bond.

Mr. Cooper. Well, that shows some sort of a system.

Mr. Allison. It is all wrapped up together.

Mr. Cooper. And it shows that some of the conspirators are in high places, or prominent places, doesn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. An absolute demonstration that some of them are at the very center of authority?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Cooper. That is a demonstration of that fact. And if I may be allowed to ask you this question, do you know that in some of the larger cities of the country, where similar distressful conditions have arisen, investigations have revealed, as they have revealed here, that some of the most culpable of the conspirators and most dangerous have been men in high official station?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Cooper. You remember for example, don't you---of course you do---the awful murder of Dr. Cronin in Chicago not so many years ago?

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Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. And that one of the chief conspirators in that murder was one of the most prominent detectives in the city?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You know about the murder in New York?

Mr. Allison. Of Becker?

Mr. Cooper. Yes. And there was a lieutenant of police, and recently in Philadelphia we have a mayor indicted for a conspiracy to commit murder--"wholesale murder" as the Chairman suggests--and we see very prominent men, men in prominent political positions and in official positions indicted, charged with a conspiracy to commit murder, and hiring gunmen to come down from New York and Jersey City and commit deliberate murder in Philadelphia. So the only ^{way} to reach an enduring solution of these things is to have the investigation fearless and go to the bottom and do justice against every conspirator, no matter how high he may hitherto have stood in the community. Isn't that so?

Mr. Allison. That is so.

Mr. Cooper. Follow the trail of guilt wherever it goes.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. You are not responsible. The guilty man alone is responsible. It is the so-called "respectable" gentlemen who pose as respectable, who are really hypocrites, and, as the bible says, "whited sepulchres", that are the danger in this Republic. Isn't that so?

Mr. Allison. Certainly that is so.

Mr. Baker. Now go on and explain about the riot of

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May 28 and 29.

Mr. Johnson. And any other causes which you haven't told about which may have led up to it.

Mr. Baker. We might turn the examination for just a moment on something else. Have you made an examination so you could give the Committee any information as to the kind of houses and the surroundings and living conditions of these men that work in East St. Louis?

Mr. Allison. I have.

Mr. Baker. Before you start in on that riot, and that will have some tendency to show the disposition--what has been that condition.

Mr. Allison. This all has a direct bearing on this riot situation. These terrible lawless conditions that have existed here, and then the inferior, contemptible provisions that are made for people to live in. Here in East St. Louis the men, as possibly has been brought out here, who control these large interests, do not live here. They live in other cities. I remember last---now I'm not blaming them for that, but I know, for instance, that Mr. Armour, who owns property in Omaha and other cities, couldn't live in all the cities, but here is my point: Last winter we were trying to put on a campaign here to get a day nursery. We had a lot of women in East St. Louis who were widows and who had been left in ~~straitened~~ circumstances, and had gone to work and locked their children in their homes. There were two or three cases in which the homes were burned, children losing their lives.

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We began a campaign here to get a day nursery. It proceeded fairly well, and when we came to a campaign and put it up to these packing industries that own plants here, in which these women worked, we felt as though they owed a special obligation here, one of these large packers said that he had no such interest in East St. Louis. When that word came back to me it made me indignant. I replied to it by saying, "Any man who has a financial interest and knows no moral nor social obligation with it is a criminal."

Mr. Baker. That sounds good.

Mr. Allison. Well, that is the truth. That is the philosophy of the thief, of the hold-up man. Purely a financial interest in any man leads to criminality.

Mr. Baker. Now just go right on and proceed whether or not the conduct of the whole situation as to rent, as to location, as to general conditions, has been such that would bring about the conduct of ^{the and} men, women in an improper way.

Mr. Allison. Yes. I went to the Mayor and appealed to him to take it up with the Health Department. There were some horrible conditions on Era Street, immediately back of the police and fire station, near Reynolds Seed Company, in which people were living in such shacks. Now to understand that, this city is filled in; the streets have been filled in and the lowlands have been left.

Mr. Baker. In other words, the streets are from one to ten feet higher than the lowlands?

Mr. Allison. Yes; and a lot of these houses that ought at one time possible have built on foundations on the level have been raised up by foundations to bring them up to the

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street level and that leaves a great basement underneath. Now some of those places are rented for people to live in.

Mr. Baker. I see one right down here. There is one right here within 200 feet of this building; two or three people are living there.

Mr. Allison. I can show you any number of that kind of conditions. I have said this: My mother lives on a farm. We have better cow sheds; we have a better chicken house, on my mother's farm, than lots of people live in in this town. This one instance that I brought to the Mayor's attention was a room about ten by twelve, in which a family lived; one room. The only light they had was coming from above, from a glass that is put in---from a vitrified glass that is put in the walk, you know. Now that is all the light they had, and I understand they were paying \$12 a month for that one room.

Mr. Baker. Now just stop right there. I am going to get the location of that and the man's name that rented it.

Mr. Allison. Mr. Gerold was the owner of it, as I understand it. He owns it and rented it to those people.

Mr. Baker. What is his first name?

Mr. Allison. I don't know which Gerold it is. He owns that property.

Mr. Baker. Where was this located?

Mr. Allison. That was located on 3rd Street, near the Reynolds Seed Company.

Mr. Cooper. Is it the former City Treasurer or his father that owns that property?

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Mr. Allison. It is in the family. I don't know whether his father owns it or the former City Treasurer owns it.

Now these things that I am giving you now will be largely general, because I have plans---I am formulating plans for the gathering of specific social statistics in East St. Louis. They haven't been carried out yet, but these things I come to you and show them to you. For instance, up here to this place near Collinsville Avenue, that was inhabited by negroes; nothing but old ice houses, or old barns, that have been partitioned off and rented to these people, and they are living in them like sardines packed ~~mmmm~~ into a can.

Mr. Baker. Undoubtedly large rents are paid?

Mr. Allison. Why, certainly large rents are paid for it. I don't know who owns those pieces of property, but if I owned one of them I would be ashamed of myself to rent one of them.

Mr. Baker. Well, that is a very good location for property. It must be men who have a large amount of property that own them.

Mr. Allison. I don't know who owns them. All of the property---and you take when this large influx of negroes came in here, one man mail man told me, "I had twelve negro families on my route two months ago"---now this was said before the riot, because I think any man in East St. Louis, who was trying to be conversant with the situation, kept himself informed; he knew that something was coming. It was an impending thing---imminent, liable to have crashed at any moment. Twelve families, I think he said---it was either

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twelve or sixteen families that he had---and in two months he had either 212 or 216. If the first number was 12, ~~the~~ the other was 216.

Mr. Raker. In this character of houses?

Mr. Allison. In this character of houses, on one route. There were no modern conveniences; packed into places where where water stood in the street.

Mr. Raker. No running water?

Mr. Allison. I don't think there was running wat.

Mr. Raker. No sewer connection with it?

Mr. Allison. Possibly not; cesspools, I think, in most of those places.

Mr. Raker. No drainage? In other words it is ~~manin~~ sort of a kind of reservoir built around practically all of those ~~plaza~~ lots, isn't it?

Mr. Allison. I think it is. I think that is the general condition. They were especially filthy ^{with} tin cans, trash, etc. Some of the dumping grounds of the city are near some of these places where these people are compelled to live. Out here in this foreign district, one of these dumping grounds is out there, where the headless body of that ^{baker's} boy was found, the Hungarian baby. He is an Armenian, a baker here in town. His child was kidnapped and beheaded because he failed to get the ransom money to them.

Mr. Raker. And they found the child's head out in the garbage?

Mr. Allison. They first found the body and then found its head afterwards.

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Mr. Johnson. Is there any kind of crime that you haven't had here?

Mr. Allison. No kind of crime. I'll say this to you, Mr. Chairman: Government secret service men with whom I have been familiar have told me---and I and they have traveled all over this country---one man that you might know, if I would speak his name, tells me that of all the flagrant violations of law, the lowest class of crooks that he had run into anywhere in the United States, these here take the prize over all of them. Now that is the statement.

Mr. Baker. Now not only as to the negro quarters, ^{but} give us some idea as to where these white men, who had families and had to work for their family living, had to live. Give us some idea as to that.

Mr. Allison. Of course, the negro sections are worse. ~~and~~ Many of the white people are compelled to live in those sections, too. I have been in places---for instance, here is one scene that I will bring to your mind: I was called upon to do some charity work in a family that lived in the rear of a home on Gatey Avenue within---well, that is out in a fairly prominent part of the town---but now on the rear by that there was a sort of a woodshed house, back on the rear of the lot. We have a number of those in East St. Louis, and a family lives in them.

Mr. Baker. In the woodshed?

Mr. Allison. Yes; there was a family that lived in this place. The father was a drunkard and he was in jail at the time. The mother drank also. She wasn't at home when I

called, but I heard of a case of destitution; snow was on the ground. I was called to go there to administer some immediate needs to that family. Seven children met me at the door. A boy a little beyond twelve years of age, who had on an old pair of man's trousers that were rolled up, ~~and~~ an old pair of shoes, no stockings, no underwear, holes in his shoes and he had been out scuffling around in the snow to find coal and had frozen his feet; ~~and~~ he had an old coat thrown on him. The youngest child was a baby fifteen months old, and a little girl about seven years old had her caught on her ~~right~~ hip; she was accustomed to holding the child, you could tell by the position of it. It was one of the most deplorable scenes you ever saw. One of those little girls about four years old, I should judge---maybe between three and four---~~and~~ hadn't a stitch of clothes on at all, save a little old plash coat and a pair of cloth shoes that were ragged, of course. Now you think of that---not a stitch of clothes save those articles that I have mentioned.

Mr. Johnson. You say the father was a drunkard?

Mr. Allison. He was a drunkard and was in jail at this time.

Mr. Johnson. That family was one of the beneficiaries of the East St. Louis saloons.

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Johnson. The mother too?

Mr. Allison. The mother too. Fully eight-tenths of the destitution in East St. Louis is caused almost directly---comes from families that drink. ~~There is very~~ There is very

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little destitution in East St. Louis, very little calls for charity, but what the saloon with its whisky influence is back of it.

Mr. Johnson. Is it your opinion that the man who gets \$375 dollars a month for a corner room 12 feet one way and 20 feet the other way is the man who is profiting by that destitution?

Mr. Allison. He is the man whose money ~~is~~ is taken out of the mouths of the children and ~~clothes~~ off of their backs to warm his feet and buy the coal that burns in his grate, that ought to be in ~~than~~ theirs.

Mr. Baker. That is quite extensive in this city, isn't it?

Mr. Allison. Quite extensive; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. How many families do you think are affected in that way---that is, generally affected?

Mr. Allison. I wouldn't be able to tell how many, but the destitution in East St. Louis is terrible. The proportion is great. Why, we put on all sorts of campaigns here ever year to relieve the situation. I have a young men's bible class in my church that has a program on now to raise \$600 for charity this winter, to buy ~~the~~ groceries and coal. We pay no house rent at all. We won't pay house rent, but we'll buy things to eat, clothes to wear, and coal to keep them warm, and every penny of that money and more too will be spent, and that is just one---we are just one part of the ~~the~~ charity work of this city. The conditions are terrible! You can't hardly be specific about the living conditions among the poor, working class.

Mr. Baker. Well, in ~~addition~~ addition to the small wage,

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there is the extortionate high rent?

Mr. Allison. That is it.

Mr. Raker. The other conditions ^{that} take their money from them for drink, and the things connected with it, practically leaves the family helpless?

Mr. Allison. It does.

Mr. Raker. And many of these men now go to these saloons and more or less drink?

Mr. Allison. I don't see how the poor working man of this town who is drawing a salary that is away under what comes to me, I don't see how--to use the language that is commonly used---I don't see how he is getting by.

Mr. Foster. Do you mean that the living, the rent that he has to pay, and the prices for his products---food and clothing that he has to purchase for himself and family?

Mr. Allison. Yes. If he has any children to send to school---

Mr. Raker. Not saying anything about those who are spending money in these miserable holes around here?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. Even the fellow who is on the square and the fellow who is doing what is right and isn't squandering his money---he has a close enough time right now.

Mr. Cooper. Is it a fact that some of the working men--- quite a percentage of them---don't work every day, leaving out Sundays---every working day in the year---but there are dull times when they are laid off in numbers for two or three months at a time.

Mr. Allison. I think that is true.

Mr. Cooper. The United States reports and the report

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---or the brief filed in the Supreme Court in 1916 by ~~Frankfurter~~ Frankfurter, who is now in the War Department, I believe, makes mention of the fact that quite a percentage ---and it seems to me, thirty per cent---of the working people of the country have their wages greatly reduced in the aggregate because of the number of weeks or months each year that they are regularly without employment; business slows down and they are out. Thousands---hundreds of thousands---~~thousands~~ ~~mass~~ of them earn less than \$500 a year.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. I doubt if \$500 a year is the average of the working man's salary of East St. Louis. I doubt if it is.

Mr. Baker. This enormous rent that is paid to the saloon, his expenses, the proportion that he must pay to his hangers-on, the money that he must pay to the constables and deputy sheriffs and others interested--pimps--the amount that must be collected for the slash fund for political and other purposes, all comes out of the ninety per cent of the population here in East St. Louis, that are laboring men, daily wage earners?

Mr. Allison. Most assuredly.

Mr. Baker. And must, ~~as~~ of necessity, make a deplorable condition as to the home and as to the welfare and as to the condition of these young boys and girls that ~~are~~ have been brought into existence and are being brought up here as American citizens. Isn't that right?

Mr. Allison. That is right; absolutely.

Mr. Baker. They are cursed from the time they are born until something else overtakes them, if they stay here. Isn't

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that right?

Mr. Allison. Yes; it is so.

Mr. Baker. They haven't got much relief, have they?

Mr. Allison. They haven't much hope, either.

Mr. Baker. Now with that question, who is your health officer?

Mr. Allison. Mr. McCracken.

Mr. Baker. Now, do you know whether or not your health officer has been renting **sbacks** to these poor people?

Mr. Allison. I have heard that Mr. McCracken owned a piece of property in "The Valley". I haven't checked it down to know that that is sure.

Mr. Baker. That has been testified to by several others. We will check that down and be sure. That is in the crooked part of the town where women live?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. That is what you mean by the "crooked" part?

Mr. Allison. Yes; "The Valley". Whenever you say "The Valley" in East St. Louis, it means the "red light district".

Mr. Baker. Ordinarily "valley", you know, means a very prosperous, healthy condition. These awful conditions--- and you can just go and see them now yourself?

Mr. Allison. Yes; they are here.

Mr. Baker. They have been before this health officer all this time?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And do you know of any one thing that he has done to relieve these conditions?

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Mr. Allison. No. The Mayor called in the assistant in that office and had me tell to him some of the deplorable conditions that I had found among the living quarters of these people, and I was promised that the thing would be gone into and that it would be remedied. I have been out of the city, then, all of the summer, ~~even~~ especially after this riot. This riot came on then and I do chautauqua work through the summers, quite a good deal of lecturing, and I was out of the city and away, and then since I have been back I have been taken up with other things. I don't know whether those conditions exist or not, but we could soon go to the property and find out.

Mr. Baker. Well, is this the same McCracken that you people have to pay taxes in addition to your rent and taxes ---these poor people have to pay something towards taxes here, don't they?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. In the way of rent and other conditions *that* amount to it. Is this the same McCracken that was interested in the way of having some land condemned for the use of the sewerage system or Water Levee Board?

Mr. Allison. He is the same man.

Mr. Baker. Is he the same man that ^{it} ~~is~~ alleged ~~that~~ bought a piece of property of a widow for about \$5,000 and then things were so manipulated that where all the rest got about \$300 per acre---just as good land, if not better--- McCracken---this particular Dr. McCracken---and his wife got \$300 per acre?

Mr. Allison. He is the same man.

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Mr. Raker. And that instead of losing on the deal, after having paid this widow about \$5,000, he got for his property in the neighborhood of \$45,000?

Mr. Allison. He is the same man.

Mr. Raker. Well now, just one question: You wouldn't expect a man that would treat a widow that way and rent ~~his~~ property right here in the shadow of your temple of justice, to give very much deep concern as to the health and condition of the men and women who are struggling here to make a living, would you?

Mr. Allison. No; I don't expect anything from him.

Mr. Raker. Then I haven't drawn it too strong from the questions I have asked, have I?

Mr. Allison. No; my conclusion, if it is true in one case, must be true in all---whenever a man's interests center wholly in a financial scheme, he is on the road to criminality, and all ideas of brotherhood are dead in his life.

Mr. Raker. Human lives are nothing?

Mr. Allison. Nothing.

Mr. Raker. Well, isn't it a fact, leading up now to the attitude of the mind prior to May 28th---and that is what I am asking you for---don't the conditions surrounding the people, as you have described, both men and women, old and young, affect their mental way of doing and thinking and acting?

Mr. Allison. Oh, it does.

Mr. Raker. In ~~ma~~ what way? In a baser way or in a higher way?

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Mr. Allison. In a baser way. That is the groundwork of my making the statement that the functions of the church---it cannot perform its full duty in a situation like we have here. A school cannot do it. I have talked with some good school men who know this situation here; who know it, and they have told me that they are almost ready to throw up their hands and leave the city; that they cannot do the thing. And the pitiable thing about this is that these gentlemen now of whom we speak---and I don't say it in a spirit of censure---I am not censuring them at all, but I do say it ^{what is} in the spirit of a light---the pitiable thing about ~~this~~ this thing is that Dr. McCracken, Mr. Locke Tarlton and ^{Mr.} Tom Canavan, and men of that character, ^{and} these men the owners of this property, who rent it at exorbitant rates to poor negroes and then to this criminal class---those men don't know that they are contemptible and wrong. How those men can't see that thing.

Mr. Baker. But they are making the money out of the degradation, the poverty, the vice, the squalor, and the hardships that follow in its trend?

Mr. Allison. They are.

Mr. Baker. Now what is your view? Is it your view that they are so thoroughly imbued with this money making idea of the way they are doing that there is practically no way to relieve the situation?

Mr. Allison. They have gotten into the thing and they are just---they have been swept on with the conditions; things have been countenanced here and countenanced there until in their lives the higher ideals have atrophied---died out.

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Mr. Johnson. The public conscience is just dead here?

Mr. Allison. The public conscience is dead in lots of men's lives in East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. It doesn't give the young---it doesn't give the family of these men that are working here under the conditions, which I will ask later, hardly any opportunity for future existence, does it?

Mr. Allison. There isn't a hopeful outlook; there isn't a hopeful out look at all.

Mr. Baker. But your view is that if a few good, strong, virile men and women could get hold of the situation --- you have got the material, both in men and women?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. That could make this city just as good as any in the United States?

Mr. Allison. Absolutely. If the men who own these plants in East St. Louis, if they would cooperate with a movement of the better class of citizens, if there could be a movement put on foot to condemn the property of the man ---the property that is absolutely unsanitary and unfit for a human being to live in---if that property could be condemned and there could be---and it could be blacklisted so that he couldn't rent it, he would fix it up; he would rebuild. Now if that kind of a scheme could be put on here ---and I speak especially if there could be some social service work done among the colored people here---and I have some extensive plans along that line, and have met with quite a hearty response from a lot of the citizens here. There has got to be something done, a concerted cooperative

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effort put on here if the thing is to be redeemed. It can be redeemed; I am sure of it, but it never can be redeemed with these men in the lead of civic affairs in East St. Louis; it cannot ~~have~~ be done; it is hopeless.

Mr. Johnson. If some of these houses ~~that~~ had been destroyed or torn down in a lawful manner instead of having been unlawfully done by a mob, it would have been a blessing in disguise?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; that is one thing that I can say to you that I have thought was a blessed thing. I have, of course, abhorred the suffering and destruction of personal property.

Mr. Johnson. Doing it in a lawless way?

Mr. Allison. Certainly; that is worst of all, but the ---well, East St. Louis needs a duplication of the ~~same~~ proposition. It will get it one of these days. Many of these buildings on Collinsville Avenue, if you will notice them---I don't know whether you have noticed them---they have brick fronts, but behind that brick wall it is a frame building. The night of the riot, on July 2nd, if there had been a strong wind, there wouldn't have been a half dozen buildings left in the business part of East St. Louis. It would have all gone because it is tinder.

Mr. Baker. These people were all playing with fire that day?

Mr. Allison. They certainly were playing with fire. I was surprised to see the thing stop where it got stopped.

Mr. Baker. Now, getting back and going right on the same line as to the congested condition of the negro quarters,

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do you know anything about that?

Mr. Allison. Yes; I know it was deplorable.

Mr. Baker. More than one family lived in the same house?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes; roomers and lodgers and boarders; and then these negro saloons were housing large numbers of negroes, taking care of them; they were sleeping there at night.

Mr. Johnson. I guess they got all of their wages?

Mr. Allison. Oh, most assuredly, if they made any wages. And I am not surprised that there were a series of hold-ups by black men in East St. Louis.

Mr. Baker. Explain that to us.

Mr. Allison. I think the situation you ran into here yesterday morning when you found ^{that} those eleven colored men brought into town here had been deceived, turned loose in town with insufficient clothing, with no money and hungry. I am not surprised that a man like that would undertake to hold a man up or to anything else.

Mr. Cooper. Some white men would under similar circumstances would do it, wouldn't they?

Mr. Allison. Certainly; driven to desperation. Now I am not **justify**ing the negroes' atrocities---these hold-ups and things like that that we had I am not ~~excusing~~ excusing.

Mr. Baker. A human and hungry man is going to have something to eat.

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker. The lower he is, the surer he is going to get ^{it} the first place he can find.

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Mr. Allison. And another thing, it seemed as though--- I am sure I would have thought it **had I been** a colored man---that I should just get everything that I could if nobody cared a blankety-blankety-blank for me. They were packed into this town. Whether the corporations were guilty or not, the town was congested with negroes. There wasn't an effort made to give ^{them} any better living facilities; not an effort made to make citizens out of them; there wasn't a thing done to take care of them; to encourage them; not a thing done.

Mr. Raker. In addition to that, not only to take care of them, isn't it a fact that white ~~man~~ people were moved out of these houses where they were paying \$8.00 or \$9.00 a month and negroes moved in and paid \$14 or \$15 a month?

Mr. Allison. I understand things like that were resorted to; yes.

Mr. Raker. Then, getting back again to the man who is the business man.

Mr. Allison. After the money.

Mr. Raker. The property man after the money, the more negroes, the more he could get for rent, the better he would like it, wouldn't he?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Now, let's just go out to these great concerns, outside of the plants---just stay outside of the plants now for this question---what had been done by these people for this great number of working people after they left their plants, anything that you know of?

Mr. Allison. Well, this has been done. There had been some cooperation with Mr. **Rout**, who has the industrial

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work of the Y.M.C.A. here in the City. There had been some effort made; plants had cooperated with him in undertaking to get play-grounds, and some night schools among the foreigners---things of that sort, but there hadn't---it was done on a very meagre scale, and outside of that work that was done through the industrial work of the Y.M.C.A. I know of nothing that was done.

Mr. Baker. Then really it amounted to this: After you have described the conditions down town, ^{the} conditions of living and sanitary conditions, and the conditions of the **factories**, we find these men going to work in these great concerns, and after they had done their day's work, being simply turned out of the gates like ~~turning out~~ turning out so many horses to pasture, no one looking after them and giving them any consideration.

Mr. Allison. Not as good as horses turned to pasture. Horses turned into a pasture would have a fence about it and some sort of care would be taken for watering facilities and feeding opportunities. There is nothing like that in this case at all. They are turned loose to let the devil get the hindmost.

Mr. Baker. It just seems as though so far as the laboring man is concerned---and I am taking that **because it is the big** body---the conditions at the plant after they left/ ^{the} conditions here in the city/ ^{the} everything was to get all he had?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And nothing to advance him?

Mr. Allison. No.

Mr. Baker. And he would be in a mighty bad shape, wouldn't

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he, immediately?

Mr. Allison. He couldn't get anywhere.

Mr. Baker. He would be immediately in a bad shape, couldn't he?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Baker. As well as physically?

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Baker. And in a position to be led to most any desperation?

Mr. Allison. Yes; anarchy.

Mr. Baker. Now go on with the May riot..

Mr. Allison. Well, the May riot---that thing, as we say---started on the night of that meeting in the City Hall at which Mr. Lane, Mr. Hollman and Mr. Flannigan---Alexander Flannigan---spoke to those men. They came down from that meeting and immediately upon coming down, it was said that another negro hold-up had occurred, and I came very nearly running into that hold-up. I came along in my machine just as the crowd was pulling ring, and just after the shooting had taken place. They started on the street to beat negroes. It wasn't so vicious as this that occurred in July.

Mr. Baker. Well, there is a degree of viciousness, but describe that that did occur in May.

Mr. Allison. Well, that in May was simply the idea was to beat negroes up and put fear into them and compel them to leave the city. Now it seemed as though that was the idea, and to---I am giving you now largely what my conclusion is from this thing---it seemed to me there was an organized

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effort to drive the negro out of this town, because of the fact that---I don't know that any negroes were killed in that May riot; not many at least; several were beaten up and they appealed to the police officers; they appealed to the Mayor for protection. Numbers of negroes told me that they appealed to the Mayor for protection and he told them that he couldn't protect them, and that the only thing they could do was to leave the city.

Mr. Baker. Was any reason given why he couldn't protect them?

Mr. Allison. No; just couldn't protect them. So I think that that partially accounts for the negroes arming themselves to protect themselves. Then following May 29th, negroes were beaten up intermittently, all along through that time, and nobody was apprehended, nor nobody was arrested.

Mr. Baker. You mean the negroes were beaten up by white people?

Yes; they were

Mr. Allison. Assaulted here and there, and the negroes retaliated by beating up white men. A teamster would be coming along with his team and negroes would sail into him and beat him up. It was sort of a tooth and claw affair, leading on up until July 2nd.

Mr. Johnson. By this time, it had practically resolved itself into a race war?

Mr. Allison. A race war is just what it had resolved itself into. Now, the whole stage was set by somebody for July the 4th. The explosion was premature. The stage was set for July the 4th. A story was circulated among the white

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people that the negroes were coming to Jones Park while the whites were having their 4th of July celebration and they were going to massacre women and children. A similar story was circulated among the colored people that the whites were going to "get" them on July 4th.

Mr. Johnson. Did anybody within your imagination have any ulterior motive to serve by circulating either of these reports?

Mr. Allison. Well, I only know what I heard. I heard this conversation between a committee of negroes and a labor representative. The labor representative accused the negroes of double-crossing the union men: that Dr. Bundy had double-crossed the union men.

Mr. Johnson. Dr. Bundy, the colored dentist?

Mr. Allison. Yes; Dr. Bundy, the colored dentist. Reverent Wallace, who is a colored man, replied by saying, "You are mistaken. Dr. Bundy didn't double-cross you. We tried our best to get all the negroes to unionize, but the negroes--the general run of them--were afraid of union labor, and they were afraid to do it". Now I heard that conversation.

Mr. Johnson. Did they say in what they were afraid?

Mr. Allison. No; they didn't say in what they were afraid.

Mr. Johnson. What conclusion was drawn in your mind from that?

Mr. Allison. Only this, that there had been an effort among some of the union men to unionize the negroes, and the conclusion I drew was--as I have been a laboring man

and have two union cards---the idea was that it was a way to defeat the corporations refusing to meet the issue of the white laboring man's claim for better conditions or more money; that the ~~man~~ corporations had undertaken to just simply force the negro into the situation and overcome it that way and subject the white man to the conditions.

Mr. Johnson. Before you entered the ministry, inasmuch as you have spoken of it yourself, what was your occupation?

Mr. Allison. Railroading, principally.

Mr. Johnson. Yes: but what kind of railroading?

Mr. Allison. I have fired an engine. I have an old Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's card. I have a Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen's card. Now that was---I heard that conversation, and that---

(interposing).
Mr. Johnson. Is there anything else in your mind now which would suggest that anybody had a selfish or ulterior motive to be served by arraying one race against the other?

Mr. Allison. Well, I am satisfied that some, at least, of the city officials wanted the negroes run out of town--- a lot of them. I am satisfied of that.

Mr. Johnson. Why would they want them out?

Mr. Allison. Well, Mr. --- the statement I am going to make to you ~~is~~ comes from Mr. Canavan himself; it was made to me direct. Mr. --- lives in---now this is my conclusion--- he lives out---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). I have asked you to express all that is within the scope of your imagination now for a reasonable conclusion.

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Mr. Allison. I see. Well now, Mr. Canavan lives in Alta Sita. Territory between Esas this down town district and Alta Sita, where Mr. Canavan lives, is infested by negroes, and that was being largely populated by negroes and they were spreading in that direction. I can imagine that it was very disagreeable to Mr. Canavan, as he seemed to insinuate in his remarks to me, to have the negroes encroaching upon property that he owned.

Mr. Johnson. You have used the word "infested". Do you mean just simply to loaf through that section, or reside through that section?

Mr. Allison. Reside through that section, and all classes of negroes ^{were} in between here and there. My honest opinion about the negro situation is that the negro, when he is left alone by the white man, is, in a majority of instances, and ~~from my~~ my experience with him is such, that he is a peaceable, law-abiding citizen: that the corruption---the largest percent of the corruption amongst the negro people is attributable directly to the white man's activities. That is ^a ~~an~~ conviction of mine. But back to---

Mr. Johnson. (interposing). Has it not been your observation, though, in former days that the negroes ^{been} very cruel to the negro?

Mr. Allison. Oh, yes;

Mr. Johnson. And that man's inhumanity to man finds itself emphasized in the colored race?

Mr. Allison. Well, many times that is so. Manytimes it is true. ¶ But now, Mr. Canavan made this remark to me-- now I can say ~~that~~ that the negro population was

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coming in between the city and the place where he lived. On the morning of July 3rd I met Mr. Canavan. I was appealed to to take charge of handling this negro situation, caring for the number of refugees that we had in the City Hall. They had something like 1200 of them there. And I met Mr. Canavan---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Men, women and children?

Mr. Allison. Yes. I met Mr. Canavan in front of his office there at the Arcade Building, and I said---and they were still assaulting negroes, and they were still burning property---that was on the 3rd and they were burning property as late as 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd.

Mr. Cooper. Right there: So the rioting hadn't ceased on the 3rd?

Mr. Allison. No.

Mr. Cooper. So at the time that Whalen and the other man that are charged with killing this colored man and shooting the arm off of that girl, rioting was still in progress?

Mr. Allison. Why, I rescued---Mr. Jim Miller and I rescued a woman, a negro woman, with her six children, out of a place near the Free Bridge at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 3rd, and took them to the station to put them on a train to get them out of town to her mother, and as we came back there was a house burning right here on 10th Street, I think.

Mr. Cooper. What time was that?

Mr. Allison. That was about 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 3rd of July.

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Mr. Canavan made this remark to me ~~and~~ when I spoke to him and ~~my~~ said, "Mr. Canavan, this is deplorable; this is a terrible situation". He said, "Yes, Reverend, but my God, something has got to be done, or the damned niggers will take the town".

Mr. Johnson. When was that?

Mr. Allison. That was on July 3rd ^{that} Mr. Canavan made that statement to me. He said, "Something has got to be done, or the damned niggers will take the town".

Mr. Cooper. That was after about forty or fifty of them had been killed?

Mr. Allison. Yes; practically all of them that were killed had been killed.

Mr. Cooper. And the houses burned up?

Mr. Allison. Yes. That was before I went after this woman, too. The burning of houses hadn't---they were still burning houses.

I am of the opinion---I am convinced that there was a concerted ~~man~~ effort here to run the negroes out of East St. Louis. Mr. Bernard, who runs a clothing store there on Broadway, told me that just before the riot he had a real estate deal pending through ^{the} Canavan and Tarlton real estate office, and that a few days after the riot Tarlton came in to conclude the deal, and Mr. Bernard told me, "I said to Tarlton, 'I don't think I want to take up any real estate deals in East St. Louis', and Tarlton said, 'Why?'" "Well", he said, "it isn't safe here", and then he said, "My business is practically ruined".

Mr. Johnson. Who said that?

Mr. Allison. Mr. Bernard. "I have lost about fifty

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per cent of my business since that riot." Mr. Bernard said that Tarlton replied by saying, "Did you have a good deal of negro trade?" "Yes, I had considerable of it". "Well," he said, "this is going to be a white man's town hereafter; the blacks will be run out of here and we'll have a white man's town, and you will have white trade".

The attitude of those gentlemen during that riot, when I appealed to them; suggested things that they could do to stop the riot; the indifferent attitude, they absolutely ignored---they ignored the appeals that came to them from different directions---led me to conclude---and I will believe it as long as I live, unless I am corrected some way by some definite evidence--I will believe that those gentlemen right here wanted the very thing to happen that did happen, save the killing of the negroes. They didn't want ^{the} negroes killed, but those men wanted the negroes run out of East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson. Race prejudice?

Mr. Allison. Race prejudice; that was a part of it--- the encroachment of the negro population upon the property that they owned, where their homes were.

Mr. Johnson. That was race prejudice again?

Mr. Allison. Race prejudice again. That was all of it.

Mr. Cooper. Did you hear them say who was bringing the negroes here; what influences were at work?

Mr. Allison. Oh, I heard, for instance---I heard several charges were made. I heard Mr. Hulsen of the American Steel Foundry or the Missouri Malleable Iron say that they had sent

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some advertisements down south among the negroes asking them to come in here because of the shortage of labor.

Mr. Cooper. Had you observed any shortage of labor here?

Mr. Allison. Not to any great extent as yet; not to any great extent at all. At any rate there was no such shortage of labor to justify the influx of negroes here that there was, the negroes that were brought in here from the South. There were threatened strikes at the packing plants and there was a strike on at the Aluminum Ore plant.

Mr. Johnson. From all that has occurred, and from all that you have observed, you are absolutely certain that race prejudice ^{exists} ~~is~~, to a violent extent, in the State of Illinois?

Mr. Allison. Well, I know it is here.

Mr. Johnson. There is no mistake about it?

Mr. Allison. There is no mistake about it. There are two things that operated here in that. Race prejudice itself is ignorance, and always produces trouble. Then another thing: there are some folks in the place who are silly enough to advocate race equality, which is impracticable.

Mr. Johnson. And leads to trouble?

Mr. Allison. And leads to trouble; either one---both race prejudice or race equality.

Mr. Cooper. Do you know about the play called ^{"The} "Birth of a Nation"?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. ~~That is a very interesting play~~

Mr. Cooper. That was here?

Mr. Allison. I understand early last spring it was in St. Louis.

Mr. Cooper. Didn't it show here too?

Mr. Allison. Yes; I believe it did.

Mr. Cooper. It showed right here in this town?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. February 19, 20, and 21, of this year--- three nights. Now that was a vivid, picturesque, powerful presentation of conditions and passions of fifty years ago, the memory of which, as far as possible--- especially in industrial communities, ought not to have been revived. Isn't that so?

Mr. Allison. Yes; and no---

Mr. Cooper. It tended to arouse everywhere it was shown the bitterest kind of feeling against negroes. They protested against the presentation on that ground, and so did thousands of white people throughout the North. ~~Am~~ Isn't that so?

Mr. Allison. I only know through the reports in the papers that such protests were made.

Mr. Cooper. It showed negroes chasing a white girl for the purpose, undoubtedly, of ravishment, and it showed the shooting of negroes; it showed the coarsest sort of conduct by negroes; it showed everything bad, practically, that ~~was~~ bad negroes can do, and very little of anything, if anything at all, very little of the good that good negroes do; it showed a faithful servant or two or three in some minor characters. Did you see the play?

Mr. Allison. I did.

Cooper.
Mr. Well, you know that it tended to arouse those old passions, and to anyone brutally disposed, who was inclined to feel that prejudice, it sort of tended to inflame him, didn't

it, against the negroes still more?

Mr. Allison. One who might have been brutally inclined. I can say this to you: It didn't in me at all. I saw it.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you are the last man that I would say anything of that kind to, with a view of having you make a personal application of it. You are just as far away from that sort of a thing as any man I ever saw. You were born and raised in Texas, too?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper. Your attitude of mind and your manly fairness displayed on the stand would be commendable in everybody wherever the place of nativity, but to have been born in Texas and to say what you have said here, and to have done what you have done, makes your conduct and utterances doubly commendable. I say that so you can feel ^{always} at ease wherever I question you.

Mr. Allison. Thank you.

Mr. Baker. Now finish your statement as to the general effect on the people. You said that upon you it had no effect.

Mr. Allison. My mother's people were southern people. My grandfather's name was Mrs. Wilson. W. L. Wilson, of Virginia, was a relative of mine and **that** needs only to say to you that they were ardent supporters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Cooper. William L. Wilson, of Virginia?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. My father's people were in the Union Army---the Allison's.

Mr. Cooper. So we can identify him. Do you mean the Postmaster General in Cleveland's second term?

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Mr. Allison. I mean the father of the famous Wilson Bill --- J. L. Wilson.

Mr. Cooper. He was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee when they brought in the Wilson Tariff Bill to do away with the free purchase of silver?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir. And my father's people, as I tell you, were Union people. Not all of the Wilsons were in the Confederacy. We have in the history of our folks where two brothers fought each other at a certain battle. But my grandfather had told me things about the negroes and how negroes appealed to them after the war was over; didn't want to leave the home of his master; ~~wanted to stay~~ and how many of them did keep them by turning over the home to them, letting them till the land and allowing them a certain rental, salary; such things as that.

My idea of "The Birth of a Nation", as I saw it, was combination of some things that my grandfather had told me, that no history that I had ever read had brought out. It filled my heart with a compassion for the negro race. It made me more interested in the subject than possibly I had ever been before. I saw the need of education; the need of social service work; I also saw through "The Birth of a Nation" and through my observation of history in the past, that the crisis in 1865---that ended in 1865---really created the race problem. Now let me make myself clear there. I don't want to be misunderstood. It is like this---if I may use the analogy---and let me set myself right before I start:

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I don't mean that that was detrimental. I am glad that nobody owns any man as a chattel today. I am glad that the cause of slavery was forever eliminated from the bounds of the United States. I am glad of that. But here is my point: Suppose the Humane Society of this city should suddenly decide that all of the barns, all of the places that stock is kept in, were unsanitary, and suppose that they should have influence enough that all of the stock in this city, the live stock, should be released, turned loose in the streets, the live stock problem created by that would be a menace to this city. The thing I saw in "The Birth of a Nation" and in my observation of the negro problem all over the United States is that we have been recreant in that nothing has been done to assimilate the negro ~~into~~ into our body politic. The amendment to our Constitution giving him equal rights has been merely a theory, and has not been carried out to the letter. Now that is my point, and I think that it is high time that this nation take some definite, practical consideration of the race problem.

Mr. Cooper. That is a very statesmanlike sentiment and well put.

Mr. Allison. The fact that the other day, I think it was, in Philadelphia, a large number of leading negroes met to consider the advisability of the organization of a negro political party. That thing is a forerunner of some more serious things than that may come. I contend that we can no more afford to have a negro political party than we can afford to have an Irish party, a German party, or any other racial

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party in our political government in these United States, and I am saying this because of the seriousness of it. I am convinced that within the next ten years, if something is not done to meet this situation in a practical way, ~~that~~ the negro problem will be one of the biggest problems confronting these United States.

Mr. Cooper. Well, that is a very strong statement. I mentioned, or, rather, referred to that moving picture because of the way in which the negroes were shown as offenders in 95 per cent of the instances in which they figured in the picture at all.

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. And then their offenses were of so aggravated a character that the white population, seeing the impossibility of the enforcement of the law, *organized the Ku Klux*, and then you saw them on horses, in the white robes, and with the horses; and then you heard that strange, weird call of the oboe or bugle call, whatever it was, ^athrilling, wonderful thing, and the negroes always in the *wrong*; and then when in any community where there was more or less of a sentiment because of economic *competitive* conditions, had arisen ^aprejudice, ^{and} ^{were} this picture shown, it was a dangerous thing.

Mr. Allison. It was; I agree with that. Let me make this statement---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). Nearly as dangerous as "Uncle Tom's Cabin", wasn't it?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. Oh well, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" never induced

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anybody to hurt a white man in the North or anywhere else.

Mr. Johnson. You are greatly mistaken.

Mr. Allison. May I make this other statement?

Mr. Johnson. It aroused a great deal of hatred and made a great deal of trouble, a thousand times more than has ever been done by "The Birth of a Nation".

Mr. Cooper. Well, of course that is a conflict of testimony (laughter); and there is no way of settling that dispute.

Mr. Allison. I would like to make this statement, if I am may: I think one of the ~~main~~ troubles with the race problem is that too many times there has been a lack of cooperation in the solution of it. To state this, my opinion is that no white man---no set of white men---can settle the race problem.

Mr. Cooper. They must cooperate with the negroes.

Mr. Allison. No black man can settle it. My opinion is that the black man looks at the thing subjectively, and always has a prejudiced conclusion, a purely subjective view. A white man looks at it in an objective view; an objective view purely always has a prejudiced conclusion. There must be cooperation. Now then, I am convinced that among the colored people---and I have met such men---they^{are} in my acquaintance---there are colored men who see this thing rightly and whose hearts today are burdened for some sort of solution to the **crying** situation that is upon us, and I believe that there ought to be some definite, specific action.

Laying aside the question of political corruptness in

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East St. Louis, the race riot in July here in the City of East St. Louis might have happened in any other city of any considerable size, that is an industrial center, within the bounds of the United States. It could just as well have happened in Cleveland, Ohio, in Pittsburgh, Penna., in Chicago, Ill., or in other parts of the country. I have talked with newspaper reporters who have told me of a similar thing occurring at other points, points that they are familiar with, in different parts of the country.

Now, how the problem would be solved, and where the solution would lead to, I know that my thoughts and my conclusions now are largely theoretical, and I know no theory can ---you can't be cock sure that any theory is right until it has gone through the fires of human experience, and however good our intentions may be, something practical must be done, and I sincerely hope, if nothing else shall grow out---I sincerely hope that one of the things that will grow out of this investigation will be that the heart and mind of this country will be turned somewhat in that direction.

I have been making---I am starting in to an extended study of the race problem as it affects the negro; and I have been astounded to learn of the vast ways in which he is a property owner in these United States. In the State of Georgia alone, negroes make returns on approximately \$39,000,000.

Mr. Johnson. And that is in the South.

Mr. Allison. Yes, and that is in the South. Now, the thing to me is becoming serious. The negro population is four times that it was at the end of the Civil War, and within the next ten years a unit that multiplies itself by four in

fifty years, with the accelerated accumulations of the four multiples--with that unit of four, I think we can reasonably consider that ~~it~~ it might come nearly doubling itself in ten years; and that is the basis of my statement, that within ten years I think they will be one of the most serious considerations that confronts the Government.

Mr. Cooper. And it cannot be settled, or reach any, as I said a moment ago, enduring solution, can it, by rioting, murder or arson?

Mr. Allison. That creates it; aggravates it; agitates it. The thing will never be reached by the doctrine of force. Whenever any man is compelled to demand his rights, he is on the road to defeat, whether he is a white man or a black man. We must win our rights. As a religionist, I take the position that that was a high handed temptation of Satan to our Saviour when he said, "If thou be the son of God, command these stones to become bread". Assert your rights. Men win their rights; the rights that are permanent and the rights that are abiding; and in this race situation all ideas of demand rights must be put aside, and any man who gets on a street car and demands his rights is wrong, or any man who comes in touch with the life of a negro and demands his rights is wrong, or any negro who demands his rights is wrong ---both are wrong, whether white man or black man.

Mr. Johnson. And that is what you had here?

Mr. Allison. That is what we had here---a demand for rights that emanated from both sides, however they might have been aggravated.

Mr. Cooper. Well, you don't mean that at times a white

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man who is oppressed or abused shouldn't assert his rights?

Mr. Allison. Oh, there comes a place where the protection of rights and the demanding of rights, I make a distinction between them.

Mr. Cooper. You know the old theory of government, human government, was--- **so** proclaimed as late as 1630 at the Holy Alliance at **Libeck**, that the average man had no rights, but he had certain privileges conferred upon him by monarchs?

Mr. Allison. Yes; I know.

Mr. Cooper. Well, our government in the Declaration of Independence declared that ^{the} people had certain inalienable rights: they came from God Almighty himself.

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. And they were not privileges conferred upon them by any human being. They were rights.

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Cooper. And they asserted that and then ~~they~~ ^{they} took them at the end of a revolution. There comes a time, doesn't there, when oppression becomes too great a burden, and when even a white man has got to assert his rights or he won't get them?

Mr. Allison. The protection of rights in that instance, I agree with you there. The thing that I have in mind is a man starting out to look for his rights and demand^{ing} them--- not a question of---

Mr. Johnson (interposing). With a chip on his shoulder?

Mr. Allison. That is the idea.

Mr. Cooper. Well, let us take up the July riots.

Mr. Baker. To the extent that your statement was so fine, the statement you have just made---we start to break it down on all hands the very first time we deal with the negro by trying to handle him as a chattel in the way of voting him. Isn't ^{that} it?

Mr. Allison. That is it. That is ^a contemptible and corruptible thing.

Mr. Baker. It seems to me that with all the talk and theory ^{and} book writing that you have done for him, you turn right around when you want to win an election, city, municipal, state, national or otherwise, and think you can use him, because he hasn't had the experience, by buying his vote and winning the election.

Mr. Allison. That is so. That is the crucial thing.

Mr. Baker. And being able to do that, corrupt men can handle any municipal government or any state government or even the national government to their own ends and for their own purpose?

Mr. Allison. That is so.

Mr. Baker. It seems to me that the great big problem staring us in the face today---and they have just worked it here to a finish, as you have told us---slush fund, \$50,000 in this little city---every man **ready and** willing not only to participate in the slush fund but working for the purpose that he might have made more money, using the negro vote by buying it for the purpose of winning the election. Is that right?

Mr. Allison. That is right.

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Mr. Baker. Then when the poor fellow can't protect himself any longer, they talk about race prejudice and send him out of the country, and if they can't drive him out shoot him on the street like a dog?

Mr. Allison. That is the way I feel about this thing that happened here; absolutely.

Mr. Baker. He must think and must feel like you and I feel.

Mr. Allison. Certainly.

Mr. Baker. Paying his taxes, living under the same law and under the same government that you and I live under; when they can't use him any longer, good bye---his life is like the dog upon the street; in fact, worse; they pay no more attention to it.

Mr. Allison. I don't know of cruelty among animals that I have seen that would match the cruelty to the negroes here in East St. Louis on July 2nd and 3rd. I never saw in my life cruelty handed to brutes that would match it.

Mr. Baker. What I have been trying to ask here--and there hasn't been a man, not one single one---I say that without any fear of a successful denial---the Committee of One Hundred or otherwise, that had the courage to come before this Committee and point his finger **at this man and say, "I saw this man participating in that mob---n a one of them.** Doesn't it seem strange and funny?

Mr. Allison. It does.

Mr. Baker. Running from sunrise in the morning until dark, and then the town was lit like a blazing sun so

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everybody could see it, and everybody was as blind as a bat to the destruction of human life and property in this town.

Mr. Allison. You know, I have tried---

Mr. Baker. (interposing). Can you account for that; how these people's *eyesight* all failed? I am satisfied that there are lots of these men that could come in here and tell some of these perpetrators of these crimes; *good loyal citizens* and property holders that have families, but they are afraid of their lives and property to do it, and that is the reason they don't come up and tell it.

Mr. Allison. I think that is true. I think that men here in town are cowards. They are afraid to come to the front, a lot of them. I believe that is true. There is another thing that is true, too, and that is that that thing was paralyzing to a man's senses. How it was terrible. There isn't any man who saw ~~the~~ it that can rightly describe it, and a man who didn't see it cannot conceive of the awful things that we did have here.

Mr. Baker. Just beyond description?

Mr. Allison. It is.

Mr. Baker. And your theory is, now, that---and I'll go back ~~now~~ to what has occurred for two purposes: First, they were terrorized. They felt that their lives would have been absolutely worthless if they tried to stop it?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. Except those who were actually doing the work?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. And second---which is the paramount of the

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whole thing---that their sense of right and wrong and their consciences were practically deadened and numbed. They said, "Let her go".

Mr. Allison. Oh, the stage had been set for this thing.

Mr. Baker. If those two theories---do you agree with me on that?

Mr. Allison. I do.

Mr. Baker. Then ~~there~~ there is a further fact that I want to ask about the race riots, if it isn't true that by reason of all these conditions existing, that you have described, all culminated when they saw that they could press it on the negro and lay it all to him?

Mr. Allison. Yes; I think that is largely---almost fully true; yes.

Mr. Baker. In other words---

Mr. Allison (interposing). The negro was made the "goat."

Mr. Baker. That is the point exactly. Here is a man holding a position of---some position in your municipal affairs, who has got property out here in different ~~lots~~ lots ~~than~~---he sees the negroes, the colored people, moving in between his lots and the city, and as they move in he sees his finances ~~are~~ going down, although some of his friends are getting a little money. He sees the opportunity that by sending them out, his property will come up again, and therefore his sense of right and justice and propriety and decency and honor is absolutely abandoned. He sits back and allows these poor innocent people to be slaughtered like the cattle in the pens up here at the stock yards.

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Mr. Allison. Yes; but not so humanely as the cattle at the stock yards; not slaughtered with the same---you know they undertake to make that humane. This didn't have that phase.

Mr. Johnson. I understood you to say earlier in your statement that you don't believe that those higher up here desired the killing of negroes?

Mr. Allison. Well, I attribute that---I can't conceive of a man who would desire bloodshed, but I am convinced from what went on and the attitude of these gentlemen, that they did want the town rid of negroes, sort of like my friend who came to me and said he heard they were going to "croak" me--- well, he made this statement---I don't think I told this--- he said, ^{"If} they were just going to beat you up a little, I wouldn't have come and told you anything about it." "But", he said. "I'm not going to stand for them putting you off watch".

Mr. Cooper. Well, if some of them would kill you, a white man in your prominent place, don't you think some of them might have been perfectly willing to have negroes slaughtered?

Mr. Allison. Well, I don't---it is possible that there were some in town who were eager to get a chance.

Mr. Baker. I get Mr. Allison's theory as this, and I think it is, as he stated to Mr. Johnson--the higher-ups you didn't believe really had murder in their hearts as against the negroes, but desired to get rid of them?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Baker. For the reasons stated?

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Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Raker. But when the thing started---of course the general conditions were such that there was nothing to prevent or retard the killing of these people?

Mr. Allison. Yes.

Mr. Raker. Became powerless.

Mr. Allison. Now let me justify that with the activity by the activity of the Mayor. Now I went to him on the morning of the riot, July 2nd, as early as 9 o'clock, when the first shooting took place.

Mr. Raker. Mayor Hollman?

Mr. Allison. Mayor Hollman.

Mr. Raker. In the City Hall?

Mr. Allison. In the City Hall.

Mr. Raker. On the day of the riot?

Mr. Allison. On the day of the riot. I was in this building on the fifth floor; the windows were open; I heard three or four shots.

Mr. Raker. Speaking of "this building", that is the Metropolitan Building on Missouri Avenue, where the Committee is now taking this testimony?

Mr. Allison. Yes, sir; on July 2nd; I heard several shots fired. It was about 9 o'clock. I was in attorney J. L. Cooley's office. The moment we heard the shooting, we rushed to the window and I saw two or three negroes that were working on the street-car tracks on Missouri Avenue dropping their tools and starting to walk off. I saw a crowd of white men rushing that way. They attacked a negro who was on the street who was doing nothing. I went down on

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to the street and it seemed that the negro had gotten away.

Mr. Johnson. A negro who had been shot at?

Mr. Allison. Yes; a negro who had been shot at.

I went over to the Mayor's office. I saw that there was only just a hand full of men in the mob, that the rest of them were just curiosity seekers, that is all. They were not, in the perpetration of that thing I realized there were not over five men;--possibly between ~~mm~~ five and ten--- who were active and ~~mm~~ determined to wreak vengeance on the negro.)

This is the first shooting that I know anything about.

"I went to the Mayor and said, 'Mayor, what have you done?' 'Well', he said, 'I have ordered the militia; ordered them last night', and I think he said some of them were either in town or just coming into town. I said, 'Why don't you deputize a number of citizens here and get out here and get ahold of these little groups of men?' He said 'How', I said, 'There are just eight or ten at the most in a group. You deputize a number of citizens and get them out there and get those fellows and bring them over here and put them in the City Hall and put a guard over them, and tell them, 'The first man that comes down those stairs will get killed in his tracks', you will break this thing up'. Well, he was 'going to wait for the militia'. Now I understand that the militia's orders, that their orders sent in here---when Mayor Hollman appealed to the state for the militia, the militia was sent in here with orders to report to Mayor Hollman for orders. They were to be under his command. I don't think he gave them a single command; only marched them

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up and down through the streets. That was practically all. Soldier boy after soldier boy to whom I talked said, "We have no orders".

Mr. Baker. Well,---

Mr. Allison. Now let me finish this, because this is vital for the conclusion that I reached. Now after this thing had run on until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when nobody could have stopped it, for as I had said to Mayor Hollman, "If these little groups of ten men in a group getting together and form a large mob, nobody can stop it", and I said, "They will burn this town down for you".

Mr. Johnson. Did you hear General Dickson testifying?

Mr. Allison. I didn't hear General Dickson's testimony; no, sir.

Mr. Johnson. Well, he testified that under military instructions, that when an officer was sent with troops to quell a riot, if they received any sort of an order from the mayor, then they carried that out without any further instructions from the mayor. He illustrated that by saying that if the mayor said, "Clear the streets", the manner in which the streets were to be cleared was then left to the officer in charge of the troops; whether to be fired upon or not was then in his discretion, and not in the discretion of the mayor, and that---I don't know that he said it, but the substance of what he said was---I mean I don't know that he expressed himself in just so many words---but the only conclusion to be reached from what General Dickson stated was that if the mayor gave general instructions to Colonel Tripp,

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who first came here with the troops, to stop the rioting, ~~that~~ then it was Colonel Tripp's duty to go ahead and stop it without any further detailed instructions from the Mayor; that that is the law.

Mr. Allison. Yes; well, I can get to Colonel Tripp's side of it later on. This, though, I know did happen. The Mayor suddenly determined along late in the afternoon, when it was too late for anybody to do anything, he appealed for martial law. At the time I didn't have the conclusion that I have now, but I came to the conclusion afterwards that the appeal for martial law---that the main reason for the appeal for martial law was to shift the responsibility wholly upon the State, because martial law would have taken him out of office; he would have had no responsibility in it; it would have been purely military. Now that is my conclusion, and that is the reason ~~for it~~ that he couldn't do anything at other times in the day. But late in the afternoon when the thing was gone, he could appeal for martial law and make a powerful appeal for it. Now

Now as to the soldier end of it, I saw with my own eyes where the soldiers allowed the mob to have negroes and beat them. For one specific instance, at Main ^{St.} and Broadway a negro stepped off of a car with his dinner bucket in his hand; a hard working fellow. He didn't strike the street until some fellow upprent him on the jaw; knocked him loose from his dinner bucket, and his hat off, and before the poor fellow could get straightened up, the crowd had gathered in around him and began to slug him.. There was a whole bunch of soldiers there in uniform, with guns on their shoulders.

Mr. Johnson. Bayonets on their guns?

Mr. Allison. Yes; bayonets on their guns. And I said, "For God's sake, why don't you boys form a hollow square here; get that negro inside of your square and take him to the police station where he'll be protected?"

Mr. Johnson. They could have done that with the negro inside and their bayonets outside?

Mr. Allison. Yes. That was what I had in mind. The negro heard me and ducked his head and forced himself into the midst of those soldiers. I saw them deliberately elbow that negro back into the mob with no effort to protect him at all. All the effort there was on the part of the militia was to take the gun and push the man with the gun this way (illustrating), with the gun lengthwise; give them a push and just hold them there, and some of them were laughing at the mob while they were doing that. One soldier---I grew indignant, and I said some things that were pretty bitter. I don't remember just what they were, but I know I felt better after I said it. One soldier said to me---he said, "What would you do?" I said, "If I had your uniform and that gun in my hand, I---if I was alive---there wouldn't be a splinter of the thing ~~left~~ left in my hand", and then the mob began to hiss me and call me nigger loafer and everything else, and I proceeded to tell them that they were yellow cowards and not one would dare strike that fellow if they met him alone on the street; that they only had the courage to do what that thing in a time of that kind, and got mighty hot. I think I precipitated the thing that wound up in ~~the~~ making the next ~~bits~~ fellow who defended a negro at the same spot and get

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down on his knees and apologize to the mob. But now I saw that with my own eyes. At the Relay Station, and I can tell you---I don't mind for anybody to know it---I looked that mob squarely in the face and I tried my best to pick out some fellow that I knew; I didn't know them; they weren't of the character of fellows that had been coming to my church, and I didn't know them. I tried my best to recognize---

Mr. Johnson. You hadn't been going to their church?

Mr. Allison. I hadn't been associating with them.

I was at the Relay Station when a bunch of prostitutes---seven or eight women---and three or four drunken pimps---fellows that were with them---rushed into the station there with a scream like Indians, and attacked a negro woman in the station. It just ~~threw~~ threw the whole station into a bedlam. White women and children were in there waiting for trains, and you never---you can't imagine the stampede that occurred ---children lost from their mothers and screaming and crying ---and I tried to protect that negro woman, ^{and} the fellow that was with me---we tried to get her behind us into a corner and we were going to have it out with them, but she was scared and I think she thought we were helping to attack her, and, of course, darted out, ^{from} behind us and tried to get out of the door, and of course she was **running away** and of course they sailed in behind her and tore her clothes off to her navel waist, all except her corset. Now I came immediately to the station and appealed to the Mayor. I said, "Give me one policeman and I'll take him and go and arrest that gang, ---seven or eight women, prostitutes that they were, and these three or four lousy bums that were with them". I said,

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"We'll arrest them and bring them up here. He wouldn't give me a man and wouldn't try to get one and said, "I can't do anything". And that was getting along late in the afternoon. That was getting to the time when the fires began to burn. I was in the Mayor's office at that time when I heard Colonel Clayton telephoning to somebody at Springfield ~~that~~ that he had the thing, he thought, under control; a few fires were breaking out now, and such as that, and that made me indignant. While Colonel Clayton was making his report over the phone to Springfield, the fire marshal came into the Mayor's office and said, "I can't put that fire out there; they are cutting the hose down there". A lot of soldiers were standing all around there, and I said,--and Colonel ~~Trigg~~ Trigg was there also---I said, "Why under the sun can't you send somebody down there to stop those fellows from cutting that hose?", and one fellow in khaki uniform said, "Well, you can't do it. The truth about it is there is no damn town big enough for the two races". //

Mr. Johnson. ~~That~~ Just there, the Committee will adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, with the request that you come back in the morning at 10 o'clock, Mr. Allison.

(Whereupon at 5:30 pm o'clock P.M., the Committee adjourned)