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East St. Louis Post Investigation

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Tuesday, November 13, 1917.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Honorable Ben Johnson (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF W. A. MILLER, R.R. Y.M.C.A.,
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. Mr. Miller, please give the stenographer your name and address.

Mr. Miller. W. A. Miller, Railroad Y. M. C. A., East St. Louis.

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

Mr. Miller. I have been giving my time over here since 1913, July. This has been my residence since January, a year ago--- this coming January.

Mr. Johnson. I take it for granted that you are somewhat familiar with the lines upon which this committee is proceeding, and I will be glad to have you in your own way go ahead and state whatever, in your opinion, may be of interest, concerning the situation and condition of affairs in East St. Louis, as you have observed them, as to the riot and the integrity of the officials, and anything that you may know concerning that subject, and even more than you know of your own knowledge--- that which you may have gotten from general information.

Mr. Miller. Probably to give you what you want I ought to go back of the riot a little ways.

Mr. Johnson. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. Foss. You are in charge of the Railroad Y. M.

C. A.?

Mr. Miller. Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss. How long have you been in charge of it?

Mr. Miller. Since 1913.

Mr. Foss. That is down here on the corner?

Mr. Miller. At Third and Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Foss. That was rather a historic place, was it not?

Mr. Miller. Yes, sir. Our building was located on Third Street, just back of Missouri Avenue. Below us on Third Street was a number of saloons and houses of prostitution. Where there was a bar there was something else upstairs. On Missouri Avenue, on both sides, there was the same thing, almost solid clear to the Relay. We were pestered with that element a great deal at the place. Women would come along at night and stand in front of the building, and sometimes would knock on the windows to attract the attention of the men there. Later on, in 1916, the early summer or spring, there was a gambling game started in what was known as the European Hotel there on the corner, which adjoined our building. We had a portion upstairs and they had a portion downstairs, and this gambling was in this in-between place, next to our sleeping rooms. The game was so noisy and lasted nearly all night, and our men couldn't sleep in that section of the house.

One Sunday noon I called Judge Townsend at his home

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and said to him, "Judge, you know we don't get much police protection or help over here; but we are up against the problem that neither do I dare complain about this thing." The feeling was at that time that if you attempted to get yourself helped out of a difficulty of that kind that somebody would knock you in the head; and if you got into court they would swear that you started the fight and prove you were the guilty party, and you would be in bad and the other fellow would get free. He just said, "Call the chief of police and tell him about the game". So I telephoned the police station and told them--- asked for the chief of police and a gentleman answered and said "All right, what will you have?" I told him who I was, and that there was a crap game on underneath or sleeping rooms in the adjoining building. He said, All right, to notify the chief of detectives. So I called the chief of detectives office--- his office was just upstairs above the chief of police. I asked for the chief of detectives, and somebody answered who claimed to be he. I told him the same story, and he said, "Notify the chief of police about that." I said, "I notified the chief of police and he asked me to notify the chief of detectives. I notify the chief of detectives and he asks me to notify the chief of police. Have you got a juggling game over there or is somebody on the job? How about it?" He told me he would come over and see about it. I expected he would come. I thought they would telephone over to shut up the game, and they would come over to see about

the place later. But they never did come.

A month or two later--- the game had gone on every day and every night--- Paul Anderson, who has been here from day to day, came over and asked me about the game. I told him this story and he told it--- reported it in the Post-Dispatch, just as I have told it. People read about it and laughed about it and made many remarks about it; and then a friend of mine who was reporting for The Times came over and said, "I'm going to take this thing up and clean it up." And he went in and saw the game and he went to other places in that neighborhood and saw the games there--- the Southern Hotel and two or three other places--- and he had a front page write-up in The Times the next night--- a very glaring thing. He continued it the next night and the next night; and about that time, "Fat" Johnson, who was running the European Hotel on the corner, called my porter out in the back yard and told him to tell me that they were going to get my hide; that I couldn't expose that business and stay there; that I had better get out. The thing went on in the paper just the same. The reporter stayed in our building and kept getting the dope and kept writing it up on the front page.

On Sunday following, Sunday evening, the water was shut off in our building. I thought perhaps a water main might have broken somewhere and went out on the other side of the street, and discovered that water was being supplied to other places, and then I knew Mr.

Johnson had cut our water off.

Mr. Foss. Who was he?

Mr. Miller. The fellow running the European Hotel there, conducting this crap game and everything else that went with it.

I telephoned the water company but couldn't get any service there, being Sunday evening. Some of our men suggested that if I would go over and see Johnson, that without doubt he would turn it on again. I surmised that they had planned to get me over there and beat me up, and I told the fellow who had suggested that, that I thought they had a scheme to waylay me. They had a bunch of fellows over there that done that kind of work, and I would be cautious about going over there at night anyway. So I went to a telephone and called up Johnson's clerk and told him that probably somebody had accidentally turned off our water over in their basement --- for our meter was in their basement--- the two buildings belonged to the same company--- and asked him if he would kindly turn it on for us. He said he would, but the water was not turned on. The fellow who suggested that I go over and ask Johnson to turn it on said, "I'll get a fellow and go over there and see what the line-up is". He went over there and there was a bunch of bums lined up in there, and they told Johnson that the water was cut off in the Y. M. C. A. and they would like to turn it on. He told them that he didn't know anything

about their business; if the water was out off and I wanted it turned on, to tell me to come over, that I could go down in the basement and turn it on. But they advised me not to go; that there was a bunch of thugs there that evidently ^{was} expecting to get me; so I didn't go. I just got the water company early in the morning and they came over early in the morning and turned it on, and told him to keep his hands off of our water supply or they would have him arrested.

He again called our porter and told the porter to tell me that they would blow the place up if I didn't tend to my own business and keep out of this thing. On Sunday night--- on Monday night ^u the cartoonist came over for The Times to get a cartoon of the place. He went into the place and they thought he was the reporter who had been writing it up. They had been trying to find out who the reporter was that was writing it up, and they jumped on that fellow and caved in a few ribs for him. They jumped on him and beat him up and caved in some of his ribs.

Mr. Foss. They broke his ribs?

Mr. Miller. yes, sir; they beat him up pretty bad. We had a young man who had been reporting for the Globe-Democrat staying there, but he hadn't been writing it up. He went in to see the game about that time, and Johnson grabbed him and the crowd surrounded him and they tried to make him confess that he was the fellow who was writing

them up. He denied it, and then Johnson took him over to the police station and told the police that he wanted them to tend to this fellow; that he was pretty sure he was the fellow who was writing him up, and wanted them to shake him down. The police questioned him about who he was and what his business was, and finally he succeeded in proving to them that he was not the fellow who was doing the writing.

Then Johnson put \$50 in his hand and asked him if he would tell him who it was--- told him he would give him \$50 if he would find the fellow who was writing him up. The young fellow refused to divulge the secret, although he knew about the writer and who was doing it.

About the middle of the week following Cochran told me--- the fellow who was doing the writing--- that he was going to get the place closed up. He said, "I am going to write the Mayor up; I am going to write him up in a way that he will have to do something." And he said, "We'll have something started today."

He went over to the Mayor's office about 10 o'clock and said, "Mayor"---

Mr. Foss (Interposing). This was about what month?

Mr. Miller. This was in the early spring---probably April or May.

Mr. Foss. Of this year?

Mr. Miller. Of 1916. Probably about May, 1916. He said, "Mayor, what are you going to do about Johnson's place over here? Are you going to continue to let that

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run, or are you going to close it up?" The Mayor said, "I am not decided yet about that". "Well", he said, "I wanted to know, because I have two articles written; one on the Mayor of East St. Louis, the other on this closing of "Fat" Johnson's place, and I want to know which one we should write today." He said, "If it's on the Mayor, it will be in red-face type on the front page. It will be warm." He told me the Mayor became agitated and quickly ran across the street to Tarlton's office, and came back and told him he had decided to close the place up. Cochran said, "It's 11 o'clock, and we go to print about 11.30. If the license is on this table right here"--- pointing to the Mayor's table--- "we'll have the article on closing the place. Otherwise, it will be on you."

So the Mayor hustled out to the police station, came back with a policeman, wrote the order revoking the license of that place and sent the policeman over there to close it up. Mr. Cochran telephoned over to me, "Watch the crepe go on the door on the corner," and I looked out and seen them closing the door and put the notice up to close. In a few minutes the Mayor's chief clerk came over to the building and said, "The Mayor wants to see you at his office right away."

Mr. Johnson. That is, he was talking to you?

Mr. Miller. Yes, sir. I expected the Mayor wanted to give me a blessing, and I told him that I

~~to be there~~ couldn't be there then; that I would be there at 3 o'clock.

I thought I would take a little time to refresh my mind as to the history of the events leading up to this thing. I went to his office at three o'clock, and he invited me in. He was quite nervous, picking up papers off the table and dropping them in the waste basket, and finally he sat down and asked me to have a seat across the table from him. He proceeded to give the reporters a blessing, calling them a bunch of drunken bums and would write anything for notoriety, and what they wrote didn't count for anything in the minds of the people; and that it was a hold-up game with them anyway; if he had paid them a few dollars they would have stopped that thing--- or anybody else had paid them-- they would have stopped it; that they were just looking for the graft there was in it. I expected to be on the carpet myself, but I seen pretty soon that he was nervous and that he was on the carpet. I wasn't. And after he had finished blessing the reporters, he asked me, he said, "I want to know from you whether conditions are really as bad down in this section of town as they have been printed in the paper." I said, "Mayor, I am surprised that you should ask me a question of that kind. We live across the street from each other and I have said from your window here you can look across to the corner at "Fat" Johnson's place and

almost see things occurring in that place that the newspaper reporters would not dare to write in the papers. You couldn't put it on the street." And I said, "You don't know it, but I do; and you ask me if those things occur. They are occurring on both sides of us and all around us." Well, he said he was surprised to know that.

I said, "I am surprised that you should ask me that, but as you have been talking to me I have been drawing some conclusions, Mayor, and my conclusions are this: That when you came to this office you surrounded yourself with the wrong bunch of fellows, and your moral vision has been pushed clear over. Conditions have grown rank by degrees, and they are rotten clear to the core, and you sit here and can't see it, can't understand it. You are with the wrong bunch. Your moral vision is gone. You ought not to have asked me the questions you have asked me, at all."

He said, "How can I help myself?" I said to him, "When you came here you gave the ministers and better-thinking class of people in town to understand that you didn't need their help; that you would run the business, and you made a stake on the start. That is the reason your vision is gone. If you are going to run this office and run it clean you ought to have some men in this office to advise you and help you see what is occurring in town. If you lived down in this end of

the town where the sentiment is rotten to the core, you think that is the sentiment of the whole world, but it certainly is not. The end of this thing is coming somewhere."

We had talked on that line for a little while, then he assured me that the place would be cleaned up; that it couldn't run open as it had been before; that he was going to clean it up, and I urged him to call in some right-thinking men to help him clean it up; that he couldn't do it with the bunch that he had surrounded himself with.

I went back to the building and called the ministers down to the building and told them something about what had occurred over in the Mayor's office, about closing the place, and they hadn't up to that time been interested in this end of town, and I urged them to get down here and get acquainted with the conditions in the business end of the town; that something must be done. It was their opinion at that time that a little newspaper notoriety would soon be forgotten and that would be the end of all of it. But I said "I have got to live down here, gentlemen; ^{and unless} ~~if~~ somebody comes to my aid, I am sure to be blown up, or they will waylay me and they will bring witnesses into court to prove that I started the fight. Then you can preach my funeral sermon and put me out here on the hill; it will all be forgotten in a year". Well, they said, "That

can we do?" I said, "Let's go to the Mayor's office and tell him that he did the right thing by closing up this place, and ask him to close up the rest of these places and not let them open up again in a few days, worse than ever".

So we went to the Mayor's office and had this conference with him, and he assured us that this was the beginning of better days; that the place was to be cleaned up.

At that stage of the game Mr. Allison got interested, in the clean-up and has been in the game ever since.

We succeeded in getting Johnson out of the place and got the building away from him. We now occupy that building.

Mr. Foss. You occupy the whole of the building?

Mr. Miller. Yes, sir; both buildings. We had a good deal of trouble in getting rid of him; in getting him out. Then we helped re-elect the Mayor on the promise positively that he was going in office under a law-enforcing program. Mr. Allison, myself and some other men, had watched his program and tried encouraging him to do the right thing, but we found him slipping soon after he went into office.

Mr. Foss. That was this spring, in April?

Mr. Miller. Yes, sir. A few days before election I complained to him about the conduct of the Commer-

cial House, across the street, and he told me that he would just as soon close it up as not; he didn't count on any of that vote, and if things were going wrong over there, to find it out and he would close it up.' The thing was closed up two or three days before election day, but not many days after election it was opened up again, and there was a committee that was trying to keep an eye on the developments of affairs in East St. Louis, and they had a meeting at the association building, and soon after the place was opened up, a night or two, we had a meeting, and we discussed the opening of that Commercial Hotel, with other developments that have taken place with the coming in of the new administration. While we were talking about that place and prophesying that there would soon be trouble over there from the gang that was being harbored there again, we heard shooting, and we hastened out and seen a policeman coming out of Third Street there shot, evidently, from the way he was moving. It turned out to be one of the night detectives.

Mr. Johnson: What was his name?

Mr. Miller: Mr. Neville. There was a hold-up just back of the Commercial Hotel, and he ran in there to catch the fellow, and the fellow opened fire on him and shot him, and they hastened him to the hospital. That was in May.

Mr. Johnson: Of this year?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. Then I called the Mayor's residence to talk to him about having opened that place again.

Mr. Johnson: Did this policeman die?

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Mr. Miller: No, sir. He is chief of detectives now, at the present time. I couldn't get him. His wife said he was out, and I couldn't reach him, so I wrote this letter regarding it. This is dated May 25. That was about three days before the first riot. The first riot occurred May 28th

Mr. Foss: Is that the original letter, or a copy?

Mr. Miller: A copy. I took a carbon copy of the letter:

"Honorable Fred F. Wollman,

Dear Mr. Wollman:- I read with real interest a few evenings ago an article in the Journal on the East St. Louis clean-up problem, in which the Mayor was quoting as saying that the saloons and immoral resorts must be divorced; that saloons even seeking to harbor immoral characters would be closed.

Last evening while I sat in the rear of the Y.V.C.A. building with a gathering of men who are looking to the moral interests of East St. Louis, among the matters discussed was the fact that the saloon on the corner in the Commercial Hotel had been reopened. The remark had scarcely been made that a bad class of criminal characters were hanging out there when we heard shooting, and we hurried out to see our good friend Neville loaded in a machine and hurried to a hospital, probably mortally wounded. I presume the reopening of the Commercial bar may have had no connection with the affair, but it has added much strength to the already terrible lawless conditions of this section, long known as the 'Valley', but more

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recently spoken of as 'Death Valley'.

When it is well known to every one familiar with this section of East St. Louis that this particular building is and has been one of the most notorious resorts in the city, I am not able to understand why a saloon license should be re-granted, especially after the impression I had received from the Journal as to the Mayor's attitude in such cases.

A few minutes before the shooting took place, Judge Hanna, who had been sitting in front of the Y.M.C.A. for some time, observing the congregating of outlaws in and about the place, retired to his room, remarking that he would go to his room before the shooting would start. An engineer sitting in front of the Y.M.C.A. told me after the trouble that while he sat there he had counted twenty women and young girls enter the place.

If the daily practice of robbing and killing, and the wide-open immoral conditions are to be curbed in the 'Death Valley' section, the saloon licenses in that part of the city will have to be revoked for good, and Second and Third Streets thoroughly lighted, as well as an honest effort on the part of the police force to rid the city of an army of prostitutes.

I think I could not for a minute be classes as a coward, but I want to tell you that knowing the make-up of the gang hanging out at the two corner saloons at Third and Missouri Avenue, and their attitude toward anyone who stands for right things, that I have carefully avoided passing those places, at times in mid-day.

I was told by a man in business just yesterday, right

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in this section, that he had endured all kinds of mistreatment at the hands of the criminals harbored by the resorts, and his life and property would probably be destroyed if he even made complaint to the police.

With the encouragement of the lawless element harbored by saloons licensed by the city to operate in a section of vice and crime not equalled in any city in the West, I predict that more blood of good citizens will be spilled as a price of these saloon licenses.

Trusting ~~you~~ that you will give this matter serious *consideration,* ~~condition,~~ and assuring you that my only wish is to be of help to you in solving these problems, I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. E. Miller.*

Mr. Foss: You say this engineer counted twenty women and young girls enter that place while he sat there. Do you know how long he sat there?

Mr. Miller: Not more than an hour.

Mr. Foss: What time of day was that?

Mr. Miller: That was about 10 o'clock at night. The Mayor has never spoken to me since I wrote that letter.

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Mr. Johnson: Did he ever answer it in any way?

Mr. Miller: He hasn't spoken to me from that day to this.

Mr. Foss: I suppose you have met him a number of times?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; he always looked the other way. I held that letter up for two days, thinking about whether I should change it or whether I should send it to him, and

I sent it to him on the 27th of May, and on the 28th, about nine or ten o'clock at night, the first riot occurred.

Mr. Foss: The blood was spilled that you mentioned in that letter would be?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. In connection with the closing of Johnson's place, the police ordered-- I suppose, to make a showing-- ordered the "Valley" raided that same night.

Mr. Johnson: Which valley?

Mr. Miller: "Death Valley".

Mr. Raker: What is Johnson's name?

Mr. Miller: They called him "Fats" Johnson.

Mr. Raker: Is he here now?

Mr. Miller: No; he never got into business any more. They wouldn't let him open up. The Valley was raised that night the Johnson place was closed, and I was told by a justice of the peace who was close to affairs over there that they came near having a shooting scrape at the police station because inmates of places owned by certain policemen were raided, and when they brought the inmates over there--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:) Between what policemen was the shooting about to occur?

Mr. Miller: I didn't hear the names of the men that were about to engage in a shooting scrape, but this followed them. The police board ordered an investigation as to whether certain men on the force owned places of prostitution in that section, and the investigation was to be on Saturday night, I believe, and Mr. Trafton was to get the information. That is my understanding. Then on Friday night before the investi-

gation took place Mr. Trafton was shot by a man by the name of Florence, who was on the police board, and he was killed, just below our building one block.

Mr. Johnson: Did you see the shooting?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I knew of it two or three minutes after it occurred.

Mr. Johnson: What was the cause of that shooting?

Mr. Miller: It was the impression that Trafton probably knew about who owned these places, and it was reported that the man who did the killing, or his wife, owned a place in the Valley.

Mr. Foster: Was that before the investigation, Mr. Miller, of the police board, that this man was killed?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. The investigation was to have been on Saturday night.

Mr. Foster: And this killing was before?

Mr. Miller: On Friday night; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And this man who was killed was supposed to know the names of the policemen who owned these immoral houses?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And operated these immoral houses?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The investigation never occurred?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. Foster: Do you know why?

Mr. Miller: I presume the man got information that Mr. Trafton was killed on Friday.

Mr. Baker: They killed the detective and the investiga-

tion was never made?

Mr. Foss: When was this, did you say?

Mr. Miller: That must have been the latter part of the summer of 1916. I don't remember the date. The trial was finished not long ago, and Florence went free.

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Mr. Foss: Florence was acquitted?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. It is my opinion that the race riot came as a result of the people who indulged in it coming to feel that there was no law in East St. Louis. Every man that thought or observed at all knew that and felt that. If a man went into court, a justice's court in East St. Louis, he was dead sure he wouldn't have any hearing or get justice there. It was always a frame-up.

Mr. Foster: And that this riot grew out of a continual violation of the law, until this element got the idea that they could do anything?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Without being prosecuted or disturbed on account of it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. Previous to the riot one thing that helped to lead up to the riot was a lawless element of colored fellows-- may be not more than two or three-- who were practicing robbing down in this Valley section. Every night there would be two or three robberies down there, and occasionally some fellow who refused to be robbed would be injured, may be shot in the arm or leg, and that thing was going on regularly and the police were never getting them. Now the trouble was that there was a lawless bunch of saloons scattered

along down through there, which I alluded to in that letter, and the practice on the part of those fellows was to bail out of jail whoever might be arrested for robbery, and they done away with it in the police court. That is as far as it ever got.

Somebody was robbed, and they arrested somebody for doing the robbing, and then some fellows down there bailed them out.

Mr. Raker: That do you mean by "doing away with it in the police court"?

Mr. Miller: They were turned loose there. It never got any further. They were usually not convicted. They proved an alibi. They proved by some other saloon-keeper that they were in his place when that thing occurred. That is the reason I referred to those places down there, because that game was being played along there all the time. We knew men were being robbed and they were getting nowhere with it.

Mr. Foster: Men down in that section of the city you say were being robbed almost every night?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Being shot every night?

Mr. Miller: Not shot every night, no sir, but occasionally that occurred.

Mr. Foster: And nothing was done with them?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; they weren't able to convict anybody. They never could get the fellow that was doing the robbing.

Mr. Foster: They always were able to prove by some other proprietor of a dive down there, a disreputable saloon, thieves, things, that they were in that particular place at that time?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; they had a system of getting away with it.

Mr. Foster: Sort of a systematic effort to prove that a man couldn't have been guilty because he was in their place when it occurred?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; that was the system they worked.

Mr. Foster: And was that the case when the police officers would go out and arrest these men?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And they would take them before the court?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: So that there wasn't much encouragement at any time for an officer who was honest in trying to enforce the law and apprehend criminals, in doing his duty?

Mr. Miller: Very little.

Mr. Foster: He couldn't accomplish much under those circumstances?

Mr. Miller: Why, no, sir.

186 Mr. Baker: There is nothing to show but what the policemen were in it and knew all about it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; I told the Mayor when I was at his office that it was very evident that somebody over there was getting paid for the thing that was being carried on in Johnson's game, and he said "Nothing like that, Miller; nothing like that."

Mr. Baker: You mean over at the police station?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Do you think, in your judgment, that they probably didn't have the right man, for the reason given, as Judge Baker said, and always put up some man who really wasn't there, and wasn't the culprit, in order to let the guilty man escape?

Mr. Miller: That might have been the case.

Mr. Foster: They might have done that?

Mr. Miller: That might have been the case sometimes.

Mr. Foster: And they really might be acting under those circumstances for each other, and helping each other out?

Mr. Miller: That might have been the case sometimes, but I received the impression from some of the justices of the peace that the game was being played the other way, usually.

Mr. Foster: Well, if you had a dishonest policeman who would arrest the wrong man each time, it could be, couldn't it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; it could be done that way. Possibly it might have been. They were never getting the right man anyway. The thing was going on regularly.

Mr. Foster: What impression-- when you had this talk with the justice of the peace, what impression did you get from it?

Mr. Miller: My impression from the justice of the peace was that the game was being played that way. Some fellow would do the robbing, and if he was arrested he would prove an alibi by another saloon-keeper. One saloonkeeper would bail him out and another would prove that he was at his place when it occurred, and he couldn't possibly have been the man

that did the shooting.

Mr. Foster: So under the evidence presented he was compelled to turn him loose?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; and they turned him loose.

Mr. Foss: Do you know anything about the meeting at the City Hall on the 26th of May?

Mr. Miller: I knew there was a meeting over there that night. I heard them cheering and clapping, and some speeches being made. I didn't go to the City Hall.

Mr. Foss: You could hear it from your place?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; I seen them come out of the City Hall, and they partially dispersed, and then the crowd reassembled again and came down Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Foster: Were you at the trial of this man Florence for killing Trafton?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I didn't hear any part of it.

Mr. Foster: Did you hear anything about any evidence of Trafton being shot when his hands were up?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: About his holding both hands up above his head?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Utterly helpless?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Nothing in his hands?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And then he was shot?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And then he turned to run, and was he shot at as he was going away? Did you hear that?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; when I heard he was shot, this was what I heard immediately, and always, up to the final trial, that he was ordered to put up his hands, and he put up his hands, and was shot in that position and killed.

Mr. Cooper: That, if true, and you heard it at the time-- was deliberate murder?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: In the first degree; and if you have a death penalty in this State, and it ever ought to be inflicted, that was the time, should it not?

Mr. Miller: It seemed so to me.

Mr. Cooper: Yet that man was acquitted on the ground of self-defense; is that so?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Did you ever hear or read of a worse crime-- murder committed-- than that one?

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

Mr. Foster: I never did either.

Mr. Miller: If I am not mistaken, Mr. Florence is a deputy sheriff now in the county.

Mr. Foster: A deputy sheriff in this county?

Mr. Miller: That is my understanding.

Mr. Cooper: Now?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How long after this killing was it before he was promoted?

Mr. Miller: A very short time.

Mr. Foster: He was taken off the police force and made a deputy sheriff?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; if I am not mistaken. That is what I heard. I wouldn't say positively that was true, but I heard that. That could be easily found out, if that is true or not.

Mr. Foss: You say you saw the crowd coming down on May 28th?

Mr. Miller: I say they came out of the City Hall, partly dispersed, and then they came down Third Street and down into the alley.

Mr. Foss: What were they doing?

Mr. Miller: They seemed to be hunting for negroes. That seemed to be the cry and the aim.

Mr. Foss: Did they have fire-arms?

Mr. Miller: Some of them did.

Mr. Foss: Did you watch the crowd?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; as they went down the street I saw a restaurant along there that had colored help put out their lights and put down their shades. In fact, all the places along there began to close up. They went into one place, into a saloon, I believe, after a colored fellow.

Mr. Foss: They went in after him?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did they get him?

Mr. Miller: I don't think so. He got out the back way.

Mr. Foss: Did you see them chasing colored people?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did they get hold of anybody?

Mr. Miller: I couldn't see that they caught anybody down there. I believe they did catch a few and beat a few up. That was my understanding.

Mr. Foss: What else did you see that night? Anything else?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; nothing more than a howling mob up and down the streets, surging back and forth there, chasing colored fellows.

Mr. Foss: Do you know whether that continued the next day or stopped?

Mr. Miller: They had the militia the next day, and they stopped it.

Mr. Foss: Well, didn't the beatings keep on for the next month or so, until the July riot, more or less of it?

Mr. Miller: Not very much of it. There were threats all the time. I could hear threats of what was going to be done in the future every day.

Mr. Foss: Was it confined to the beating up of colored men, or white men?

Mr. Miller: Colored men.

Mr. Foss: What do you know about the July riot, or the events leading up to it?

Mr. Miller: On the night of July 1st, I think it was-- I believe it was July 1st the policemen were killed.

Mr. Baker: Sunday night, about ten or fifteen minutes after midnight?

Mr. Miller: That night about 1 o'clock I heard a large automobile hastily driven up in front of the Commercial Hotel and stopped. It woke me up, the unusual noise made by the machine, and I got up and looked out of the window, and I seen four men get out of the car.

Mr. Foss: What time was this?

188 Mr. Miller: About one o'clock in the morning. I saw two of them go into the Commercial Hotel, and two others came up into Third Street, one going back this way and one this way (north and south). I knew something was wrong, somebody had been shot, robbed or something, by the action of these men. I watched for awhile, but didn't hear any more. I went back to bed and got up early in the morning. Hearing more or less talk on the street, I went downstairs and was told that a number of policemen had been shot. I went out on the street, and they said, "There is the car out there that was shot up too." This car was still standing there.

Mr. Foss: In front of the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir, and it had been shot up with buckshot. The top had a number of shot in it, and the back end had a number of shot marks. While I was looking at it, another car drove up with the radiator pretty well shot up and rifle shots in the back of it. I didn't know the fellow who was driving the car. They looked like a bunch of outlaws. They commented, about the shooting, and I gathered

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from what they had to say that they had been driving through that section of town where the policemen had been shot, and they were fired on by negroes, they said.

Mr. Foss: You never saw these fellows before?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I didn't know any of them.

Mr. Foss: What was the car they were driving? Do you know what make it was?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I don't. The car that had the buckshot in it was a car that belonged to a bartender.

Mr. Foss: Here in the city?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; Mr. Wade. Then all that morning I heard mutterings and threats everywhere as to what was going to be done; and a little after noon, I presume, I saw a colored fellow come out of a saloon just below Mr. Gaines' grocery store on this street, and I seen a fellow shoot him. He was walking along the street, and just shot the fellow and kept walking on up the street. The negro toppled over on the street, and a couple of soldiers run over and picked him up and took him over to the police station. He was shot in the leg, but the fellow who did the shooting just came on up the street, unobserved, seemingly, by anybody.

A little later, then, back of our place, down through the alley, there was a howling crowd assembled down there with guns, and they were shooting into places where negroes stayed down there. They were probably down there for a couple of hours or more. I could hear the cries of the negroes and

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the howl of the mob. That kept on continuously for quite a while, two hours.

Mr. Foss: That was what time in the day?

Mr. Miller: Soon after noon.

Mr. Foss: Were any soldiers around there?

Mr. Miller: I didn't see any soldiers until the mob came around on Missouri Avenue. They had done some shooting and killing, quite a little back in that section, and down at the Relay. They had stripped some negro women there and had shot two or three men. Then the mob came up Missouri Avenue, and I expected they would come into our building, because I was sure some of the mob knew that we had colored help there, and I debated with myself whether to try to fight the mob out and save the lives of those colored people, or whether to simply stand in front of the door unarmed and take a chance on keeping them out that way; and I reasoned that if I armed myself and undertook to fight, that I might succeed in getting away with a few of them, but they would kill me and destroy the place and kill the colored help too, and that the best way to do was to go there unarmed and take chances on keeping them out that way; so I stood in the front door as the mob came up. They shot a fellow down the street there five or six times and killed him.

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Mr. Foss: How large a mob was that?

Mr. Miller: 150 or 200 people. They went into all the places along the street looking for colored people. As they came out of the last saloon just below our place I heard

the leader say "The Y.M.C.A. next." So I stood in the front door with my back against the screen door, with my arms folded, unconcerned as I could seem to be. They came up there and locked in the windows, and that was the first place I observed a soldier. There was a soldier in the lead of the mob, hurraing them on.

Mr. Foss: Hurraing them on?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. I don't think that he belonged to the soldiers who were sent here. I think he belonged across the river.

Mr. Foss: You think he came from Missouri?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: He had his soldier's uniform on?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: There were some soldiers in the State of Missouri over here at that time?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; there were a lot of fellows stationed over there, and those fellows were getting over here.

Mr. Foss: You don't think he was an Illinois militiaman?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I don't think so. The fellow who appeared to be the real leader of the mob came up to me and said "Well, we got quite a lot of them down here. We got one down the street just a little ways. He bounced out of that saloon and we handed him about five." I heard five shots and saw the mob surround the place where this shot

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came from, and then they moved on and came up to our place, and they locked into the windows, and this soldier fellow I guess saved the day for us, because he angled over across on Third Street toward the Valley, and the mob began to move over that way.

Mr. Foss: And so they passed by you?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Did they say anything to you?

Mr. Miller: The apparent leader stopped and told me they had got quite a number down in the alley back of my place and they had just gotten a fellow down below.

Mr. Foss: A negro?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. Then at that stage of the game a company of militia came from the City Hall across to Third Street and formed a line down Third Street as if they would shut the mob off from going down Third Street, but the mob just ran down in there and pushed the fellows around, and they seemed to break up, and apparently were a part of the mob. There was quite a little shooting went on there then.

Mr. Baker: Those were the soldiers?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. They didn't act like soldiers at all. They formed a line, then, and the mob pushed through them, and pushed them around, and engaged in conversation with them, and the mob seemed to have absolutely their own way. Then we could see the mob and hear them shooting up on Collinsville Avenue and all around us. I called up the Mississippi Valley Trust Company across the

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river-- they own the property which we occupy-- and I told their real estate manager that I felt they ought to get in touch with the Governor; that there was such a reign of outlawry over here, and apparently no effort being made to save the situation, that it wouldn't be long until they were destroying property, and undoubtedly their property would be destroyed with others; if they could bring pressure to bear on the Governor to stop the thing, they might save the property and help save lives. They wired him a lengthy message, asking him to use his efforts to save the day down here. He wired back that he would do all he could to help relieve the situation. But the thing went on all that evening.

Mr. Foss: What else did you see after you saw this mob perform that day?

Mr. Miller: I seen the movement of the soldiers all day. They were being camped over there at the City Hall, on the grounds, and it was just a constant movement of mobs from one place to another all day.

Mr. Foss: Did you go out of your place?

Mr. Miller: I never went away from the place.

Mr. Foss: You stayed there all day?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; I expected the mob to be in there any minute to kill the help we had there. I hid them in the building that night, and I could see that there was being an effort made on the part of the mob to ascertain where they were and to get in there to get them. So the next afternoon when I felt I could get them to the

City Hall safely, I paid them off and took them out through the back of the building, and then across the street to the City Hall.

Mr. Johnson: That was your negro help?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How many?

Mr. Miller: I had three women and two men.

Mr. Baker: This was on July 3rd?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Things were so dangerous even then that you had to take that precaution?

Mr. Miller: Oh, yes.

Mr. Foss: Is there anything else you wish to state in relation to it?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I think there is nothing else that I could give you that would be of benefit.

Mr. Foss: Mr. Miller, you spoke of these saloons in what is known as the "Valley". Just what is known as "The Valley"?

Mr. Miller: This section on Third Street and below.

Mr. Johnson: Between what two streets on Third?

Mr. Miller: From Missouri Avenue, perhaps, two blocks back this way (north).

Mr. Johnson: What way is that? East, west, north or south of Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Miller: Well, I don't know the directions in East St. Louis. The town isn't laid straight with the world.

Mr. Johnson: It isn't straight in any respect, is it?

Mr. Miller: No, sir. It would be from Third and Missouri Avenue to Third and St. Louis Avenue.

Mr. Baker: And between Collinsville Avenue and the railroad?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now do you mean Collinsville Avenue and the railroad?

Mr. Miller: Well, perhaps from the alley back of Collinsville Avenue to the railroad.

Mr. Foster: These saloons in the valley, were they operated by white people or colored, or both?

Mr. Miller: Mostly colored.

Mr. Foster: Have those saloons been closed?

Mr. Miller: I think most of them have been closed.

Mr. Foster: You think they are not operating there now?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; some of them are not, I know.

Mr. Foster: The closing of those saloons was about what time, do you know?

Mr. Miller: Well, since the riot. Some of them were closed with the riot.

Mr. Foster: The testimony has been that quite a number of saloons were closed by the 1st of January?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: I wondered if they were closed at that time.

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: They were operating on the 1st of January?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: But most of them, you think, now have been closed?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; most of them are closed, I think.

Mr. Raker: The fire closed a good many of them, didn't it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That is what I was going to get at. Some of them were burned out. But there are some of them that operated up to the time of the riot?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; most of those were operating at the time of the riot.

Mr. Foster: Mr. Miller, from the beginning of this hearing this Committee has heard witness after witness testify as to the dangerous conditions which from personal observation they knew to exist in this city-- had existed in this city-- for a long time preceding the riot, but I don't think there is any evidence in the case quite so strong on that point as the letter which you wrote on May 25, 1917, to the Mayor of this city. Now that was six months ago, practically. You didn't think this letter would ever be public, did you, when you wrote that?

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: You wrote that as a private letter to

the Mayor, in good faith, to do what he could to stop the reign of crime here?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And now I want to call your attention to certain passages in this letter and ask you about them. It begins "Dear Mr. Vollman." You at that time were on friendly terms with the Mayor?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; very friendly.

Mr. Foster: In the opening paragraph you refer to an article which had appeared in the Journal in this city of East St. Louis, in which the Mayor was quoted as saying:

"The saloon and immoral resorts must be divorced, and saloons even seeming to harbor immoral characters will be closed"?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now there are certain saloons, there have been certain saloons here for a long time, that did not have prostitutes frequenting them, weren't there?

Mr. Miller: Yes; I think so.

Mr. Foster: On the contrary, there were other saloons that were frequented by thieves and robbers and prostitutes and disreputable characters of all sorts?

Mr. Miller: Most of them, the majority of them were.

Mr. Foster: But not all of them?

Mr. Miller: No.

Mr. Foster: And when you say that the Mayor was quoted as saying that the saloons and immoral resorts must be divorced, that meant, did it not, that they would not

give any license to a place where these immoral characters were allowed to congregate, or which they frequented?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; that is exactly what it meant. That is what he said in the article reported in the paper.

Mr. Foster: I am going over this particularly because this letter was written before either of the riots.

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: A private letter that you never thought would be published?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Written months ago. It spoke your real sentiments, did it not?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; just as I knew the situation.

Mr. Foster: Just as you knew the situation. Then you say, "Last evening"-- that would be the 24th of May, four days before the first riot-- "while I sat in the rear of the Y.M.C.A. building with a gathering of men who are looking to the moral interest of East St. Louis, among matters discussed was the fact that the saloon on the corner in the Commercial Hotel had been reopened. The remark had scarcely been made that a bad class of criminal characters were hanging out there, when we heard shooting, and we hurried out to see our good friend "Eville"-- who was he?

Mr. Miller: He is now night chief of detectives.

Mr. Foster: You thought at that time he had been mortally wounded?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Foster (Reading:) "to see our good friend Neville loaded in a machine and hurried to the hospital, probably mortally wounded."

Mr. Miller: That was the report that we had at that time, that he was mortally wounded.

Mr. Foster (continuing reading:) "I presume the reopening of the Commercial Bar may have had no connection with the affair, but it has added such strength to the already terrible lawless conditions of this section, long known as the 'Valley', but more recently spoken of as 'Death Valley'." Now I will slip ~~for~~ one paragraph so as to put this in proper sequence:

"A few minutes before the shooting took place, Judge Hanna"-- who is he?

Mr. Miller: He was formerly police justice. He is a lawyer who rooms at the Y. M. C. A. building.

Mr. Foster (Reading:) "Judge Hanna, who had been sitting in front of the Y.M.C.A. for some time, observing the congregating of outlaws in and about the place, retired to his room, remarking that he would go to his room before the shooting would start."

That is true, is it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; he made that remark. The boys remarked about it after he had gone to his room.

Mr. Foster: You talked about his prophecy after he had gone to his room?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And all he had seen was this gathering of thugs at the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; he knew something was going to start over there pretty soon.

Mr. Foster: And this Commercial Hotel is the building that Canavan and Tarlton take the rent from?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: They are among your "leading citizens"?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: (Reading): "An eng'neer sitting in front of the Y.M.C.A. told me after the trouble"-- you mean this shooting?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster (continuing reading:): "that while he sat there he had counted twenty women and young girls enter the place"?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now I will go back to another paragraph so as to put this in proper sequence. It is all in the letter:

"It is well known to every one familiar with this section of East St. Louis that this particular building is and has been one of the most notorious resorts in the city. I am not able to understand why a saloon license should be regranted, especially after the impression I had received from the Journal as to the Mayor's attitude in such cases."

Then I will go down to another paragraph here:

"If the daily practice of robbing and killing, and the wide open, immoral conditions, are to be curbed in the Death Valley section, the saloon licenses in that part of

the city will have to be revoked for good, and Second and Third Streets thoroughly lighted, as well as an honest effort on the part of the police board to rid this city of an army of prostitutes."

Was it customary in the day time, at that time, to see immoral women and dangerous characters about that hotel?

Mr. Miller: Oh yes; yes, sir. Put ^{there} were many thugs that had been harbored at "Fats" Johnson's place who had transferred their headquarters over to that place.

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Mr. Foster: That is what I had heard: About how many thugs that had frequented Johnson's place, after that was closed, went over and made their headquarters at the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: Well, there were familiar faces, perhaps fifteen or twenty.

Mr. Foster: Fifteen or twenty thugs, dangerous characters?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; men that never worked at all. They found some other way of getting a living than working.

Mr. Foster: Fifteen or twenty thugs who never did any work, who used to frequent Johnson's place, went over to this Commercial Hotel then and made that their headquarters? And you would see them in the daytime?

Mr. Miller: All day long, and up to midnight.

Mr. Foster: Now that being so, I will read here again from your letter-- and I ^{again} call your attention to the fact that it was written six months ago and before the riot-- before the first riot-- and without any thought of

ever being made public?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster (Reading:) "I think I could not for a minute be classed as a coward, but I want to tell you that, knowing the make-up of the gang hanging out at the two corner saloons at Third and Missouri Avenue, and their attitude toward anyone who stands for right things, that I have carefully avoided passing those places, at times in mid-day."

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That is true, isn't it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now I read again: "I was told by a man in business just yesterday-- that man had been in business how long here?"

Mr. Miller: Many years. He is one of the old residents of East St. Louis, a very reliable man.

Mr. Foster: A good citizen in every way?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; a good citizen.

Mr. Foster: I will begin again to read that: "I was told by a man in business just yesterday, right in this section, that he had endured all kinds of mistreatment at the hands of the criminals who harbored by the resorts, and his life and property would probably be destroyed if he ever made complaint ^{to} the police."

Now that means that some of your policemen-- you wouldn't say all-- and some of your court officials, were so infamously criminal in character that a respectable,

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law-abiding citizen of East St. Louis did not dare to make complaint of a violation of the law, because of fear of resulting injury to his person or property?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. A great many men warned me after I had reported this gambling game-- warned me to be careful; that they would shoot me as sure as I was living; that they would get me. I quit going to the Dupeau. I lived at Dupeau at that time, and I quit going out there then and slept in that building, because the men in the building questioned whether or not the place would not be blown up some night, and that they probably would blow the place up, and I stayed there to try to avoid the possibility of such a thing occurring at night.

Mr. Johnson: Which building is it you apprehended might be blown up? The one at Dupeau or the one here in town?

Mr. Miller: The one here, the Y.M.C.A. building.

Mr. Foster: How far is that from the corner of Missouri and Collinsville Avenue?

Mr. Miller: The building on the corner joins up to this particular building I mention now, on the back.

Mr. Foster: Just a few feet away?

Mr. Johnson: That is one of the principal corners in the city, isn't it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; right across from the City Hall.

This Judge Hanna that I mentioned in the letter came to me after the thing had gotten to be wrong-- he

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sensed the pulse of the situation pretty quick-- he has been here a good many years-- he said to me "I'm a little bit afraid, Miller, to stay here; things have got so warm. Don't you reckon they will put dynamite under this place some night?" And other men mentioned it. I didn't say anything about it to the men in the building, because I felt they would all get frightened and leave the building, but I quit going to Dupeau and stayed here at night, so late at night I could get out in the back of the premises and see whether anything was occurring.

Mr. Foster: This letter, which in all particular so corroborates the testimony given by witness after witness on the stand, is the reason that I again call attention to another paragraph in it, in which you said this to the Mayor:

"With the encouragement of the lawless element harbored by saloons licensed by the city to operate in the section of vice and crime not equalled in any city in the West, I predict that more blood of good citizens will be spilled as a price of these saloon licenses."

That was written three days before the riot of May 28th, and that prophecy of yours came true, didn't it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; a good deal bigger than I expected it would.

Mr. Foster: After you wrote this letter, not only were licenses continued in places that were conducted in accordance with the law, but saloon licenses were granted to the most disreputable dens of vice in this city, weren't

they?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Continued there?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Then you close in this way:

"Trusting that you will give this matter serious consideration, and assuring you that my only wish is to be of help to you in solving these problems, I beg to remain, yours sincerely,

W. A. Miller."

That was a private letter; never made public till today, was it?

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: Written to his honor, the Mayor, of this city, setting forth facts that all good citizens in this city knew to exist, and the Mayor has never spoken to you since, you say?

Mr. Miller: No; he has never spoken to me from that day to this.

Mr. Foster: Have you met him a good many times?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Were you very good friends before that?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; very good friends.

Mr. Foster: You addressed him "Dear Mr. Mollman", and signed yourself, "Sincerely", after offering to cooperate with him. And you have met him frequently since then?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And he ignored your presence?

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Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Never speaks to you?

Mr. Miller: Never has from that day.

Mr. Foster: Do you know of any other reason possible for his attitude toward a man who simply wanted him to do something to protect his fellow citizens from a gang of criminals that had gotten this city by the throat? Do you know of anything else except your having written that letter?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; nothing else. I used my influence to get him reelected when he promised publicly to enforce the law and clean up the place.

Mr. Foster: That was in April?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: He had been reelected in April?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: He had promised you and other citizens that he would do his best to clean up this city and do away with these dens of vice, and so forth?

Mr. Miller: Positively. He put himself on record in a public way in the City Hall at a great gathering of people.

Mr. Foster: In this letter you simply remind him of your understanding with him?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: So then the only reason that you can assign, speaking of the thing fairly, for his attitude of hostility after your writing that letter, was the fact that it reminded him of broken promises and treachery to the people

that had put him into office?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And he didn't like to be reminded either of broken promises or of his treachery to them? Is that it?

Mr. Miller: Seemingly so; yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: That's all.

Mr. Raker: I don't think you gave your age.

Mr. Miller: I am 46 years old.

Mr. Raker: And what has been your business before you were interested with the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. Miller: I have been in the Y.M.C.A. work for 16 years. I was connected with the hardware and farm machinery institutions before that.

Mr. Raker: And how long have you lived here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: I came to Dupeau eight years ago this November. That is just adjacent to East St. Louis.

Mr. Raker: About how far is it from the center of the town; from Collinsville Avenue and Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Miller: About eight miles. I have had relation to this work over here since 1913. I moved over to East St. Louis the 1st of January.

Mr. Raker: And just what is your business connection with the Y.M.C.A.?

Mr. Miller: I am general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in East St. Louis, Dupeau and Bush, Illinois, on the Iron

Mountain Railroad. I have charge of those three points.

Mr. Raker: The Y.M.C.A. Association?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And this one here at East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: About how many men can you accommodate in your building here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: We sleep about 115 men a day in the building, and feed about 400 men a day.

Mr. Raker: Railroad men?

Mr. Miller: Mostly railroad men.

Mr. Raker: This is the Railroad Y.M.C.A.?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And you have other branches scattered over the United States than those you have just designated?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Are you a man of family?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Does your business compel you to get around East St. Louis a good deal?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; quite a little.

Mr. Raker: You are considerably acquainted, then, with the various streets and alleys, and in fact the general condition of the location of places in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And have been during the time before you came to stop here, while you were at Dupeau?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Raker: Do you know where the negroes have lived during this time in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes.

Mr. Raker: And also approximately where the saloons were located?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

196 Mr. Raker: were you acquainted during this same time with the sheriff and the deputy sheriffs, to any extent?

Mr. Miller: Not personally.

Mr. Raker: Do you know any of the deputies?

Mr. Miller: I know one deputy personally, but I can't call his name. I see him frequently.

Mr. Raker: He is in and about East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: During this same time, have you been acquainted with the constables in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Some; yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And are you acquainted with the justices of the peace and the police judge?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; some of them-- most of them.

Mr. Raker: To some extent you are acquainted, of course, with the police ~~xxxxxx~~ force?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the detectives of the police force?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now this building of yours where you are

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stopping, the Y.M.C.A., is directly opposite the city park?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And diagonally from the City Hall?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Your building faces on Missouri Avenue and what street?

Mr. Miller: The building we were first in faced on Missouri Avenue. Then we took the building on the corner in connection with that, which is on the corner of Third and Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Raker: That is Third. Your building, then, would be on Third and Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the City Hall would be between Third and Fourth?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the park faces on Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now where was this Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: It is right across the street on Third and Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Raker: That would be at the corner of Third and Missouri Avenue, directly facing the Y.M.C.A. building?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And that street is about 80 feet wide?

Mr. Miller: Just about.

Mr. Raker: Do you know where the office of Canavan & Tarlton is?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: where is it?

Mr. Miller: It is just opposite the City Hall on Main Street, or what would be Fourth Street.

Mr. Baker: Main and Fourth are known as the same street?

Mr. Miller: No; this street would normally be Fourth Street, but that is Main Street, a short street in here (illustrating).

Mr. Baker: It would be Main Street up to Missouri Avenue; and then from Missouri Avenue towards the stockyards, it would be Fourth?

Mr. Miller: No; it is closed.

Mr. Baker: Now about what place on Main Street is the office of Canavan & Tarlton?

Mr. Miller: This is the City Hall here (illustrating). Just across here on this side of the street, Main Street, is Canavan & Tarlton.

Mr. Baker: I will get that directly, so as to have it appear in the record. Facing the City Hall and opposite from the City Hall on Main Street would be the office of Canavan and Tarlton?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: That is their real estate office?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And where is their office now relative to the saloon that is opposite the City Hall on Main Street, known as the Geary place?

Mr. Miller: The Geary place is about opposite where the park and the City Hall come together, across the street on Main Street, across from the City Hall.

Mr. Baker: In order to get it designated and permanently in the record, it is marked with a big sign facing out, "Geary's"; and then on the window over the bar in large letters is painted "City and Jury warrants and pay-checks cashed"?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you remember where that place is?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Now the Tarlton Building, where they have the office of Tarlton & Canavan, is in which direction from the Geary saloon?

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Mr. Miller: It is that way-- south.

Mr. Baker: That would be on down towards Broadway?

Mr. Miller: Just a few doors below Geary's saloon, yes.

Mr. Baker: Now Missouri Avenue and Collinsville Avenue join down here about a block and a half away from here. That is where the congregation occurs usually in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: At Collinsville Avenue and Missouri Avenue, on the northwest corner, would be the Illinois State Bank?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And on the opposite corner, diagonally

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across,, the Illmo Hotel?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; the bank and the Illmo Hotel.

Mr. Raker: That bank is the Union Trust Company, of which Mr. Schlafley is president?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Down Missouri Avenue is the main thoroughfare of this town to the Relay Station?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Practically all the travel going to that station has to go down Missouri Avenue?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; that is on this street going down there.

Mr. Raker: The street car goes down there too?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now one at Geary's place of business, or anywhere coming down Missouri Avenue and turning into Main Street, can see the Commercial Hotel without any trouble at all?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Across the park there?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: It would be impossible, wouldn't it, for a man doing business, having his office where you say Tarlton and Canavan's office is; walking along there in the day time or in the evening; good light, as all that is lit up, without being able to see the men and women going into the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: He could see it very easily, very distinctly.

Mr. Raker: And it would be an impossibility for him to do business at this place designated as Canavan & Tarlton's office, or along that neighborhood, without ~~not~~ only knowing but seeing the kind and character of habitues occupying and using the Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You have understood there are about 250 or 300 some-odd saloons in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Now have the characters of most of these saloons been of the character named by you in your former testimony?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Places where hold-up men, thugs, toughs, rounders, yeggmen, murderers, ex-convicts, rimps and that character of men come, meet, stay and make their place of headquarters?

Mr. Miller: Most generally, yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And that applies to the character of most of the saloons thus existing in East St. Louis prior to the riot?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And the condition of these saloons; the kind and character of men occupying them, inhabiting them, are still in existence in East St. Louis since the riot and up to it?

Mr. Miller: They are not so bad as they were before the riot, for perhaps two or three reasons. I think a lot of those fellows have been drafted into the army and gone away. In fact, I know of a number who were inhabiting that corner place down there who are in the army.

Mr. Baker: But outside of those that have gone, those that do remain and hang around are of the general character that they were before?

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Mr. Miller: Yes, but they are not the same.

Mr. Baker: Now what proportion of the saloons permit women to come into them at night, or are connected with prostitution, associated with them?

Mr. Miller: I would say virtually all of them in this section of the town. I am not so familiar out in this other section of the town.

Mr. Baker: And that condition existed before the riot?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: In fact, it was practically universal?

Mr. Miller: Universal; yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Was that the same both as to white saloons and black saloons?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: I mean those conducted by white men and those conducted by colored men.

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Was there any restriction as to the age of the girls that were permitted to enter this Commercial

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Hotel and these saloons and other places of prostitution?

Mr. Miller: Seemingly not. There were young girls there.

Mr. Raker: How young do you think they were? Now you could see them going into that Commercial Hotel?

Mr. Miller: I should judge 15 years old.

Mr. Raker: Were those girls that came in just for the night from surrounding territory and cities and towns, or were there many of them, to a greater or lesser degree, permanent in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Most of them seemed to be permanently located here.

Mr. Raker: Did that condition have any effect upon driving the good young girls, the high-school girls, and daughters of those that lived here, into these houses where they drank and had their cabarets, and these hotels?

Mr. Miller: I hardly think so, to any great extent.

Mr. Raker: But to some extent it did?

Mr. Miller: I should judge so.

Mr. Raker: Now there a number of hotels that were conducted with a saloon underneath; with a rooming place overhead?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: For the purpose of assignation?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. The papers stated a short time before the riot occurred that the Attorney General had ordered the Mayor to close up the four or five hotels in the vicinity of the City Hall, which probably meant the

Commercial Hotel and the Southern Hotel and those hotels below on Missouri Avenue.

Mr. Raker: Now around the City Hall, within a block or a block and a half, was the most congested district of the saloons of the character named, the hotels of assignation and the saloons of assignation, of any part of the city?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: It would be an impossibility for any public official of any kind or character to go in and out of the City Hall and do his business without not only seeing but knowing that these conditions were there?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; he couldn't help but know it if he had eyes to see.

Mr. Raker: Well, he had to be both deaf and dumb and blind, didn't he?

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

Mr. Raker: Were part of those houses within a block of the City Hall also occupied by negro prostitutes, on Second Street?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I think those were a little further away than that. They were up on Third Street further away, probably a block and a half or two blocks--three blocks.

Mr. Raker: There weren't any of those places occupied between the City Hall and Broadway?

Mr. Miller: There probably was.

Mr. Raker: On Second and Third; along there?

Mr. Miller: Yes; probably some negroes in that

section.

Mr. Baker: And in this particular territory, within two blocks of the City Hall, is where many of the hold-ups were committed, many crimes committed, many robberies committed, and right within the sight and hearing of those in and about the City Hall?

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Mr. Miller: Yes, sir. Two of our young men, boarding at the building, coming from church one Sunday night, thought they would come up Third Street. They had heard so much about it, and thought they would see what it looked like, and they came through that street, and when they got up to Third and Illinois Avenue a negro held the fellows up and took a watch away from one and four dollars away from the other in the middle of the street, right in front of one of the negro saloons. So they found out what Third Street was.

Mr. Baker: Did they get that fellow?

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you know anything about the justices courts in East St. Louis during the time you have been over here?

Mr. Miller: Something, yes.

Mr. Baker: Was it generally understood that the justices, with possibly one or two exceptions, were in with certain lawyers and certain constables and certain police officers in having an understanding, tacit or otherwise, as to the method and the way business should be done?

Mr. Miller: I mentioned awhile ago about the game

carried on in the Justice's Court formerly, where some fellow would be robbed, and if the person doing the robbing was arrested and brought into the justice's court, they were bailed out. It seemed anybody could get bail. Some saloon in the Valley would bail the fellow out, and another one would produce evidence that this party was at his place when the robbing occurred, and the fellow got away. That was one system that was evidently worked.

I had a little experience a few weeks ago that I might mention. A fellow came into our barber-shop-- we have a barber-shop in the building; a four-chair barber shop, and the barber has two pool tables in the shop. Our regular barber had been drafted into the army and had left ~~him~~ a crippled lad in charge of the shop. A fellow about six feet four inches tall came in, under the influence of liquor, and started playing on one of those tables, and used some profanity, and the crippled lad called his attention to the fact that he would have to cut out that language, and the fellow proceeded to strike him with a billiard cue, and laid him out, and I called the police and had the fellow arrested; took him over to the police court-- or the police station. I went over to the station and they said "This is Judge Clark's business; let him get out a warrant for the fellow." I had heard and knew in my mind that Judge Clark was crooked; that there would be no justice in his court, but I thought under the new administration, since the new chief had come in-- but I think, however, he knew nothing about it,

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and I wouldn't lay it to his door-- I would see how the game was being worked now. I knew if I wanted justice, I had better go to Judge Townsend's court and I would get justice. But I followed their directions, to see how it worked. I went to Judge Clark's office and swore out a warrant for this fellow's arrest. They called us into court next morning, and I noticed a bunch of bartenders and saloon-keepers surrounding the Judge, and the fellow who had been arrested. Of course I knew that they were framing the thing up to let the fellow go. The Judge called the case, continued it for a week, knowing that that would be the end of it when it was called again, I took the boy to Belleville before the Grand Jury and gave his evidence to the Grand Jury, and they got a warrant for the fellow, but it hasn't been served yet. At the time the week was up the case was called and we went into court and this bunch of saloon bums were there again to help put the thing over. So when the case was called I told Judge Clark that the evidence had been given to the Grand Jury, and it might not be necessary for him to proceed with the case, and the case was dropped. I knew that the case would be tried, and they had already settled that they would fine the fellow and remit the fine and let him go. In fact, I found out from some fellows that linger over there, that that was the game; He gave me a splendid cussing after I had served the warrant and-- he never knew me before that time.

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Mr. Baker: Who gave you a cussing?

Mr. Miller: Clerk, the justice.

Mr. Baker: In the court-room?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; to the bunch of fellows there. That is after I left he cursed me to considerable things. That came to me before the trial came up again, and of course I knew from the actions and all of the whole bunch that the thing was framed up. Then I learned from one of the fellows that the plan was to fine the fellow and remit the fine.

Mr. Baker: Fine him and remit the fine?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Could you give us the name of that man?

Mr. Johnson: Did that carry with it the payment of costs?

Mr. Miller: He would probably pay \$1.65 for costs.

Mr. Baker: But then the rest would be remitted?

Mr. Miller: Yes.

Mr. Baker: And the man would go scot-free?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And the justice got that much out of it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: That is according to law. This cursing was after the first adjournment?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir: When I swore out a warrant to appear for the boy in court, and the case continued, I immediately left the court-room. Then he proceeded to cuss me out after I had left the court-room.

Mr. Raker: Can you give us any idea of what you learned-- what he said?

Mr. Miller: Well, he said this, among other things, that I believe he called me "A damn fool trying to run a restaurant over there and didn't have sense enough to run it; a bunch of damn crooks and a hold-up game over there", and a lot of stuff like that. It didn't amount to anything, but just showed the sentiment of the fellow, the kind of a justice of the peace he is.

Mr. Johnson: That was his way of asserting the dignity of the Court?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: You wouldn't have a chance in his court, would you?

Mr. Miller: No, I didn't think so.

Mr. Raker: Now isn't that the general understanding, unless you are in with the gang, a bunch of cut-throats and saloon-keepers and their habitues-- that is the way justice is administered?

Mr. Miller: Certainly. That is exactly the way it goes. There is no chance for justice. The people know that. Everybody knows that.

Mr. Raker: Now would it be possible for you to give us the names of any of these saloon fellows that were around the Judge at this time? I would just like to know who they are.

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I could not. I didn't know the names of any of them. I observed them and have seen them

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on the streets and around those places, and I know what their business is, but I don't get acquainted with them to know their names.

Mr. Raker: What is the understanding with the community as to the relation existing between Justice Clark and Alexander Flannigan and Mr. Seymour, a lawyer by the name of Seymour?

Mr. Miller: I couldn't say about that.

Mr. Raker: Well, it is generally understood that these men can go before justices ^{Clarks} courts, and practically, with these rouders, prove anything against a man they want to?

Mr. Miller: I haven't seen that.

Mr. Raker: In other words, you have observed the other side of it, where their business is to treat the criminal class as it may seem best to them?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Is there much drinking-- was there, say, six months ago in East St. Louis, around the saloons?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Drunken men upon the streets?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: I want to confine myself to before the riot. Were these drunken men on the main thoroughfares, the main streets, the business streets here?

Mr. Miller: A great deal.

Mr. Raker: Where the millinery shops and where the candy stores are, and around the tanks?

Mr. Miller: Any place.

Mr. Raker: In other words, men walking up and down these streets would be bumping into these thugs, criminals and drunks?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: The same way with the women. Have you known any effort to arrest these criminal drunks on the streets?

Mr. Miller: If they were strangers, they were arrested.

Mr. Raker: You had to be one of the bunch here in East St. Louis?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; if you was a home guard you was all right.

Mr. Raker: You couldn't get drunk if you wanted to, or do most anything else you wanted to, and you were immune?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: And there are lots of those fellows now?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: They run into the hundreds, don't they?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: That condition, while not as bad as it was before July 3rd, it is still to a greater or less extent in existence today?

Mr. Miller: Not near so bad now.

Mr. Baker: Not so bad, but it still exists?

Mr. Miller: Some of it, yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Your theory is now that this unbridled license, crime and lawlessness; this method of conducting these saloons that were run by permitting criminals of all classes, prostitutes, to meet and gather there, as you have stated, so poisoned the entire condition of the town that it had and was one of the great factors in bringing about the riot?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir; the riot never would have been if the law had been enforced; if people had believed there was law here. The underworld didn't believe there was any law at all. I didn't believe there was any law either, because I couldn't get any justice in the justice's court. I knew if I went in Johnson's basement, that that bunch would waylay me there and probably kill me, and I knew they would prove in court that I started the fight there and got the worst of it. I knew that. I had that all figured out, just how the game would be worked. I didn't have a chance in the world. The only thing that helped me through was the newspaper reporter. He exposed the thing so big and so certainly that they couldn't get away from it.

Mr. Baker: Well, the same condition as applied to you, the same reason, would apply to every other innocent, respectable citizen that tried to live and do the right thing in this town?

Mr. Miller: Absolutely so. He didn't have any

chance at all.

Mr. Baker: That's all.

Mr. Foster: Let me ask you one question, Mr. Miller. When you swore out this warrant before Justice Clark, what did you pay for it? Did they require you to pay for a warrant?

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: Now this policeman that did the shooting-- I have forgotten his name-- Florence-- you said you weren't sure that he had been appointed deputy sheriff but you thought he had?

Mr. Miller: I have been told he was.

Mr. Foster: But you didn't know that?

Mr. Miller: No, sir; I couldn't say positively.

Mr. Foster: Do you know what he is doing now?

Mr. Miller: Well, it is my impression that he is acting as deputy sheriff.

Mr. Foster: And not working now?

Mr. Miller: No, sir.

Mr. Foster: Would you mind getting that information for us, if you can?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: You will get it?

Mr. Miller: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You may be excused.

Mr. Hendry, will you come to the stand, please?

STATEMENT OF A. B. HENDRY, 3974 Delmar Avenue,
St. Louis, Missouri.

(The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.)

Mr. Johnson: Give the stenographer your name, Mr.
Hendry.

Mr. Hendry: A. B. Hendry.

Mr. Johnson: Where do you reside?

Mr. Hendry: At 3974 Delmar Avenue, St. Louis, Mis-
souri.

Mr. Johnson: What is your occupation?

Mr. Hendry: Newspaper reporter.

Mr. Johnson: On what paper are you employed?

Mr. Hendry: The Post-Despatch.

Mr. Johnson: Did you see Justice of the Peace Clark
last Saturday afternoon or night?

Mr. Hendry: Last Saturday night; yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: About what time did you see him?

Mr. Hendry: That was about 7:30, I presume.

Mr. Johnson: In the afternoon?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Where was he?

Mr. Hendry: In his court room.

Mr. Johnson: Was he conducting court?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir. He had his court open, because
they were arresting some women and bringing them down. He
told me that he had his court open to accept bonds on these
women so they could get out of jail for Justice Fane. That

was his only reason for being open.

Mr. Johnson: What character of women were they, do you know?

Mr. Hendry: Prostitutes-- alleged to be.

Mr. Johnson: Was the bond of which he spoke executed?

Mr. Hendry: He didn't speak of any particular bond, but while I was in there I learned of one bond that was executed, which he accepted.

Mr. Johnson: A bail bond?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Who was the surety on that bail bond?

Mr. Hendry: His son, Ed. Clark.

Mr. Johnson: What property has he?

Mr. Hendry: He is a saloonkeeper at 203 Missouri Avenue. Whether he owns the saloon or not I don't know. I don't know that he has any property. I think the breweries control the saloon and he runs it.

Mr. Johnson: That is customary, I believe?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Upon that occasion did you hear Justice of the Peace Clark say anything relative to the Reverend Allison, who has testified before this Committee? If so, state what it was.

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Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir, he said that Reverend Allison owed a saloon bill; that suit was going to be filed against Reverend Allison on this bill; that he had arranged to have the suit filed in his court.

Mr. Johnson: That he had arranged to have the suit

filed in his court?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. He was going to collect the bill and not charge any fee for collecting him. I questioned him and he said that Jerry Baxter, a city detective, to whom Mr. Allison owed the bill. I saw Jerry Baxter later and he told me that was town talk, as he characterized it, and said that he didn't know anything about it. He said he had heard from several sources that he had known about this, but that he didn't know a thing in the world about it; and he told me that he heard that he had said-- that is, Baxter had said-- that the bill was owed to Jim Haley, formerly a saloonkeeper here. He said he didn't know a thing about it. Later Judge Clark told me that he didn't say that for a fact. I told Judge Clark I was going to use a story on it, and he said he didn't say that for a fact; that he didn't know whether it was true or not, and I mentioned it to him, and he said the bill was going to be filed in the court.

Mr. Johnson: He did say he was going to have the suit brought on the bill in his court?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And that he wasn't going to charge any fee?

Mr. Hendry: Any fee for it.

Mr. Johnson: Any fee or any costs?

Mr. Hendry: "Fee" was the way he expressed it.

Mr. Johnson: He is paid by fees, and lets the fees become costs in the case?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: What did you gather was the reason why Justice of the Peace Clark was interested to the extent of hunting up an alleged bill that the preacher might not owe, and having suit brought on it in his court?

Mr. Hendry: Well, I took it to be as sort of a form of retaliation; may be not for what Reverend Allison has said recently, but as a form of retaliation for what he said before. Reverend Allison has--

Mr. Johnson (Interposing:): You mean what he had said on the witness stand?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir; I don't know whether he had that particularly in mind or not. He may have. I don't know, but I remember on one occasion I heard Reverend Allison after the meeting of the Committee of One Hundred some time ago say that Justice Clark had a desk that was given to him by Marie Hall, a woman who has been arrested here several times.

Mr. Johnson: She is a prostitute?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. And I took what Justice Clark said to be a form of retaliation either for him having said that thing at different times, or different things that he said. I don't know that he had in mind Reverend Allison's testimony here.

Mr. Johnson: Well, Reverend Allison had just testified?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Before this Committee?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And in that testimony he had referred to Justice Clark in no very complimentary way?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And this conversation immediately followed that, and did not immediately follow the former reference to this prostitute having given him the desk?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; that is true. This conversation was about seven hours after Reverend Allison finished his testimony.

Mr. Johnson: And the reasonable sequence of things is that he was endeavoring to trump up a lawsuit in his own court against the preacher because he had testified concerning some of his, the Justice's, official acts?

Mr. Hendry: I would construe it to be something like that. That was my impression at the time.

Mr. Johnson: That is the impression you got from it?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And there is scarcely any other impression to be gotten from it, is there?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir. Also, while I was in there, Alexander Flanrigan, about whom some testimony has been given here, came in and he said: "Well, Judge, I understand they have been asking someone down there if you and I both used the Marie Hall desk." And Judge Clark said "Oh; they make me sick with that stuff. I only wish it had been an automobile instead of a desk." (Laughter)

Mr. Johnson: That he wished Marie had given him an automobile instead of a desk?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. About a week ago Judge Clark dismissed a charge against a saloon keeper named Wallace, on the charge of selling liquor on Sunday. He dismissed that charge without hearing evidence at all, and explained what he did by saying he felt sorry for him, and didn't want to persecute him. He didn't ever call the policeman over to testify about what they found out at that place when they went in there early Sunday morning and found ten men drinking. He didn't hear that evidence at all; didn't try to get it.

Mr. Johnson: Gentlemen of the Committee, it seems to me that we have before us such a clear case of attempt to intimidate, to persecute witnesses who have testified, and to intimidate others from testifying before this Committee, that Justice of the Peace E. B. Clark should be taken before the Bar of the House of Representatives, there to be dealt with; and if some member of the Committee will make that motion, I will entertain it.

Mr. Raker: I move that that be the order of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, that all proceedings be taken against him that are within the power of the House to punish to the limit.

Mr. Johnson: Those in favor of the motion will say Aye; those opposed no.

(The motion was put and carried.)

The Ayes unanimously have it. I will institute the

proceedings indicated by the motion made by Mr. Baker.

Mr. Foster: You say that the Justice of the Peace said that he would have this suit brought against the Reverend Allison for a liquor bill?

Mr. Hendry: He didn't say that he would have it brought. He said that the suit was going to be brought, and that he had arranged to have it brought in his court, and he would collect the bill and not charge any fees for it.

Mr. Foster: In other words, the Justice of the Peace announced in advance that he would collect the bill and not charge any fees?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And there hadn't been any summons issued, or witnesses heard?

Mr. Hendry: That is true.

Mr. Foster: And he announced in advance, before the trial of the case, that he would collect the bill; which meant that he would render judgment against Mr. Allison?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: And no witness had yet testified?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir; I don't even know if there is such a bill pending against Reverend Allison.

Mr. Foster: And he said Jerry Baxter knew all about it?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Jerry Baxter said he didn't know any-

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thing about it?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: Well, to that extent the justice of the peace told a falsehood, didn't he?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; I presume so.

Mr. Foster: And that meant just this, didn't it, when you came to boil it all down, that if he could get you and other newspaper reporters to publish in their respective newspapers the mere statement of Justice Clark, it would tend to blacken the character of Reverend Allison among people who didn't know him well?

Mr. Hendry: No; I don't think he wanted it printed in the newspapers, because he seemed to be afraid of a libel suit, because when I did tell him that I was going to publish the story, he told me that he didn't know it to be true. That is when he told me to go see Jerry Baxter.

Mr. Foster: But you could have printed, as it is sometimes done, "It is rumored", and that would have avoided any libel suit-- "It is rumored that suit is to be brought against Reverend Allison on some alleged liquor bill"?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir; I wouldn't have done that.

Mr. Foster: Of course you wouldn't have done it, but some people might have done it, and it has been done repeatedly. He didn't know whether you would or not. He was trying you out, perhaps. If you had done a thing like that,

there would have been no libel suit; yet it would have been a terrible blow to Mr. Allison?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; if I had printed it.

Mr. Foster: You didn't have to print the whole story. You only had to print "It is rumored", that some alleged bill, and then the injury is done, and Clark knew it, didn't he? That's all.

Mr. Foss: In your conversation with the Justice did you refer to the investigation?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir; I didn't refer to anything. They were the ones that did the talking.

Mr. Foss: Did they refer to the investigation going on?

Mr. Cooper: Justice Clark did.

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foss: Judge Clark did?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. That was previous to what Clark said, and Clark didn't hear what Flannigan said. Clark was out of hearing of what Flannigan said at the time, but Flannigan said some things that were very repulsive.

Mr. Johnson: What did he say?

Mr. Hendry: He said that the people who had testified here-- he said "The God damned bastards, their intelligence multiplied by three million wouldn't be a shadow compared to that of Alexander Flannigan."

Mr. Johnson: Speaking of himself?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Anything else that he said?

Mr. Hendry: I think he repeated that assertion two or three times.

Mr. Raker: Do you know when that desk-- did Clark admit that he did get this desk?

Mr. Hendry: Only that he said this-- Flannigan said he understood that somebody had asked up here if they were using Marie Hall's desk together.

Mr. Johnson: Clark and Flannigan together, at that time?

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Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. He said that to Clark. Clark said "Well, they make me sick with that stuff. I wish it had been an automobile instead of a desk."

Mr. Raker: Is that all he said?

Mr. Hendry: Yes.

Mr. Raker: Do you know when he did get this desk?

Mr. Hendry: Well, I don't know of my own knowledge, only what I heard. I heard he got it when he was elected last spring.

Mr. Raker: That is this year?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; 1917-- April, I think. He used to be proprietor of a restaurant at Broadway and Main Street, and his son is now running that business; and the other son is in the saloon business-- the son who went on the bonds of these immoral women in his court; and he is in the office there, and these were former women customers of his restaurant, I think.

Mr. Cooper: How old a man is that young man?

Mr. Hendry: I don't know.

Mr. Cooper: Young Clark?

Mr. Hendry: I don't know him at all. I don't think I have ever seen him. The reason that I know that he went the bond is because his father told me. I asked him who went the bond of these women, and he said Ed. Clark.

Mr. Cooper: So then we have prostitutes arrested and brought before the Justice, and the Justice's son going on the bail bond?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: The chances are he wouldn't be very hard on the bondsman? Isn't that so?

Mr. Hendry: He explained that to me this way, and said he was keeping the court open and taking bonds for Justice Kane, and that the case of these women would not be tried in his court.

Mr. Cooper: But if he, the Justice, took bondsmen for Justice Kane, he passed on the sufficiency of the surety, didn't he?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Then the surety was his own son?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: And presumably Justice Kane wouldn't go very hard under those circumstances on Justice Clark's son, on that bond, would he?

Mr. Hendry: I shouldn't hardly think so.

Mr. Cooper: I don't think the Justice would think so.

Mr. Baker: Well, on this desk now, isn't it under-

stood that that desk was given to Judge Clark because of his dealings with these women, Marie Hall and her associates in bonds, ^{in trials} and in turning them loose so that the law wouldn't affect them?

Mr. Hendry: That is what I would deduce from a woman giving a man a present like that.

Mr. Baker: In other words, there is the evidence of the bribe?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. That is what was said around here at the time, and shortly after. That is what I heard.

Mr. Baker: The only reason I asked that is, it seems to me the Attorney General ought to take that desk as evidence against the justice and prosecute him for bribery. That is the point I am getting at. That's all.

Mr. Johnson: You may be excused.

The Committee stands in recess until half past one o'clock this afternoon.

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

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AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Committee reassembled at 1.30 o'clock p.m.
pursuant to recess.

STATEMENT OF A. B. HENDRY (Cont.)

Mr. Baker: Mr. Hendry, during your rounds as a reporter, did you make any examination of the various saloons, and other places outside of the city limits of East St. Louis?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Did you make any examination of a place where they had cock fights?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Now just describe the condition of the saloons there, and also the cock fight feature.

Mr. Hendry: This is a place operated by Chink DuCree at Woodland Park. That is about three miles outside of East St. Louis towards Collinsville.

Mr. Baker: In St. Clair County?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. East St. Louis men go out there, also men from Granite City. Father *Goely* ~~was~~ pastor of the French village Catholic Church out near this cock fight came down to see me and told me that his parishioners going to church early Sunday morning would be insulted by these rowdy men who stayed there all Saturday night, drunk, and would insult the girls on the way to church, and that

they were getting the young men up there, getting them to gambling - they also ran a gambling game up there. ~~One~~ ^{So} one Saturday night last winter I went out there and got in without any trouble at all, and the saloon itself is just off the carline at the bottom of a big hill and up on top of the hill is a great big pavilion, and in one end of that pavilion was a room where they had crap games and different sorts of gambling devices; and in the main room itself was a cockpit about twelve feet in diameter in which they fought these game cocks. They had them back in cages in the rear; and I understood from one of the men who was there that their method of training them was to starve them three or four days previous to the fight and then feed them on bread soaked in whiskey, to make them ferocious. They had this arena or pit surrounded by ~~ties~~ ^{seats} tiers of seats on which the men sat and applauded during the fight and they wagered large sums of money on each of the game cocks. One of these fights was particularly brutal. Two roosters - these roosters, they take them and throw them together and one would pull a few feathers out of the other one, and get them ~~them~~ in fighting mood. Then they would set them down at opposite ends of the ring and tie steel gaffs on them, needle pointed, about two inches long, and then they would clash and these gaffs, you could hear them sink into the chest and tear in. Then they would pull them apart and give them a second or

two seconds rest, and put them down again and let them clash again, until one of the roosters struck. And each fight was to the death. This fight lasted an hour and a half. I timed it. At the end - way before the end - both roosters were blind and neither could see the other, yet they went staggering around the ring trying to fight. They kept on until both of them were just exhausted, and finally one of them died of exhaustion. You could hear the rooster breathing. His wind pipe had been caught by the griffs and it made a racket when he would breathe. The other rooster tried to crawl up on top of him and crow out his victory, but he was too weak and fell over and died there too; and the men applauded and thought it was great sport. They had several other fights. I left there about one thirty, - about twelve thirty - and they continued that session until nine o'clock Sunday morning. I afterwards learned from Father Goetz.

Mr. Baker: It continued all night until nine o'clock the next morning?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. In that same room where the cock fight was, was an improvised bar where they could beer and whisky without a license, and cigars, etc. Men were continually running to and from that bar, and by twelve o'clock they were so drunk and maudlin that the men themselves were starting to fight around there; and I left and I printed a story on that.

Mr. Baker: Were there women around these places?

Mr. Hendry: There was one little girl there about five years old, who is the daughter, I understood, of the proprietor; and this little girl was running around there.

Mr. Johnson: What is the proprietors name?

Mr. Hendry: Chink DuCree. This little girl ran around begging money on the fight, on the first fight. There were no women there that I saw. DuCree's wife stayed down in this room and run the saloon while he was up in the cock fight.

Mr. Baker: She ran the saloon while he ran the cock pit?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. This saloon was one of four which violated the State law which provides that a saloon must not be run within a mile and a half of the limit of an incorporated town or village, and that they weren't allowed to take out a license. The method by which they assessed these men for running saloons, was that at certain periods they would bring them into the justice of the peace court at Bellville and fine them whatever the license would have cost, and then that fund, I understand, was turned over to the school board of the district. Whether they did that or not with the money, I don't know.

Mr. Baker: Just tell us now, did you go to other places, these other saloons?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: What were they? Were they practically dives in a word?

Mr. Hendry: They were the most terrible things you could imagine.

Mr. Baker: Just give us some instances, just to show what was being done in some of those places.

Mr. Hendry: In another county this was, but it is one of the most striking - it shows the condition was general here on the east side, and that the riff raff of St. Louis came over here.

Mr. Johnson: What county is it in?

Mr. Hendry: Madison County, right adjoining this county. It isn't more than seven or eight miles from East St. Louis, in that direction. This is a saloon, the proprietor of which was Fuger, Fred Fuger, I think. I went up there with two men from the office of Attorney General Brundage, and they were gathering evidence and I was piloting them around. I had been over the ground previously, and this night was particularly bad up there. It was three o'clock Sunday morning when we went in there. There were about 400 couples in that place, and they couldn't hardly move there, they were so congested. Everybody was drunk, and every minute there would be a fight, throwing beer bottles, and I went outside and went into the saloon next door to see what was doing over there. He also owns that place, and there were three or four

men standing around the wash basin in there washing blood off of their faces - been fighting around there. They also had some nigger entertainers and there were eight of them and they would give a cabaret, - what they said was a cabaret - and two of these nigger women got on the floor and they did what they call the "chemise she wobble," what they call the "chemise-she-wobble" dance.

Mr. Baker: Practically naked?

Mr. Hendry: No, sir; but the motions of the dance were more than suggestive. I don't know what you would call it. It was terrible.

Mr. Johnson: Vulgar?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. And the young men and girls - there were young girls there, many of them not more than fifteen or sixteen I take it, and these men and girls would get out on the floor there and dance gross dances. That was three o'clock in the morning, you know.

Mr. Baker: Sunday morning?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. Automobiles lined the streets adjacent to the saloon for three or four blocks, just jammed ~~up~~ in there. We couldn't hardly park our machine and that night we went to a place called "Aunt Kate's Honky Tonk."

~~THE~~ Mr. Baker: That is in this ~~town~~ county?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; St. Clair County.

That is run by nigger women, and white men and nigger women dance there and white women and nigger men; and

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they have all sorts of indecent dances there, - or they used to. I don't know whether they do now or not. It is my understanding that they do in spite of the fact that the Attorney General has issued an injunction against that place.

Mr. Baker: And "Aunt Mites Honky Tonk" still keeps up business?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; so I hear by a nigger that lives up there. On the occasion of our visit it was right after I had exposed that place, and the story I wrote, and Attorney General Brudage issued an injunction at that time closing it; but we went up there and we were met by a man who afterwards turned out to be a nigger policeman.

Mr. Johnson: What was his name?

Mr. Hendry: He called himself "Slim". I don't know what his name was. He just said that we were in "Slim's" care, and he pulled back his coat and showed his badge and showed his revolver and said nobody would bother us. At the time of this visit this injunction had been issued by the Attorney General, so he came out to the machine and met us and said, "now when you go past the crowd here at the store, just say you want to see the 'corbaret', "he called it, and we did, and got in this and he told us then, he said, "you know, they are getting awful strict on us down here. They are making us close up, but we are going to get around that all right.

In fact we have already dug a tunnel from the dark part of town into the 'cabarett' here, and after this you go around to this tunnel and come through there and into the room here, so the people won't see you unloading at the door." And they had also fenced it up with a twelve foot fence, he said. We stayed there and bought some beer which they sold without a license and in violation of the injunction. They we went on over to Fuger's place that I have just told you about. The Attorney General after that - yes, after that - closed ~~that~~ up forty seven saloons in St. Clair County which violated the mile and a half limit which I told you of, and around which the niggers were just as terrible as the conditions at these places.

One of them was a place run by John Peter. Reverend Allison told you about that. I never was out there and all I know is just what I heard.

Mr. Baker: That is the general character as you have described it, of these places that have been running outside of the city limits?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Now, before the Attorney General took any action on these cases, and after you had visited them as you have described, and others, - these and others - I will ask you to state whether or not you had an interview with the States Attorney, Mr. Schumleffel?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Do you remember where that interview was?

Mr. Hendry: I called him up. I was in St. Louis and I couldn't get up there early enough to see him, so I called him and that was after that cock fight. I told him about it, and he said, **yes**, "I read that story too". I said, "Well, what are you going to do about it, Mr. Schumleffel." He said, "it's none of your dam business, and these paper had better stay out of this country and tend to their own dam business. I can run this county myself." So I **printed that** interview with him, and the next day I got a lot of letters from people complaining about what he said, and then several days after that I went up to see him ---

Mr. Baker: (Interposing) Personally?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; and it was in the presence of Judge Crow, in Judge Crow's chambers that I saw him.

Mr. Baker: In Bellville?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir. That was about a week after the cock fight. I didn't tell you - the next Saturday night I sent another reporter out there because I was afraid they would know me, and he went out ^{they} and recognized him and threatened to shoot him. One man took him down to the bottom of the hill and drew a revolver and told him if he didn't run like hell he was going to shoot him after he had finished counting ten. So this fellow didn't get away all right.

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Mr. Baker: That was one of the reporters?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: What is his name?

Mr. Hendry: C. M. Clendennin.

Mr. Raker: Where is he now?

Mr. Hendry: He is in St. Louis now, with the Republic, down at the Arcade Building. I think he knows the man that was going to shoot him too. I think he knows his name.

Mr. Raker: Now go on with your conversation you had in Judge Crow's chambers with Judge Crow and Mr. Schaumleffel, the State Attorney.

Mr. Hendry: I said to Mr. Schaumleffel, "well, that cock fight hasn't been stopped out there yet, Mr. Schaumleffel. We had a reporter out there Saturday night and they were preparing for the fight, but before they could get the fight under way he was recognized and taken out and they threatened to shoot him." He said, "well, it would be a dam good thing if they would shoot about a dozen of these god dam reporters." He said that in the presence of Judge Crow.

Mr. Cooper: One minute, Judge Raker, this witness is wanted to testify right now in the trial in progress in Bellville and they have telephoned us, and he is under subpoena and he can come back here at any time.

Mr. Johnson: We will let him loose just as soon as he wants to go, but this seems to be the first indication he has gotten of it, that he was wanted up there now.

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Mr. Hendry: I was excused until to-morrow morning.

Mr. Cooper: They can't issue any contempt writ or writ of contempt or anything else for a witness who they have excused until to-morrow morning and who hasn't been notified officially to return.

Mr. Johnson: Besides that we have got him under a formal subpoena here. We will hurry up the questions and it won't take many minutes for him to get through.

Mr. Baker: Now who was "he" when you referred to what he said? Was that Schaumleffel that made these remarks?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The States Attorney?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: The States Attorney of St. Clair County? Did he say anything else?

Mr. Hendry: No, I think that is about all. Subsequently these places were closed by the Attorney General and Schaumleffel wouldn't ever take any stand that he wanted to close them or anything.

Mr. Baker: They were handled by Attorney General Brundage and his corps of attendants?

Mr. Hendry: Yes, sir; they just went over Schaumleffel's head and closed them up after they learned conditions were so awful, and after their agents had visited the places.

Mr. Baker: About when was it that you had this conversation over in Bellville that you have

stated?

Mr. Hendry: That was about a year ago - about this time a year ago.

Mr. Johnson: You may be excused.

STATEMENT OF J. W. EDMONSON, (Colored)
of Brooklyn, Illinois.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson: What is your name and residence?

Mr. Edmonson: J. W. Edmonson, Brooklyn, Ill.

Mr. Johnson: Is that in this county?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

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Mr. Johnson: What is your occupation?

Mr. Edmonson: Sergeant of police.

Mr. Johnson: At Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know anything about gambling or other unlawful acts going on in Brooklyn, of which the property authorities take no notice in the way of having it stopped, go ahead in your way and tell about it.

Mr. Edmonson: There is a great deal of gambling going on there.

Mr. Johnson: Tell where it is done and in whose house it is done; everything that you may know about it.

Mr. Edmonson: On 5th Street - you enter on the corner of 5th & W-d' on-there is three gambling games there.

Mr. Johnson: Who conducts them?

Mr. Edmonson: One is conducted by Woods,

another by Sam Bamol, and another by Griffin.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know their first names?

Mr. Edmonson: No - John W. Woods.

Mr. Johnson: What is the other man's name?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know anything but Bamol.

That is an alias name he ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ has. He has another name.

Mr. Johnson: How about the other fellow?

Mr. Edmonson: Griffin, P. E. Griffin. Then down Madison, two doors, we come across King the policy man.

Mr. Johnson: Who runs that shop?

Mr. Edmonson: King.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know his full name?

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

Mr. Johnson: Is he a white man?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. He has agents throughout East St~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Louis, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Venice, and Madison.

Mr. Johnson: And he is conducting what is commonly called a policy shop?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: In other words a lottery?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Go ahead and tell about some more. Then we will go back ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to these and take them up one by one.

Mr. Edmonson: Then four doors again we come to another game.

Mr. Johnson: What sort of a game is that?

Mr. Edmonson: A crap game.

Mr. Johnson: Who runs that?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know exactly who runs that. It seems like it was a combination. Some times they say it is Harris, Geo. Harris; again they say it is Will Hughes; and again they say it is Eddie Green.

Mr. Johnson: Are those white folks or colored?

Mr. Edmonson: Colored.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know of any more gambling house?

Mr. Edmonson: Then two blocks below there is what is called the millionaire game.

Mr. Johnson: What is that?

Mr. Edmonson: That is the white people's game.

Mr. Johnson: What games do they play in there?

Mr. Edmonson: They play all games. They won't allow anyone in there. It is on the back,---

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) They don't allow anyone in? How do they gamble if they don't allow anyone in there?

Mr. Edmonson: None but rich people. No poor people allowed in there.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know what kind of games they play in there?

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; I don't. I have orders not to go in there.

Mr. Johnson: You have orders not to go in there. Well, we will take that up directly. Go ahead and name any other gambling houses you may know about.

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir, there is no more gambling

houses.

houses that I know of.

Mr. Johnson: What do you know about tough saloons operating over there?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, the saloons, I would call them on an average untriced. They all run about the same, so far as saloon business is concerned. Of course they are all awful and undecent.

Mr. Johnson: In what way are they indecent?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, the carrying on that they have going on, sir.

Mr. Johnson: What do they do?

Mr. Edmonson: They dance and "cheerish she wobble" and play cards and do most anything.

Mr. Johnson: Have any of those places got rooms in connection with the saloons which are used for immoral purposes - men and women?

Mr. Edmonson: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Johnson: Are there any bawdy houses existing over there, houses of ill ~~xxx~~ fame?

Mr. Edmonson: No, I don't know of any of that kind.

Mr. Johnson: You say that you have orders not to go into the millionaire gambling den?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Who gave you those orders?

Mr. Edmonson: The mayor.

Mr. Johnson: The mayor of Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: What is his name?

Mr. Edmonson: J. H. Thomas, Sr.

Mr. Johnson: When did he give you those orders, and

under what circumstances did he give them to you?

Mr. Edmonson: We give us those orders the 9th of May when I was appointed sergeant of police.

Mr. Johnson: This year?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir, not to go in any of the gambling houses. I am not supposed to go into any of them.

Mr. Johnson: Did he say why?

Mr. Edmonson: They just say "if you don't see anything you don't know anything."

Mr. Johnson: So the police officers were instructed to be careful not to see any of these violations of the law?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: A fine conditions, isn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: Very horrible.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know whether or not any of the county officials, of St. Clair County, or Madison County know anything about the existence of these things, or have reasonable opportunity to know of their existence?

Mr. Edmonson: I couldn't positively say as to that, but I am under the impression that the sherrif, Mr. Logan Mellon and Mr. Schaurleffel, knows all about it.

Mr. Johnson: They are officers of this county?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Now give your reasons for being satisfied in your own mind that those two officials do know of the existence of these places?

7 Mr. Edmonson: Because when I make an arrest the gentlemen would both - I can't do anything with them; that the sheriff and the States Attorney will let them go.

Mr. Johnson: And that is pretty conclusive.

Mr. Edmonson: They publicly say there can't be anything done with them.

Mr. Johnson: You mean the gamblers, these offenders, make that boast?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir; and thieves also.

215 Mr. Johnson: And their boasts will come out true.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: So the arrests that you make come to naught?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. For instance I arrested one the 3rd of June, Elijah Gillim, Ralph Curtis, and Ralph Williams, for breaking into a car and stole 4200 lbs. of meal; and on the 25th of last month here in Bellville they were fined \$5.00 and costs and ninety days in jail.

On the 10th of last month I arrested two people for breaking cars and stealing 275 lbs. of flour. They are brought here, I believe to Judge Clark's court and they were given ten days in jail. ~~with the same sentence~~

Mr. Johnson: And they stole how much meal up yonder?

Mr. Edmonson: 4200 lbs.

Mr. Johnson: 4200 lbs. of meal. Well meal has to be made out of old corn, and corn is worth about \$2.50 a bushel, I guess, at that time, and probably meal would be worth \$3.00 a bushel.

Mr. Edmonson: It is worth about \$6.00 a hundred wholesale.

Mr. Johnson: Did these fellows serve their time out in jail of ninety?

Mr. Edmonson: They are up there yet.

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Mr. Johnson: Well, they are getting pretty good daily wages, aren't they - ninety days for 4200 lbs. of seal?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir: splendid wages.

Mr. Johnson: There is no law in this state that you know of to send a man to the penitentiary for a thing like that?

Mr. Edmonson: Where may be in the state, but not in St. Clair County (laughter).

Mr. Johnson: Well, you are distinguishing now between the law and the execution of it. You refer to the execution of the law, don't you?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: That a thief can do pretty much what he pleases in this county, with the full assurance that he is not going to the penitentiary if he is caught.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How much flour that did this fellow steal that Justice Clark sent to jail for ten days?

Mr. Edmonson: 275 lbs; nine twenty-five pound sacks.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know of any other instances like those you have just recited?

Mr. Edmonson: No. I know more than the games there. If you tag a man down there the Mayor or the chief of police, one or the other will turn him loose and let him go. Even after the justice sends them to jail, he will be turned loose. They wouldn't let him stay there at all.

Mr. Johnson: What did you say the name of the mayor is?

Mr. Edmonson: J. H. Thomas, Sr.

Mr. Johnson: What is his business?

Mr. Edmonson: He was a laborer at the Terminal.

Mr. Johnson: Do you ever see Mr. Schaumleffel or the sheriff down in that community?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, I have seen them there.

Mr. Johnson: Well, whereabouts do you see them in town when they are there?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, they are in company with the mayor, or chief of police, one.

Mr. Johnson: Well, what part of the town have you seen them in? Where these gambling houses are?

Mr. Edmonson: Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever see either of them go in or out of the gambling places?

216 Mr. Edmonson: No, I never seen them go in or out.

Mr. Johnson: Their opportunities for knowing that these places are going on there are just as good as the opportunities for anybody else to know that gambling is going on there, aren't they?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Anybody who cares to know what is going on there can find out?

Mr. Edmonson: Anybody that rides the street cars can see it. They can see the Warner place.

Mr. Johnson: The Warner place is the millionaire place?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Who comes there to that place?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know sir. Last Saturday

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night a week ago I counted eighteen automobiles backed in there.

Mr. Johnson: Did you notice whether the automobiles were Illinois - had Illinois numbers or Missouri numbers?

Mr. Edmonson: They had both.

Mr. Johnson: You didn't take any of those numbers, did you?

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; That is the place where they keep watchmen all the time. They don't like to see you stand a moment there.

Mr. Johnson: You, as a police officer, feel you haven't got the liberty to loiter there?

Mr. Edmonson: I can't loiter there.

Mr. Johnson: You're forbidden to loiter around there?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: For fear you might see something?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You are employed to see those things, but forbidden to see them?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. Now what makes it so terrible in our town just before this riot was the mixed crowd that we had.

Mr. Johnson: Tell about that.

Mr. Edmonson: There is mixed crowds in all of the saloons. They often speak of "Aunt Yates" place. But Aunt Yates runs the most decent place of any of the saloons. White and colored people come there and they would dance in all forms and styles. They would strip themselves and become real nude, both white women and white men, and colored women and colored men.

Mr. Johnson: Where was that?

Mr. Edmonson: In colored saloons in Brooklyn.

Mr. Johnson: What saloons?

Mr. Edmonson: All of them.

Mr. Johnson: Name the saloons in which that was done?

Mr. Edmonson: Aunt Kate's.

Mr. Johnson: Nude men and nude women?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: How long ago?

Mr. Edmonson: About twelve months now, nearly.

Mr. Johnson: Well now, name some other place in which it was done.

Mr. Edmonson: Morris Hunter's.

Mr. Johnson: Did you see it?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Did you see nude men and women in Aunt Kate's Honky Tonk?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Now you see - what ^{was} the name of the last place?

Mr. Edmonson: Morris Hunter's.

Mr. Johnson: Morris Hunter's is a saloon? Did you see nude men and nude women in any other place?

Mr. Edmonson: No.

Mr. Johnson: Just those two places?

Mr. Edmonson: I have seen nude women in the other places.

Mr. Johnson: What other places?

Mr. Edmonson: Emory Morris.

Mr. Johnson: In his saloon?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: White or black women?

Mr. Edmonson: White women.

Mr. Johnson: Now to go back to Aunt Kate's Honky
Tonk, a minute, were the women there white or black?

Mr. Edmonson: They were white.

Mr. Johnson: Were the men who were nude white or
black?

Mr. Edmonson: White.

Mr. Johnson: Then to the next place. What was the
next one?

Mr. Edmonson: Hunter's.

Mr. Johnson: Were the nude women and men there white
or black?

Mr. Edmonson: Black.

Mr. Johnson: Well, we have got three places now
where that took place. Any others?

Mr. Edmonson: No, I don't know of any others.

Mr. Johnson: Only three places?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know whether the mayor knows
anything about this or not?

Mr. Edmonson: Oh, yes, sir, he knows it. He is
compelled to, at the night it runs there. He's com-
pelled to know it. The publicity of it makes everybody
know that is going on there.

Mr. Johnson: Well, when these nude women and men
are in these places, are they there on public exhibition?

Mr. Edmonson: No, they are drinking and carousing

and sometimes they begin to fight, and then they strip each other. That is generally the way it took place. And on special occasions they take a couple of white ladies to what we call the "levee" that lies between Venice and Brooklyn and strip them naked and throw them out in the automobile, and they would be so drunk and the street car come along, the first car in the morning, and picks them up and brings them back to Brooklyn.

Mr. Johnson: They put them on the street cars naked?

Mr. Edmanson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: We said the street car picked them up. They were lying on the ground drunk?

Mr. Edmanson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: You mean the cow catcher picked them up in front of the car?

Mr. Edmanson: No, the men got off and picked them up. I suppose - at least that is what the conductor reported when they come down.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know whether or not Mr. Schaumleffel or the sheriff knew anything about this, this condition of nude men and women there?

Mr. Edmanson: No, sir; I couldn't say, further than I have already said. Every time you want to do anything there they will both answer "Mr. Webb is not in Belleville now. Schaumleffel is there."

Mr. Johnson: And Mr. Webb was Mr. Schaumleffel's predecessor in office?

Mr. Edmanson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Anything else that you know?

Mr. Edmonson: No, I believe not.

Mr. Johnson: Well, I take it for granted that you don't know of anything else as horrible as that, but are there lesser offenses, that you may know about? For instance do you know anything about anybody being robbed and let off?

Mr. Edmonson: No, I don't know of any. It is seldom that a robbery occurs there. There was a good many times that men come in there and reported losing their money, and I keep a very close watch on those men and I see them running around with those women there and I never paid so much attention to them. They get with those women and then leave them, and in a little while I see them go into those dives and crap games, and I just put it up that they lose their money in the crap game and come out and make a holier that they have been robbed. Where is very little robbery goes on there.

Mr. Johnson: Very little robbery on the outside of those gambling games that go on there?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: After they get out of there, they are not worth robbing? (Laughter).

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; not after they leave the game.

Mr. Johnson: Have you heard whether or not a man ^{over} in St. Louis operates that millionaire gambling den over there?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know. The way they got the saloon license, it is pretty hard to tell who is

operating that. The license was got out in the name of Jack Hennessy, and then it was swapped or changed around some way, and went to a man by the name of Works; and the last Board meeting I was at, I believe another fellow came in by the name of Fred Warner.

Mr. Johnson: Fred is presiding over the destinies *of chance* in the millionaire's place?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. That was one of the most horrible places that we have in this country.

Mr. Johnson: In what way?

Mr. Edmonson: They are so very daring. The men will come there and gamble all day and all night, on Sundays and you can see them getting in their automobiles, heavily armed with their guns.

Mr. Johnson: Pistols or rifles?

Mr. Edmonson: Pistols and I look at ^{it} as being a dangerous place for an officer who would attempt to do anything to them, and they keep a couple of watchmen out to keep everybody away that they know is not playing there.

Mr. Johnson: The gambling den keeps a couple of watchmen out?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Are those watchmen white men or black men?

Mr. Edmonson: One black and one white.

Mr. Johnson: And those places ^{are run} in the defiantly open way that you tell about?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: And the officers do nothing towards closing them?

Mr. Edmonson: Nothing at all.

Mr. Johnson: And you and other police officers are forbidden to molest them in any way?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You say that men that have been arrested have said, when arrested, that the law couldn't do anything to them, because the sheriff and the States Attorney, Schaurleffel, would see that nothing was done with them?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir; they would say - they call him "Schau" - they say "Schau is out in Pellville now; Webb ain't out there."

Mr. Cooper: So some of the crooks at least, the people who openly violate the law out there, look upon your States Attorney as their friend, and always *their friend*?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir; he is their friend.

Mr. Cooper: How do you know that, from experience?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, we can't get an indictment before the Grand jury now.

Mr. Cooper: You can't get those people indicted by the Grand Jury? They rely upon Schaurleffel to stave that off, do they?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. I have tried the policy man repeatedly.

Mr. Cooper: How did you try to get the policy man indicted?

Mr. Edmonson: I took some of his drawings and give them to a lady and I sent her up there before the Grand Jury, and they failed to indict them.

Mr. Cooper: Was Schaurleffel in attendance on the Grand Jury?

Mr. Edmonson: yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Managing things before the Grand Jury?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir. The policy ran no longer ago than Saturday night -

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) What Saturday night?

Mr. Edmonson: Last Saturday night passed - sent me \$2.00 ^{with} not to have anything done ~~to~~ him.

Mr. Cooper: Did what?

Mr. Edmonson: Sent me the paltry sum of \$2.00 to quit agitating that he should go out of business.

Mr. Cooper: Who did that?

Mr. Edmonson: Mr. King, the policy man.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. King sent you what?

Mr. Edmonson: \$2.00 to quit agitating for him to leave town, close down the policy game.

Mr. Cooper: When did he close down?

Mr. Edmonson: He closed down, yes, sir. I said he closed down.

Mr. Cooper: But last Saturday he sent you \$2.00?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Under the promise that he was going to close down?

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; to quit agitating for him to be closed.

Mr. Cooper: He tried to bribe you for \$2.00 to stop agitating?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: Did Mr. King close down because of the publicity that was being given to conditions out there?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't think it is. yesterday

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morning I informed him that I was going to Springfield to see Attorney General Brundage if he didn't get out of town.

Mr. Cooper: Yesterday morning you told him what?

Mr. Edmonson: I told him I was going to Springfield to see Attorney General Brundage, if he didn't move that thing out of town, that I thought it was the ruination to my people there; that it was the greatest gambling scheme that ever was invented in the world, and that I wouldn't stand for it.

Mr. Cooper: There isn't a meaner, more contemptible way of robbing people, is there, than the ordinary policy game?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't think there is.

Mr. Cooper: *There can't be one.* There is ^{no} any kind of a device that is crookier than that.

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: That doesn't take any courage to run a crooked job like that, does it?

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir.

Mr. Cooper: If a man is a highway robber, he has to take some chances to go out and rob his victim with a little danger to himself; but a policy dealer who sells these things to laboring men, either white or black, - doesn't run any risk at all while he has the States Attorney and the sheriff on which he can rely?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes, sir; he don't have any risk at all.

Mr. Cooper: Do you think of any other instance that will show the contempt for the law out there and how

these officials stand in with the offenders?

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; I don't recall any just now.

Mr. Cooper: I think you have testified to enough.

That is all.

Mr. Raker: You said those dives were bad.

Mr. Edmonson: yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: What do you mean by "dive?"

Mr. Edmonson: A gambling game. There they shoot nickels; where these nickel games are raging. What we call the dives. Some times there is a crap game.

Mr. Johnson: If they shoot for a nickel, that is a dive; and if they shoot for a good many dollars, then it becomes a millionaire's club? (Laughter).

Mr. Edmonson: No, sir; not the millionaires club; not from what I learn - just from hearsay - it takes hundreds of thousands of dollars to go in to the millionaire club down there. You mustn't have less than \$100, anyway, so they tell me.

Mr. Raker: Well, in these saloons, about how many of them are there?

Mr. Edmonson: We have ten saloons in our town.

Mr. Raker: About what is the population?

Mr. Edmonson: The population is between 4500 and 5000.

Mr. Raker: How many colored people?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, to give you an estimate, we only have 85 white folks there.

Mr. Raker: Now you say that in these saloons there was dancing as you have described it?

30-N

220-N Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: How late has that dancing occurred?

Mr. Edmonson: You mean recently?

Mr. Raker: Yes.

Mr. Edmonson: Dancing has ^{not} occurred now for about six months.

Mr. Raker: Do the women still go in these saloons?

Mr. Edmonson: They don't go in the saloons, but they they all have restaurants now, nearly on the same order.

Mr. Raker: Just tell us about that. They have changed from the saloon to the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And white men run the restaurant, or colored men?

Mr. Edmonson: Colored men run the restaurant.

Mr. Raker: And they gather in the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And do the performance that they used to do in the saloon?

Mr. Edmonson: No, not as vulgar in the restaurants now as it was in the saloons, but they dance in the restaurants.

Mr. Raker: Do the white men and colored women dance in the restaurants too?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir; I have succeeded in breaking that up.

Mr. Raker: Well, are there people, white women or colored women, coming from other places?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, they come.

Mr. Raker: To Brooklyn and stay over night and then

leave?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: A good many of them?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; quite a great number coming and staying all night and leaving the next morning.

Mr. Raker: How do they come? By machine?

Mr. Edmonson: Sometimes they come in a machine, and again on the street car.

Mr. Raker: Do they come from Missouri across the bridge?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, there is a bunch of towns around here, and they come from all around, Alton, Edwardsville, St. Louis, East St. Louis, and up as far as Godfrey.

Mr. Raker: How many do you suppose have been there at one time, that don't live there?

Mr. Edmonson: Oh, I guess 1500 or 2000.

Mr. Raker: Well now, these restaurants, do they permit any drinking in their places of business?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; that is why they started the restaurants. The women aren't allowed in the wine rooms there now.

Mr. Raker: And now they run the saloon and have a license for it, and the men go in there?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And carry on all kinds of things, where thugs and cut-throats and everybody else congregates?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And then the restaurant has been establish-

ed by which there is a door entering into the saloon?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir, there is a space between the restaurant and the saloon. The houses are built side by side. They come out of the restaurant and go into the front door of the saloon and get drinks, and bring them back into the restaurant..

Mr. Raker: So the women are furnished the drinks in the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: By the waiters going either to the back door or to the front door?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Do they have a back door too?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; they go to either door.

And
Mr. Raker: /These women are furnished drinks, intoxicating drinks?

Mr. Edmonson: From the saloon, yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Is that practically the condition of all the restaurants connected with the saloons?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; all but one.

Mr. Raker: And the restaurants have no license?

Mr. Edmonson: They have to have a restaurant license.

Mr. Raker: But no license to sell liquor?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir.

Mr. Raker: No license to drink liquor on their premises?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir.

Mr. Raker: It requires a license, don't it?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Have they been running up to date?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; running right now.

Mr. Raker: They are running right along now?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

221-N

Mr. Raker: Pretty well patronized, are they?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; largely so.

Mr. Raker: Did you ever see any men or women intoxicated in these restaurants?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir; I have not.

Mr. Raker: Well, if there is drinking in there, there must be more or less intoxication. They don't get boisterously drunk as they used to?

Mr. Edmonson: No, they don't get boisterously drunk as they once did.

Mr. Raker: Still they get just mellow drunk?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir. They don't run it as high as they did about six months ago. They fear the attorney general now somewhat.

Mr. Raker: But this restaurant feature is a new one started since the attorney general got after them on the others?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: They are starting up a new line of business and a new way of getting whisky to the women?

Mr. Edmonson: I have heard the mayor say it was Mr. Schaumleffel's instruction to start this restaurant.

Mr. Raker: How is that?

Mr. Edmonson: I heard the mayor say it was "Schaum's" instructions to start the restaurants.

Mr. Raker: That is the state's attorney?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker; Now let's be frank about it---and that's the only way to be---and we have got to use language to convey it. There are rooms above these restaurants, aren't there? .

Mr. Edmonson: No sir.

Mr. Raker: Above the saloons?

Mr. Edmonson: Rooms above the saloons.

Mr. Raker: Where do the men and women go to meet?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, I couldn't tell you to save my life.

Mr. Raker: They do though, don't they? You are satisfied of that?

Mr. Edmonson: No, I don't think they do. Since the riot every available place there is rented to some families. Before the riot I could say so, but since the riot every place has been rented to some families.

Mr. Johnson: Colored families?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Where do they practice prostitution in Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, just right in the houses, is all that I can say. I couldn't say otherwise. We have a large number of people there living in adultery.

Mr. Raker: You have?

Mr. Edmonson: A large number of them.

Mr. Raker: Well, who runs these restaurants? Could

you name them?

Mr. Edmonson: Jamieson runs one.

Mr. Raker: Now start up at the head of the town like you did with the saloons, and give the names of the restaurant keepers.

Mr. Edmonson: Rucker is the first restaurant keeper.

Mr. Raker: And what is his first name?

Mr. Edmonson: Isaac, I think.

Mr. Raker: Where is his place of business?

Mr. Edmonson: Connected with Hammond Ashley's place, at the corner of Fifth and Madison.

Mr. Raker: In Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: How go to the next one.

Mr. Edmonson: The next restaurant I don't know.

Mr. Raker: Now just before you pass that---he is not the man that runs the saloon?

Mr. Edmonson: Ashley runs the saloon.

Mr. Raker: And Rucker runs the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: As you have designated?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And as the saloons are run, with the separation of the restaurant from the saloon, the running of the restaurant as it is now, that was done on the advice of Mr. Schaumleffel, the state's attorney?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Johnson: These restaurants have licenses to sell

liquor?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir.

Mr. Raker: Now go on to the next one.

222-H Mr. Edmonson: The next one is Wood's saloon. I don't know who runs that. I can't recall the name, any more than the woman is known by "Shorty".

Mr. Raker: Where is that located?

Mr. Edmonson: It is in the rear of Wood's saloon.

Mr. Raker: Well, give the street.

Mr. Edmonson: It is on Fifth street and Madison.

Mr. Raker: Do those restaurants run night and day?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And then the next one?

Mr. Edmonson: The next one is Mrs. Sarah Wells restaurant.

Mr. Raker: Is she a single woman or married?

Mr. Edmonson: She is a married lady.

Mr. Johnson: A white woman, or a black woman?

Mr. Edmonson: Colored.

Mr. Raker: And where is her place of business?

Mr. Edmonson: She is in the middle of the block on Madison.

Mr. Raker: Give us the next one?

Mr. Edmonson: The next is run by the chief of police, Anthony Steed.

Mr. Johnson: Is he white or black?

Mr. Edmonson: He's black.

Mr. Raker: And where is that located?

Mr. Edmonson: That is on Fourth.

Mr. Johnson: Do they sell whisky in his place---drinks?

Mr. Edmonson: I couldn't say. It has been rumored that he sold whisky. I couldn't say that he sold there. I never seen any in there. I never seen anyone drinking in there.

Mr. Johnson: Did you ever see any whisky, drinks, going in and out of there?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir; it was reported to me by the saloon keepers last Sunday night a week ago when I went on duty---I notified them that they couldn't open at 12 o'clock any more, that they would have to wait until five o'clock in the morning. They usually open at 12 o'clock, I says, "this is orders from the chief, gentlemen," and they said, "well, the chief has been down there selling whisky all day now, and he wants us to wait until five o'clock in the morning so he can finish up."

Mr. Johnson: What is his name?

Mr. Edmonson: Anthony Steed.

Mr. Raker: How after you pass Anthony's place, who is the next one?

Mr. Edmonson: Then we come to Jimerson's.

Mr. Raker: Who runs that?

Mr. Edmonson: Jimerson runs the next restaurant, connected with West's .

Mr. Raker: What is his first name?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know what Jimerson's first name is.

Mr. Raker: Is he white or black?

Mr. Edmonson: Colored.

Mr. Raker: Where is it located?

Mr. Edmonson: It is on the Rock Road in Madison.

Mr. Raker: Rock Road and Madison?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir. But they are prejudiced to this restaurant somewhat. They won't let them serve drinks in this restaurant. I don't ^{know} why. They serve them in the rest, ^{but} they won't let them serve in there. They have recently cut Jimerson out and won't ^{let him} serve no drinks. I don't know why, but they stopped him from serving drinks.

Mr. Johnson: That means then that if they ^{can} stop Jimerson, they can stop the others, doesn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: It looks to me so.

Mr. Johnson: Well, if they would give you orders to stop the others, do you think you could stop them?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And the next one?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, that is all of the restaurants.

Mr. Raker: Are any of these restaurants being run by white people?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir.

Mr. Raker: They have colored girls, waitresses, in these restaurants?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Who goes from the restaurant to the saloon to get the drinks, the whisky? How do they do it?

223-N

Mr. Edmonson: We have a large number of loungers that lays around back place.

Mr. Raker: Just tell us how they do it? Now let's take up Rucker's place of business---and what is the name

of the saloon adjoining him?

Mr. Edmonson: Ashley's. You go in and set down at a table, you and a lady, and say you want a drink. You first buys a drink, and then if there is ⁴bouncers sitting there, you tell him what you want, if you want an Orphan Boy, or Falstaff, or Budweiser, you just tell the waiter and he will go out and bring it in to you.

Mr. Johnson: What is an Orphan Boy?

Mr. Edmonson: It is a kind of a drink, I think they call it.

Mr. Cooper: What is a "Bouncer"?

Mr. Edmonson: A fellow that lays around a saloon and just lives on drinks.

Mr. Raker: A pimp; that's what his business is, isn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Of the worst type.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Commit any crime ^{if}/necessary?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; that's what he is there for.

Mr. Raker: Commit perjury as quick as he would take a drink?

Mr. Edmonson: Sure.

Mr. Raker: Swear away a man's life and reputation and liberty without hesitation or effort?

Mr. Edmonson: Sure he would.

Mr. Raker: That's what they hire him for.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: He gets plenty of free booze and a little money every now and then?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: There are lots of them hanging around these places, aren't there?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Tough characters?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; They have threatened my life now for arresting these thieves and these car-breakers.

Mr. Raker: How is that?

Mr. Edmonson: My life has been threatened by that gang now because I arrested several of the car-breakers, breaking into box cars and stealing goods.

Mr. Raker: The rouser of the saloon, or bouncer, has threatened your life because you arrested the men who were breaking into cars and stealing flour and meal and things out of the cars?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Well, that would show to you that the saloon keeper is pretty close up to the bouncer, wouldn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know. It is pretty dark in my town.

Mr. Raker: Well, let's connect those two fellows. They must be closely connected, aren't they, as you observed them? I am asking you from your observation of the relation of the bouncer and the saloon man, the man that runs the saloon and the bartender.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: That is about the relation they occupy, isn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; but it is a little different in our town.

Mr. Raker: Well, just explain that. Just how is it in your town?

Mr. Edmonson: You can't do anything with these fellows except getting the chief of police to move.

Mr. Johnson: He moves very slowly, doesn't he?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; it is impossible to do anything in that place except the chief of police moves.

Mr. Raker: Well now, I want to know how the colored waitresses ^{who} are waiting on these restaurants get the whisky from the saloon, so that ~~the~~ it may be drunk in the restaurants.

224-E

Mr. Edmonson: They just go to the door and knock on the saloon door, and the bartender will come to the door and get the order and pass it out to her.

Mr. Raker: And then she takes it back into the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Then it is really sold and drank on the premises in the restaurant?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Without any license?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: This leaves your people in pretty bad shape, don't it, these conditions?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; very bad, horrible.

Mr. Raker: And you find ^{that} a white man, the state's attorney, advises that these things continue?

Mr. Edmonson: That is what I learned.

Mr. Raker: It don't give your people much chance or opportunity to do anything, does it?

Mr. Edmonson: Why no, no sir. We haven't any. That town is overrun with thugs.

Mr. Raker: That's all.

Mr. Cooper: You said you heard a man on the Board say something about Schaumleffel. What did you mean?

Mr. Edmonson: He said---that was the mayor, or any of the men there in Brooklyn that knew about it would tell you--- "that's all right; got to Belleville; 'Schaum' is down at Belleville now."

Mr. Cooper: What Board did you mean?

Mr. Edmonson: I mean the village board.

Mr. Cooper: The mayor and members of the village board said, "all right, go to Belleville and prosecute if you want to; Schaumleffel will tend to the prosecution?"

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: That meant that they were all right?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: That's all.

Mr. Foster: How long has this "Policy King" been operating in Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Well, he has been operating there about eighteen months.

Mr. Foster: Where did he come from?

Mr. Edmonson: He come from here, out of East St. Louis.

Mr. Foster: Was he operating the same thing here?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Foster: Why did he leave here, do you know?

Mr. Edmonson: The officials got after him, I think, down here.

Mr. Foster: So he went to Brooklyn?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Foster: Where did he come from to East St. Louis, do you know?

Mr. Edmonson: I knew him when he came from Memphis.

Mr. Foster: Did he operate the same business down there, or do you know?

Mr. Edmonson: Down in Memphis?

Mr. Foster: Yes sir.

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir. They say he said that is all he done all his life. He says he never worked a day in his life.

Mr. Foster: Who brought him up here? How did he come?

Mr. Edmonson: I don't know, sir how come him here. The first I heard of him he was down in East St. Louis working. Then he came to Brooklyn and stayed there several months, and the attorney general got after the saloons there, being wide open, and just the day before the injunction come for the saloon that the "Policy ^{Game} ~~King~~" was being run in, he moves out on the Friday night, and the saloon was closed on Saturday. That was the 16th of last June.

Mr. Foster: Well, King has been back in Brooklyn now

about two months operating his policy game?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; and he got out there, got a lease on Fourth street for three years.

Mr. Foster: And was injunction served on him to stop operating?

Mr. Edmonson: No sir, he moved out before the injunction got there.

Mr. Foster: He quit before; so there wasn't any injunction served?
225-X

Mr. Edmonson: They didn't serve any injunction on him?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir; he loaded up everything and moved out; moved back down here.

Then
Mr. Foster: /He moved back out there?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Foster: And opened up a short time ago?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir. He seemed to keep his work kind of on wheels, that he can get in and out so very quick that he has never been caught.

Mr. Cooper: Whom do you think notifies him that they are going to get out an injunction?

Mr. Edmonson: To be frank with you, I think it must come through the Belleville authorities.

Mr. Johnson: Who would it come from in Bellville, if it came from there?

Mr. Edmonson: It would come from the sheriff or the state's attorney, one---or Mr. Steckenberg, the village attorney in Brooklyn. I don't know who notifies him, but he has always had word, and always manages to get out of the way.

Mr. Foster: He is gone before they get around to serve an injunction on him?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Johnson: Isn't it true that this man Policy King left East St. Louis and went up to Brooklyn immediately after the riot, when all the colored ^{people} left East St. Louis, and there wasn't enough of them here ^{for him} to run his policy shop with? Is that the case?

Mr. Edmonson: I couldn't answer that directly, but indirectly it was true.

Mr. Foster: So, as Mr. Johnson says, the colored people were run out of here after the riot and it wasn't profitable to operate a policy game here.

Mr. Johnson: It is the colored people almost exclusively who patronize the policy shop, isn't it?

Mr. Edmonson: He has a large patronage of the white, especially in Venice. They have writers go through Venice and bring them down from there. He has ten or twelve that do nothing but write. They tell me he ~~pay them 25 cents on the dollar~~ ^{to write}. He has drawings twice a day, at nine o'clock in the morning and sometimes two o'clock in the afternoon, and nine o'clock at night.

Mr. Cooper: Are these agents white or black?

Mr. Edmonson: One is white and the rest are colored.

Mr. Cooper: These agents have told you their commission?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Foster: That is 25¢ for each one they write up?

Mr. Edmonson: Twenty-five cents on the dollar. One man

by the name of LeRoy told me he made as high as nine dollars a day writing policy.

Mr. Foster: A colored man?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Through what means was this two dollars offered to you ^{to} keep still about his business?

Mr. Edmonson: He told me to let him run; to quit agitating.

Mr. Raker: Did ~~you~~ he do this himself?

Mr. Edmonson: No, he sent it to me by another party, a friend of his that come to me.

Mr. Raker: Who was the other party?

Mr. Edmonson: Hammond **Ashford**.

Mr. Raker: A white man?

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Mr. Edmonson: No sir; Hammond **Ashford** is a colored, a very close friend of mine, and he thought he could work up to me through Hammond.

Mr. Raker: And you were to get the munificent sum of two dollars?

Mr. Edmonson: Yes sir.

Mr. Johnson: You may stand aside.

STATEMENT OF J. J. KANE, 616 North Seventh St.,
East St. Louis, Illinois.

The witness was sworn by Mr. Johnson.

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

Mr. Kane: Jerre J. Kane.

Mr. Johnson: Where do you live?

Mr. Kane: At 616 North Seventh St., East St. Louis, Ill.

Mr. Johnson: What is your occupation?

Mr. Kane: I am collector and city salesman for the Wagner Brewery of Granite City, a branch of the Independent Breweries Company.

Mr. Foster: Mr. Kane, how long have you lived in East St. Louis?

Mr. Kane: All my life, 48 years.

Mr. Foster: Were you born and raised here?

Mr. Kane: I was born and raised here, yes sir.

Mr. Foster: You are well acquainted with the city?

Mr. Kane: Well, I believe I am.

Mr. Foster: You know a good many people here?

Mr. Kane: A great many.

Mr. Foster: You have known a good many of these colored people that lived here many years back?

Mr. Kane: A great many of them, yes.

Mr. Foster: You knew a great many of them?

Mr. Kane: Oh yes.

Mr. Foster: Have you observed in the last year or two many of them coming to the city?

Mr. Kane: Yes, the colored population of East St. Louis has increased very considerable along in 1916.

Mr. Foster: About what time?

Mr. Kane: Well, they started coming in, I would say there in the spring, and went along all through the summer and in the fall there; and this year, 1917, also until the time of the riot took place on July 2nd.

Mr. Foster: Not so many of them have come here since

the riot of July 2nd, or May 28.

Mr. Kane: There were immense crowds came in just before the riots in those months, April, May and June. You could find them streaming in all the time.

Mr. Foster: Even after the riot of the 28th of May they came?

Mr. Kane: Well, that didn't interfere with them.

Mr. Foster: That didn't interfere with their coming?

Mr. Kane: No, that was only a minor fracas down there on Broadway.

Mr. Foster: Did you talk with these colored people that came in here?

Mr. Kane: No, I did not.

Mr. Foster: Then you don't know anything about how they were brought in here?

Mr. Kane: Well, the impression that I formed was that the increased industrial activity in the north, in these cities, manufacturing cities, ~~xxxx~~ was the inducement to the colored man to migrate from the south; then some of them were brought in here, I judge, ^{or came in here} on account of glowing advertisements in southern papers, of course showing a demand for labor in the north. That was possibly inserted by some of the employers of labor in order to make ^{up} for the shortage that was ~~apparent~~ ^{apparent} ~~want~~ at the time.

Mr. Foster: Did you see those advertisements, that were inserted in the southern papers, Mr. Kane?

Mr. Kane: Well, I didn't see any of the advertisements any more than hearing them talked of, and then I believe I

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was shown or given a couple of clippings. Mr. Kerr had them, and they were---I told Mr. Kerr the name of a gentleman who had them, and I never did see them. I believe he showed them to me once on the street.

Mr. Foster: Clippings about what?

Mr. Kane: Clippings, I think, taken from a New Orleans paper.

Mr. Foster: You knew, of course, that there had been disturbances in these industries here among the employer and employee?

Mr. Kane: Oh yes, there was two of them in 1916. There was some differences between the employers and employees at the packing houses. That was three large packing establishments here, Swift, Armour and Nelson-Morris. And after some time---that is in the controversy between the heads of the departments up there and the heads of the institutions---way it seems the men all walked out of those plants as one man, along about July, 1916; and efforts were made, headed by Mr. Conway, of Armour and Company, to induce them to come back, and they would undertake to mediate or adjust the differences that induced them to go out; promising to, as the men reported at that time in the conversations that I have heard, and those reports in some of their meetings or assemblages, that they would entertain or receive their grievance committees and undertake to adjust the wages. There was a difference of wages. They were paying, I believe 16-1/2 cents an hour; \$1.65 a day for ten hours; and the packing house heads came out in the papers---Mr. Conway

and Mr. Hunter appeared to be the spokesmen---and in interviews said or stated that there was a lot of work in the packing houses that white men couldn't do, and that that was one of the reasons that colored men were ^{given} ~~ix~~ employment in the institutions. But of course that was only apparently to cover on the surface of the affair. The men had walked out of the institutions and they were determined to get rid of them; or, in other words endeavor to use the black Man, who appeared to be very much in evidence at that time, to bring the white man to his senses. In other words, to do away with them in the institutions.

Mr. Foster: How would they do that?

Mr. Kane: Well, the packing houses for years have been strongly opposed to the introduction of any organization of labor of any kind within the walls of the institution, and they are one of the great industries that has successfully beat down organized labor; and they do that by throttling the attempts at organizing in the start, and they are able to do that for the reason that they have in their employ a number of men that they pay a standard wage to. In other words, we were paid , for example, a hundred dollars a month, twenty-five dollars or thirty dollars a week, full pay---that is, pay them full time, work or play. And of course by giving them good treatment and good wages they take them into their confidence and they rely upon them to see ^{to it} that there is no organization of any kind going on; and and if there is, to post them. Some of the men that are

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employed by some of the packing institutions now are men that have went out on the strikes there some years ago, and after striving along through the country at different kinds of employments, finally drifted back into the packing houses, and I believe were disciplined, as they call it. In other words, they were more liable and more capable to go along a right line and not offer any trouble along the lines of agitation or otherwise.

But the packing houses had all of the work and the greatest number---that is, nearly all of the employees in the packing houses---of course there is others in there too, Americans and Germans; but the Poles and Lithuanians and those Hungarians and/pro-Aryans, those various types from the central part of Europe, they fill up the packing houses. Well, you will find possibly---you will find a few Greeks and some Armenians and ones like that. They have been doing the work in the packing houses for several years. They took the places of the other men who went out on strikes ^{there} years ago, and were naturally let into the institution in order to remove the objectionable element, ~~men who~~ ^{possibly} from time to time/came forward with a grievance. They finally realized that they were working for too small a wage. It was brought home to them especially on account of the high price of things in order to live, and conversing in a tongue that was entirely foreign to the system of espionage that the packing houses have held, while they were able to---in other words, to form a sort of a complete system of masonry between them. In other words, they

thought that they were not being treated right, and there was a natural feeling of solidarity between them, because it came from that part of Europe. Then by rubbing elbows with other men, Americans working, and other people---or some of them possibly their own race or their own people working in other industrial establishments, comparing notes, they found out that these men were getting away more wages; in other words, away more pay, in better ways, and they decided that they were working for a miserable pittance, as some of them called it, and as one man they all come out in July, 1916. In going to them the packing house heads appealed to them to come back, through interpreters, and through others who might be able to convey this message in their own tongue, to come back, and that they would increase the pay and adjust the differences, that they could be adjusted between the heads of the institutions and the employees. And they went back, a great many of them, but it was only a ruse or a plan to get them back, for the reason that they determined to cool the ranks of the men who were prominent in the walk-out, and from time to time this fellow would be dropped, or that fellow would be dropped, and when he would ask for a reason, as I understand it, he would be told, Well, on account of the unsettled conditions, and then this strike that came on interfered with the running of the institution, and we will have to lay you off for the time; but of course when work picks up and business again gets back into its normal channel,

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why we will possibly be able to put you back at your old place. " But a great many of them never got back, and from the time they used to show up at the packing house gates---they have those institutions fenced in, where the men ring in and ring out, and standing at that gate would possibly be fifteen or twenty or twenty-five or thirty whites ~~men~~, and about the same number of blacks, naturally, seeking employment; and the bosses or the fellow that possibly would be short/~~some of the~~ ^{some of the} men in his department organizations, would go down to the gate, upon ~~instructions~~ instructions possibly of some of the assistant superintendents or the fellow just above him, and down there at that gate select three or four or five or six or eight men---whatever he might need in his department---and after the strike in 1916 invariably all the time they would pick black men and let the white men stand there. This commenced to be talked about, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~increased~~ ⁱⁿ increased/volume until finally the forces began to believe that the black men who were in the town in great numbers were being used to do away with the white labor in the packing houses; and some of the divisions in there where they formerly employed eighteen to twenty-two and twenty-five ~~men~~, where there used to be two or three black men, the complexion was entirely reversed, and they employ^d eighteen or twenty black men and two or three white men.

That ~~seem~~ seemed to be one of the causes that helped to create or arouse a sort of racial hostility between the whites and the blacks.

Mr. Foster: I was ^{just} going to ask you if that condition seemed to exist at other plants where they have had ~~had~~ any difficulty with their men?

Mr. Kane: Well, there was a walk-out in 1916, in the Aluminum Ore Company, but the differences were adjusted right away. I never did know what they were. Of course there were differences between employer and employee, but at that time Mr. Rudisell, who is one of the active superintendents there, was a candidate on one of the political tickets for levee commissioner; and while I have no knowledge at all, only assumption on my part, I felt that the immediate or quick adjustment of the differences or apparent differences that existed at the time was done largely for the purpose of stimulating or aiding the candidacy of Mr. Rudisell and not retarding it, for the reason that if the differences were continued to go on, that possibly might cause him some trouble in the election. But there were apparently adjusted and continued all right at the Aluminum Ore Company until April, 1917.

Mr. Johnson: How long was that after the election?

Mr. Kane: This first strike?

Mr. Johnson: No, how long was April, 1917, after the election?

Mr. Kane: The election was in November, 1916; and that would be three months to February and four months to April.

Mr. Johnson: I meant the election of the levee

candidate. He is not elected in November, is he?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; they ^{are} elected at the general election in November. This strike was in October--- that is, the walk-out.

Mr. Foss: Was RudiSell elected?

Mr. Kane: No sir; he was defeated. The entire Democratic ticket was elected at that time, Carolton and Flynn and Harry Kramer.

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Mr. Raker: Is he a relative of the judge?
brother to

Mr. Kane: He is a ~~relative~~ of the judge, he is ^{E.} Edward C. Kramer.

Now you want me to continue along the lines of the industrial differences, keep along that way?

Mr. Foster: That is an important thing to tell us about that; what effect that might have had as to one of the causes leading up to the trouble.

Mr. Kane: Well, the strike followed in 1916 at the Aluminum Ore, but there were some other things that came along at that time, you know, that helped to augment this affair, and helped to further widen the breach between ~~and~~ the Black/and the white man; and that occurred along there after the packing house strike in July, 1916--- carried along there in the summer, and it continued along until the election in the fall, and it created a great deal of bitterness, which ~~was~~ should possibly never have started and could have been eliminated entirely had not selfish motives entirely dominated some of the men at that time interested in seeking

office.

Mr. Foster: How was that now, Mr. Kane?

Mr. Kane: A fight between the wings of the Republican party, the country wing and the city fellows at East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: When you say "city fellows" ^{of} East St. Louis, do you mean that as another wing of the Republican party?

Mr. Kane: I mean the East St. Louis end of the Republican party at that time. There was a scramble for the nomination for state's attorney between Eubert with Schaumleffel and John L. Flannigan, who had been a member of the East St. Louis board of election commissioners, but who resigned to make the race in the primary of 1916, the September primary.

Mr. Raker: That is, Schaumleffel resigned?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Flannigan. Subsequent to Mr. Flannigan's resignation, the board of election commissioners met and under the law, on account of the population in the precincts being greater than the number allowed, they redistricted the city. There were at that time 43 precincts in the city, and the board met ^{and} in redistricting they added ten more, making 53. But in ~~xxx~~ this redistricting the board unfortunately at the time---and it appeared to be for political advantage---made all of the precincts largely inhabited or having a large negro population---made them even numbered precincts, for this reason: that the law provides a balance. In other words, the party in the

minority on the board---which at that time and has been for a number of years, the Democratic party--- is entitled to ^{the} a majority of judges in the odd numbered precincts; and the party in the majority in the board, of course is entitled to the ^{majority} ~~number~~ of judges in the even numbered precincts. So this board at that time, without the consideration of adjoining or contiguous territory or compact territory, made all of the precincts populated largely by the negroes--- made them even numbered precincts.

Mr. Foster: You say without the contiguous territory?

Mr. Kane: Now for example, supposing that ^{south of} Missouri Avenue would be the second precinct. Supposing that south of Missouri Avenue we would say would be the third precinct. Then north of Missouri Avenue, following that you would naturally assume---and I would---that it would be a "four". If that adjoining territory there was populated largely by colored folks, they would take advantage of it and make it an even numbered precinct; but if that adjoining territory there was populated largely by whites, that becomes the fifth precinct, and the territory beyond that, becomes the fourth precinct, populated by negroes; for this reason, that it would give them a majority of judges in the even numbered precincts, for this and no other purpose---because that was demonstrated afterwards when we undertook to poll all of the precincts---that is all of the precincts in the city---with the view of getting at the peoples that were legally or rightfully entitled to vote; not with any purpose of denying any

men the right to vote. And the reason that induced us to do this at that time more than anything else was on account of the scramble between Mr. Schaumleffel and Mr. Flannigan. After they had completed this redistricting, Mr. Flannigan's friends undertook and did have conveyances to haul a lot of colored men to the board of election commissioners and there place them on the books of registration, so that their votes could be used by the Republican city machine as against the county machine that was supposed to be under the influence and control of the sheriff, Logan Mellon, and his ~~xxx~~ candidate for state's attorney, Hubert E. Schaumleffel.

We knew that large numbers of colored people were induced to go to the office and register. A great many of them we believe were not entitled to vote, but of course the law in Illinois provides that every man who applied to be registered shall be registered, whether a legal voter or not, and his qualifications passed upon afterwards. Of course that made no penalty for the registration, because safeguards are provided, giving you the right, of course, as I expect you gentlemen are well aware of, in case you doubt a man's right to register as a legal voter, to challenge him. In this case they would undertake to qualify them. A feeling of bitterness was aroused by this, which assumed some proportions and was carried ^{on} to the fall elections, where colored men encouraged ~~or~~ black men ~~encouraged~~ by appeals and by the coaching of fellows desirous of having them on the

registered list, when the registration period came the organization---now when I say the organization I mean the Democratic city organization of East St. Louis--- we believed it wise---

Mr. Foss: (Interposing) You were a member of that, were you?

Mr. Kane: I am a member of the ~~Sixth~~ Democratic State Central committee for this congressional district, and I met with them there.

Mr. Foss: What position did you say you held? You are a member of the committee?

Mr. Kane: I am a member of the Democratic State Committee of this 22nd congressional district now, and have been since 1912.

Mr. Oliver: Realizing and believing that possibly the ignorant and inoffensive black man who has appeared in our midst in great numbers, might be encouraged or induced to register; and believing that possibly it was right when white men asked him to do it, we believe it a good policy to undertake to put men---or to put men into the precinct---that is, the colored precinct---in other words, in precincts where there was a large colored population, with instructions to see men not to interfere with the registration of any man who applied to be registered, but to take his name and note his answers, for this reason: that we had polled all of those precincts and had taken the names---in other words, we had taken almost a complete census of the precincts, and we wanted

to compare the names with the names that we had taken and their answers, because we had obtained a lot of information in the canvass of these precincts from the colored people themselves about the time of the arrival of some of the people in the precincts, so as to be able to determine whether or not they would have a right to register and a right to vote. So in line with that, in all of these even numbered precincts---there was about possibly ten or eleven of them---we picked out clean, reputable fellows and put them into the precincts with the instructions that I have just said before, to take the names and the answers as near as they could. At the first day of registration--- I am a little bit ahead of that, but it got out or appeared to be rumored about that a check was going to be kept on all those who registered, especially negroes, and a lot of them said it was unjust; that we were endeavoring to intimidate and keep the negroe away. I said, "I don't see why we would intimidate and keep away a man, ~~xxxx~~ because there is no intimidation and no force of any kind; no argument or appeal; simply going to take his name and the answers he gives; it is not for the purpose of having the list, but for the purpose of keeping the list clean; the black man is entitled to vote, and ~~xxxx~~ as his residence is here, and as he is all right, why there is no desire on the part of any man to keep him from voting, because he is surely entitled to vote as well as his white brother."

Well, the election board manifested some opposition

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to that.

Mr. Foster: You mean that if the board in the election district?

Mr. Kane: I mean the board of election commissioners as it is constituted right now, composed of ^{Charles} Mr. Rodenberg, David Koakley and Pat Flannery. The news was conveyed to us that we had no right to do anything like that, and they were not going to permit it. Well, we had some of the men who claimed to be lawyers to look it up. They said that they couldn't see any reason why we shouldn't do it,

and they didn't see that the election commissioners had any ground to convey that opinion to us. So on the first day of registration we placed them in those places, and in a number of precincts they undertook to eject them with the aid of the sheriff's office, and two or three men were roughly handled. In other words, we told the men when the officers waited ^{on them} or notified them that he was under arrest, to go willingly; to submit, and that he would be bailed out. And some of the sheriff deputies ---Mr. Mellon is the sheriff---and two or three of the rolls that I recall, arrested these men, that is, apparently arrested them---told them they were under arrest and took them in a machine that they had, and after they got a distance away from the polls, after threatening the fellow with bodily injury--- ^{buffing} ~~scolding~~ ^{at that you know---they threw up the list, threw it to} ~~the other side~~ one side, and then let the fellows go.

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Mr. Foss: Because they had destroyed his ^{evidence?} ~~statement~~

Mr. Kane: Well, they did that the first day, and then they had a meeting, and they called in Judge Messick of Belleville---

Mr. Raker: (interposing) Whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. Kane: The election commissioners. I mean the board of election commissioners. And I have been informed that the Judge delivered to the board his opinion that we had no right at all in the polls, and that it was the duty of the judge of the election in the different precincts to eject that in case we undertook to secure or procure any information of any kind. Of course ^{that} dampened the ardor somewhat of some of the men who had volunteered at first to go into the polls and check; but some of us, believing that we were right, insisted that we were doing nothing out of the way, and that we had a right to go into those polls; that we weren't undertaking to stuff the lists; we were undertaking to cleanse the lists and prevent fraudulent registration if we could. We weren't interfering with the egress of ingress of any men into the polls, and we believed that we were thoroughly within our rights.

Well, after that appeal was made to the men, they went back into the polls on the day of the second registration, and it was understood that should any of them have any trouble or controversy with the deputy sheriff, to call up the headquarters, which was at Collinsville Avenue and St. Louis Avenue---both phones---and we would endeavor, with men there---or a machine---to

furnish relief.

I was in the headquarters---was called to the headquarters---and Judge Thomas, who had charge there---C. B. Thomas, a lawyer---he said to me: "they have ejected Earley from the second precinct of the fifth, and they thrown them out of two or three other precincts, tore up their paper, and Rudy Burkhart, I believe, was one, and a young man named John Ashton^{and} another.

Well, the second precinct of the fifth was the nearest to me, so I asked a young man there---Dan Palmer---he had a machine---and who had volunteered the use of his machine---I said, "drive me to the second of the fifth." It was here on St. Louis Avenue between Seven and Eighth, on the south side of the street, what's the matter? "Well," he said "they have ordered me out and told me if I didn't get out they would put me out, and I just thought I would get out." I says, "we will go on in there and see what's the matter." I went in, and one of the judges---he appeared to be the responsible man---I asked him why they had ordered the checker out of the polls. Why, he said they had orders from the president of the board of election commissioners.

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"Well, I said, "why, you gentlemen under the law have complete control and supervision of the registration here. In case of doubt of error or something possibly might come up that you didn't thoroughly understand, it might be well then to seek or take advice from the

board; but why do you order this man out." "Well," he said, "the chairman of the board of election commissioners says he has got no right in here, and if he didn't go out to through him out." "Now," I said, "this man is going to stay in here." "Well," he said, "they don't want him in here. They don't him to take any notes, any notes of any answers that are made here." "Well," I said, "he's going to stay here." I said, "you call up the president of the board of election commissioners and tell him to come here and tell us that we are not going to stay here. Now it ought to appeal to you that there isn't any desire or effort on the part of any man here to molest or interfere with your lists or your registration in any way."

Mr. Johnson: Who is the chairman of the election board?

Mr. Kane: Charles Rodenberg. "Well," he says, "all we know is that they called us all in and they judge and election clerks, and gave us instructions that we must permit no one in here; that we run this." I said, "of course you are running it, but at the same time any citizen, now," I said---and I turned around to my fellow serving there and endeavored to get the section of the law stating that any citizen had a right under the law if he deemed that there was some irregularities indulged in, that he had a right for his own satisfaction to check up.

Mr. Cooper: Your idea was that the registration list was a public list, in which all the people were interested?

Mr. Kane: I felt so. He said he didn't care about that at all; and that they had been all called in and instructed that that was what they had to do, and that was what they must do. I said, "sometimes you know you can get instructions like that, but I say to you, that those instructions, they are not right; they are out of all reason." And I said, "ask him to come up here."

Mr. Johnson: Ask who to come up?

Mr. Kane: The president of the board of election commissioners.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Rodenberg?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir. Well he said he didn't have time, and commenced to tremble around there; and the man stayed in there and checked up. I said, "Hurley", I said to him, "you stay here and take the names of every colored man that comes in here---and white men too, if you want to, but take the names of all the colored men with their answers." I said, "we will file this list, and there isn't anybody going to put us out of here."

Well, that created a great deal of ill feeling. Of course, the black man, as you can readily see, was the inoffensive victim. It came along to the election in November, and of course the feeling continued, and of course I guess finally died off a little bit.

Mr. Baker: Well, you ~~stayed~~ there that ~~day~~ day and got your list all right? Your agents stayed at the precincts and got the lists?

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Mr. Kane: Some of the precincts they were ejected, but some would ^{not} go back. Burkhart wouldn't go back. He was afraid. They took him out and pitched him out of the automobile, tore up his list, and we felt there was no use going in with an incomplete list, and we would do the best we could with the census we had taken, and eliminate the list or forget it.

So we had a list of 717 names---something along over 700---with data, the residence, address, and with the time, as we believed, that we were able to secure from the best information obtainable at the time, that we believed that we had secured ~~xxxxxxxx~~ sufficient data to show that this list of 717 men, if their names appeared on the public register, that they were not entitled to vote. And we had a meeting of the committee--- I believe John H. Storey was one of them---the chairman of the committee---to interview the election commissioners and find out in what way or how they were going to--- how they would receive this list of ^{suspects} ~~transcripts~~, as we termed them. Well, they said they were going to have a meeting---they didn't give any particular time---I don't recall that they did, because I know that they kept us on the anxious seat/^{as to} ~~and~~ whether or not we were going to be able to ^{suspects} ~~count~~ ~~votes~~, as the law provided. Finally they had the information conveyed to us that they were ready and would take affidavits. But they notified us--- their notice came too late, and then they said that they

wouldn't accept an affidavit from only ^{one} man for five voters who were suspected. With 717 names, of course that forced us to get in the neighborhood of 140 fellows to swear. But notwithstanding that, we got a number of ~~signature~~ machines and by hard work managed to get men, and then they said that these affidavits---this was the peculiar part of it---that these affidavits as sworn to by these different individuals ~~of~~ various individuals, should be filed by the fellow in person at the board of election commissioners. This required and necessitated men who swore to this information to lay off and leave their places of work, a great many of them, and go to the ^{election} commissioners' office to file the affidavit as they had required---or as the law gave us the right to do.

So then it was up to them to set a time for a hearing. We thought that we ought to be represented there in a legal way, and Mr. C. B. Thomas, who had acted up at the headquarters, and Mr. Gustin who was assistant state's attorney at the time under Charles Webb, who was then state's attorney, here---in other words, agreed rather---or offered, I guess is a better term---to handle the matter before the election commissioners and present it in the proper light. Of course that required them---in other words, they were compelled to bring in these men who were ^{suspected} ~~affected~~---in other words

~~words~~

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whose right to register and vote was suspected. Out of that 717, or 727 ~~they~~ managed to bring in, by a lot of hard work, about 235 men who were qualified. They were the fellows who were brought in by the lieutenants and aids of the organization, but I judge they were all right. But that left the difference between 235 and 717 that should have been taken off for the reason that the suspects hadn't complied with the law. These lawyers can better testify, I judge,---but at any rate they didn't strike anybody off, and on election day in these precincts these workers, volunteers or otherwise, who had lists of men that weren't entitled to vote, saw these men show up and vote, tender their vote, and of course ^a ~~the~~ number of these men in a number of these precincts were furnished with a list of ~~names~~ to challenge, whose names should have been underscored. There was no names underscored on the public register, and the fellow, of course, under instructions showed up, was challenged, and he voted, for the reason that the judges at a great many of the precincts offered as a reason that the challenge was refused or rejected when asked for a reason, because the grounds were not deemed sufficient. Then they said they had made a number of challenges. Well, you can see that that course was followed, not by accident but by design for the reason that the safeguard placed by the law provides that when a man's vote is questioned or

challenged, he must undertake to substantiate or qualify his right to vote with an affidavit.

Mr. Raker: The affirmative is on the man who is challenged.

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; you can see the connecting link now. They made these even numbered precincts. That gave them a majority of the judges in those districts or precincts. They had a majority to reject the affidavits. Why? Because, suppose that I am the man that is challenged. The judge says, "well, you are challenged." It is up to me then to produce---secure an affirmation or substantiation of some kind, as the law says, from a householder, a legal voter in the precinct. In other words, a qualified voter, qualified to vote in East St. Louis; a registered voter. But the judge ignores the challenge, and that wipes away the safeguard. There is no way of getting at the judge at all. He offers this flimsy excuse, "why, the challenger hasn't produced or offered sufficient grounds." The challenger offered the same grounds---in other words, they didn't believe the man was qualified to vote; in other words, they suspected his right to vote for the reason that he was not in the precinct, county and state long enough. The challenge was ignored. That added to the bitter hostility in a racial way between the whites and the blacks.

Mr. Raker: But the most important thing now that appears to me, from your statement, Mr. Kane, is why should the county judge and board of election commissioners, and

these registration officers and the judges of the election, all go to this enormous trouble and even criminal conduct, in many instances, as you have related. For what purpose was that all done for? That is what I would like to have you tell us. There must be some reason, you know.

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Mr. Kane: Well, you can possibly define.

Mr. Raker: Well, tell us?

Mr. Kane: Well now, you know I would like to tell you if I could, but how can ~~then~~ in reason define the other man's purposes? The purpose was to win, of course; to have their fellows win.

Mr. Raker: Well, there was somebody behind the scenes. There is somebody under the cloak of all that?

Mr. Cooper: Let me say right there, this committee is here to get the facts regardless of consequences. We want the facts and the truths, regardless of consequences.

Mr. Raker: Another thing, Mr. Cooper, from all this *statement* ~~that~~ he has given us, it can't be possible that such an array of ability of public officials, and trampling down of law at every turn, was done for nothing. Who are the fellows that are behind this? ^{what} How did they want to do all this for? Whom did they want to elect? There was somebody involved.

Mr. Cooper: And I can add to what the Judge says--- you can answer this question: What do you think could be accomplished by this manipulation and how could it be accomplished? What was it for? That will tell it.

Mr. Kane: Well, behind all of this that I can see ~~was~~ simply the selfish purpose of men to perpetuate themselves in office or secure office; and they were willing to go to any extreme in order to gratify or satisfy that wish.

Mr. Raker: Who were those fellows?

Mr. Kane: Well now, you know I don't want to do any man any injustice.

Mr. Raker: Now, Mr. Kane, I wouldn't ask you to do a man an injustice and I know Mr. Cooper and the rest of the committee here would not, but you have told us a state of facts that can have no other bearing, no other purpose; and the further fact you have just now told us that there is somebody behind the scenes. Who is it, and why did they want to perpetuate themselves? What were the offices and the names of the men? It is our duty to go into the very ground work of this and get it all out.

Mr. Kane: Well, you will find some ^{men} ~~of them~~, Mr. Raker, sometimes that indulge and do things out of all reason for men, possibly, that they are working for or endeavoring to aid, sometimes, and a great many times, without the knowledge of the men at all that they are working for, that the men wouldn't admit it or abet it or countenance it in any way. Now you take Mr. Wuersch, Mr. D. G. Wuersch, chief clerk of the board of election commissioners, he has went around and asked the Republican judges and Republican clerks to suggest the names of Democrat judges and Democrat clerks in nearly all of the precincts in the

city. Now why he would do that I don't know, because it is a niggardly position for any man---it is a niggardly policy for a man to indulge in, and he knows very well---he ought to know that the best man, or the best set of men to recommend a reputable Democrat in a precinct would be a number of Democrats or the organization in the precinct, if it was reputable.

Mr. Baker: Now, that only makes it that much stronger. You have not only gotten the Republican organization all fixed up; you are getting now almost a thousand illegal votes---assuming the facts as stated---but you find the same fellow going around to get Democrats who will **sell** out the Democratic party. That is strong language, but that is what it means.

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Mr. Kane: I didn't say "**sell** out".

Mr. Baker: I know you didn't.

Mr. Kane: But I do know that they did do this: that they named for appointment in a locality of precincts in East St. Louis whose politics were Republican, and others they didn't know; and we submitted a list to the board of election commissioners ^{Containing} ~~listing~~ as we believed ~~that~~ at the time, the names of 135 or 154 men for the positions of judges and clerks; and out of that list---in other words, they conveyed this instruction or recommendation to us: that as near as we could, we should select, on account of its being a general election, select men who had served prior to this time; for the reason that they would

be men of experience, judges of experience and clerks of experience. But they scissored and emasculated the list in such a way that we hardly recognized it ourselves, and the strange thing about it is this, that we had called upon these men and asked them---we said, "if notified by the election commissioners to appear, we would like to have you appear there and qualify, either as judge or clerk, whatever the case might be; and in case you feel like you can't get off or can't make that sacrifice, then we will possibly induce some one else to serve." Well, of course after notifying some men, that man would come back and say, "I was never notified; I never got any notice." "Well, I guess possibly they have the list filled without you." In a large number of cases the men they would strike off were men where they had served formerly as judges, without any apparent reason these men came back and said, "why were we stricken off the list." "I don't know. Were you stricken off." "Yes, the clerk of the board of election commissioners told me the Democratic organization had my name erased." I said, "the clerk of the board of election commissioners certainly lied, because we never had any opportunity either to have your name or to erase it. Your name was put in with the rest of them."

Mr. Cooper: By whom?

Mr. Kane: "We believed that we had a right to submit--- although some question of that right---we believed we had a right to submit a list of names for the board of election commissioners to make selection of judges or clerks from

that is, a party leader--- in the various precincts throughout the city; and in fact, they conveyed the information to us that if a list was submitted with this recommendation, that they would try to, as near as possible, get men who had experience. Well, we said we would do that. In other words, we were in harmony with that proposition, because we thought, being the general election in November, 1916, it would require some man who had possibly served in some of the elections prior thereto.

Mr. Baker: You intended to give each party a fair representation at election?

Mr. Kane: Well, we felt that way, yes sir.

Mr. Foss: In other words, you wanted them to **accept** the recommendations of the regular Democratic committee or organization?

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Mr. Kane: Well, we submitted the list for them to make selections from, with of course the understanding and with the belief ourselves that---we always submitted three or more names for each place, don't you see, so that it would give the board some latitude in making selections.

Mr. Foss: But you wanted them to select from that list that you furnished?

Mr. Kane: We thought that the selections should be made from that; but they felt we had no right to do anything like that, and I felt we had, and they said that was a matter for the board to determine. Well, I said of course, any man---not any man, but nearly anyone, for the sake of harmony would agree to it, in order to

dispose of the list. But they took out of that 154---I have been informed that they named 81. I never did count them. This is merely surmise, but I was informed that they selected 81. But in going over the list as appointed or recommended for confirmation to the county judge by the board of election commissioners we found a large---we found quite a number of men named for Democratic judges who were Republican in politics, and I sent Mr. Drury--- in other words, I urged Mr. Drury, chairman of the city committee, to go to the board of election commissioners, and he claimed he had influence with Mr. Flannigan, John L. Flannigan, who had been on the board before, and that he would use his influence to secure him an audience and see that whatever he suggested or whatever he was after might possibly be attended to. They wanted to know ^{how} we knew they were not Democrats. Well, Mr. Drury came back and ^{he} says they say they are Democrats. "Well," I said, "if they are Democrats, they voted the Republican ticket in the primary. That is prima facie evidence. That is what we have got to go by." So he had to take the list back to the election commissioners and show them a Republican primary list, where the man had voted the Republican primary ballot, and therefore ought not to, in all fairness, act as a Democratic judge. Well, they struck him off, and resuggested the names of one or more representative and reputable men of the precinct who might be asked to serve, and met some of the men in

the precinct---they didn't appoint the men anyhow to make a long story short, and Darry Wuersch went up into the precinct and asked some Bull Moose Republican up there if he knew a democrat to name for judge in that precinct.

So that was the trouble we had with them all the time, and it added to this feeling.

Mr. Raker: Before you leave that---the law requires the election board and judge to confirm the judges and clerks in the two leading parties?

Mr. Kane: The county judge set the day of confirmation. The list is submitted by the board of election commissioners, but I have always believed that partisan committees should have the opportunity---

Mr. Raker: (Interposing) You didn't answer my question. I wanted to know if the law was such that there should be on the board of election commissioners representatives from both political parties.

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Mr. Kane: Well, as I read the law I believed that, but I began to doubt that lately. They didn't observe it. It is the law, nevertheless.

Mr. Raker: Well, that is the main thing. That they observed is another thing. Now to get back again after stating all of this, in addition to what you have stated, tell the committee why this manipulation should have been necessary and what was the purpose of it? What was behind it?

Mr. Kane: Well, there could be but one purpose, and that was to intrench themselves in power and build up a

machine.

Mr. Baker: Who were they going to affect, and benefit by the machine, beyond themselves? There must have been somebody?

Mr. Kane: Well, they were going to benefit their fellows---that is, fellows that would be friendly to them, I would judge, and their own fellows.

Mr. Baker: Well, who were their own fellows running for office and desiring votes?

Mr. Kane: Well, you see the thing miscarried in the primary. They had a slate here you know.

Mr. Baker: I know.

Mr. Kane: The slate was put forward by Eddie Miller, who is supposed to represent the East St. Louis end of that machine, but the county---in other words, I told you there was a fight on between the wings, and Schaumleffel landed on the ticket over Flannigan.

Mr. Boss: He got the Republican nomination?

Mr. Kane: He got the Republican nomination for state's attorney, although they had Mr. Schaumleffel arrested and there were a lot of ~~cross~~ charges filed---and of a very indecent nature at the time---but he posed as a persecuted man and managed---in other words, he was elected over Webb, who was his opponent.

Mr. Cooper: Who filed the charges against Schaumleffel?

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't recall the names. They had some woman ^{to} make---file information. I know that was some obscene complaint that they had him arrested for over in

St. Louis and had him brought before Judge Clark.

Mr. Johnson: Brought before Judge Clark over here?

Mr. Kane: Judge Clark in St. Louis, I believe, across the river. He was arrested over there in a hotel.

Mr. Foss: Well, Schaunleffel was elected, wasn't he?

Mr. Kane: He was elected in the fall of 1916.
wasn't there

Mr. Foss: Now/~~was~~ two wings of the Democratic party and one wing that supported Schaunleffel and helped elect him?

Mr. Kane: Well, that was alleged and charged, and there appeared to be a good deal of substance in it, for the reason that Mr. Schaunleffel won, and won by a big majority; and Mr. Webb ran behind in East St. Louis, of course, which is very strong evidence that there must have been some kind of a deal or agreement or arrangement of some kind. Wilkins carried East St. Louis by 5106; and the candidate for congress by about 1592. The candidate for governor about the same majority---along about 1400---and the county candidates, Mr. Summers and Mr. O'Flaherty, and Mr. Renner---he ran about about 944, his majority in East St. Louis, but O'Flaherty and Summers ran along from 1400 to 1700, but Webb was away down to about 600 or 700.

Mr. Foss: Now isn't it a fact that Tarlton and Canavan supported Schaunleffel for state's attorney and helped elect him. And isn't it also a fact---or charged anyway--- that Miller refused to support Schaunleffel after the

primary or didn't support him?

Mr. Kane: Well, of course I never with Mr. Miller himself, but I understood that Mr. Miller was somewhat reluctant about supporting Schaunleffel.

Mr. Johnson: Mr. Foss put two questions to you in one. I wish you would separate them and answer them separately.

Mr. Foss: The first question was whom did Canavan and Tarlton support?

Mr. Kane: I was under the impression they were supporting Webb, because Mr. Tarlton was a candidate on the ticket for levee commissioner at the time.

Mr. Foss: I think it has been testified here that the opposite was the truth.

Mr. Kane: Well, there was allegations made at that time.

Mr. Foss: It has been said that there was a deal on between Schaunleffel and Tarlton and Canavan; that they would support him.

Mr. Kane: Well, there was considerable talk going around at that time. Now of course that is possibly prevalent in every campaign any place, that some of the administration fellows were supporting portions of the Republican county ticket in return for support or aid that they in turn would give them. But the truth is, nevertheless, that certain---that is, a number of men in East St. Louis---it seems that those fellows have been able for a

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a number of years to juggle back and forth between one side or the other, wherever possibly their selfish purpose or interest *might* be aided.

Mr. Johnson: Who had been able to juggle back and forth?

Mr. Kane: Well, the thing that they juggled back and forth, unfortunately -

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) Not the thing, but who were the jugglers?

Mr. Kane: Black men.

Mr. Cooper: Who was the man that did the juggling - or the men?

Mr. Kane: Well, a few years ago Mr. Edward Miller was conceded on all sides - was the man who was able to handle and control the black men, and he had some very able lieutenants in Fred E. Gerold, and I guess half a dozen others, but his reign seems to have been interfered with, for the reason that a separation - an apparent separation - has taken place between he and Gerold in the last ^{few} elections, and Mr. Gerold and Mr. Tarlton and these fellows ~~started~~ trotted along in double harness together.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Gerold, is he the man that was city treasurer here once?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Gerold is the man that was city treasurer, yes.

Mr. Cooper: And was at the time that ~~was~~ \$100,000 or more was lost out of the city treasury?

Mr. Kane: I don't know how much was lost, you know.

They lost the books, you know, and have never been able to ^{rightly} determine (laughter).

Mr. Cooper: Now was it after that that he hooked up with Tarlton? Or was that the first time that Tarlton wanted to hook up with him?

Mr. Kane: Well, there is a little ancient history connected with it, you know.

Mr. Cooper: Well, but answer that question. Was it after that that Tarlton hooked up with him?

Mr. Kane: That was during the Lambert administration, you know.

Mr. Cooper: Well, but was it after that that Tarlton hooked up with him?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Cooper: You think it was Gerold's record that appealed to Tarlton? (Laughter).

Mr. Kane: Well, I couldn't say what appealed to him, Judge. *They appeared to agree* on a great many things.

Mr. Cooper: And the substance of public welfare they were strong for, weren't they?

Mr. Kane: For the public welfare? They seemed to be largely interested in the black man's welfare.

Mr. Baker: Now before you leave that one subject, besides the candidate for county office, which included the election of a state's attorney and others, of course this *registration* that you have described not only applied to the primary but also qualified the men; kept him on the register for the general election, did it?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Raker: Having qualified once?

Mr. Kene: Well, he qualified for the primary.

Mr. Raker: So that that vote could be used in the primary to advance the interests of their local fellows, don't you see, as against the vote in the county.

Mr. Kene: But of course ^{that} after that was two days of general registration, two days in October; one twenty days and one ten days, don't you see - fifteen days before - and then of course the law provides that everyone must register - in other words must register anew.

Mr. Raker: After the primary?

Mr. Kene: Yes, but they used this preliminary *primary* registration for the purpose of putting over the late ones.

Mr. Raker: Then they would have the man ready when he once registered and pulled the stunt off. He would be in an easier position to get on the register for the general election.

Mr. Kene: Well, of course it paved the way for him to get on. It encouraged him. In other words he began to realize that he was an asset and not a liability and he got ready for the next shooting.

Mr. Raker: What I am trying to find out is whether or not the more that could get on, the easier they could get on for the primary election, would make it more certain he could get on and the more would get on for the general election, on the registration.

Mr. Kane: Well, of course.

Mr. Baker: If everything worked lovely now for the primary election.

Mr. Kane: Well, it encouraged the fellows who were induced to register at the primary. It naturally encouraged them to come along and register in the other registration and go right along and vote.

Mr. Baker: Now, what other offices were there besides the county officers, for this primary?

Mr. Kane: They were all county officers and --- what they were really interested in was state attorney, because it was figured that state attorney would be the strong pillar to do things, don't you see, and if their friend was state attorney ^{why} he would be present --- in other words would be all right.

Mr. Baker: Then you wish to convey to the Committee the idea that the state attorney and his power is most potent in what he can do, and that is the power that he has in the county?

Mr. Kane: That seemed to be generally discussed, and ~~it was discussed~~ that seemed to ^{be the conclusion} that a great many of the selfish fellows used to reach those people --- the state attorney acting in conjunction with the sheriff.

Mr. Baker: And the sheriff was already elected?

Mr. Kane: They made sort of the pinners, don't you see. If a fellow wasn't all right, they closed down on him. The sheriff had been elected before that, and he was endeavoring, of course, to ^{branch} ~~win~~ out.

Mr. Baker: And he was for Schumleffel?

Mr. Kane: He was for Schumleffel, yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: And when the district attorney's office and the sheriff's office got a fellow in between the pincers, there was something going, wasn't there?

Mr. Kane: Well, they would either make him be right or be good.

Mr. Post r.: I want to ask you this. Do you know whether or not it is a fact that a representative of the United States District Attorney's Office was refused ~~xxxxx~~ admission to the hearing in these suspect cases before the Board of Election Commissioners?

Mr. Kane: I understood he was, but he could testify to that himself. Mr. Birch is right here. I understood he was. That was the general report at that time. He was asked to go down there, I know. He was urged to go there.

Mr. Baker: I didn't suggest this information from the United States District Attorney's Office. That was the reason I asked you.

Now you think that this sort of condition helped to create a feeling here?

Mr. Kane: It undoubtedly did.

Mr. Baker: That was one of the things that created---

Mr. Kane: (Interposing) It was one of the things, one of the cause that helped to bring about those conditions that finally broke loose like hell on July 2nd.

Mr. Baker: How were you at the meeting - you

know something about these riots? For instance these riots which have been spoken of as the first on May 30th, in which a meeting was held in the City Hall. Were you at the meeting?

Mr. Lane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Did you make a talk there?

Mr. Lane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Baker: Can you give us something about what that meeting was? What was said there by yourself and others?

Mr. Lane: I was at the meeting largely by accident and not by prearrangement. I had been informed from that committee ~~for~~ the labor bodies were going to wait upon the City Council, and knowing and believing that there was a kind - in other words, that there was a lot of unrest around or abroad, as a man might say, I thought I would go down to the council meeting and see what was done. I went up into the council chamber, and the galleries were filled with people, and a lot more on the lower floor there, and someone - they were waiting for the council to assemble, and all at once the people commenced to leave there and they went up into the city Hall Auditorium, which is on the third floor. Some one told me that the reason they had adjourned up there, it had been suggested that one half of the people were up there - or a large crowd - and they couldn't all be accommodated in the council chamber, and inasmuch as the mayor and council were to be

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suggested to - or these conditions were to be presented or submitted to them - they thought the auditorium was the better place. So I went upstairs to the auditorium and took a seat about three or four rows from the stage, and some one came down there and said, "we would like to have you come up and sit on the platform." I said, "no, this will do." I wanted to hear the committee present the facts, or whatever they might have, to the mayor and council, believing or hoping possibly that some remedy might be suggested.

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And while I don't remember or recall now who it was, but it was one or more of these that were insisting that I go up on the platform and I went up there, and the mayor and council occupied seats on the platform. Mr. Thelen, the City Clerk, I believe, presided as chairman, and he said it was a meeting with the mayor and council, of the representatives of the trade assemblies, or trade bodies, - I don't recall exactly just the language - and he turned around and called upon a Mr. Allegor, who I believe, is one of the publishers or editors - associate editors - of the paper here called The Labor Press; and I thought that I would hear from him possibly an exposition of wrongs or grievances and differences that existed between the employees of the different industrial establishments who were charged on all sides by the crowd with excluding the whites and employing the blacks.

Mr. Allegor didn't touch much upon the question. He didn't seem to have it well in hand or possibly -

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- of course he talked in a general way and then he set down, and I think Mr. Curtis was called upon.

Mr. Curtis delivered some remarks along the lines of labor - employees, and about how fair they were in their appeal, or something of the kind. But ^{he} went along in that general effect, expounding or delivering a talk on the labor side of it, and fortunately, or unfortunately some one called upon me and said they would like to hear from me. Here some time ago in reading the papers of the testimony or evidence of Mr. R. B. Conway, I saw wherein he charged or alleged that I made an inflammatory speech. I couldn't understand why Mr. Conway would say anything like that - allege it. I never made - I guess it would be signifying it to call it a speech. I made a talk there, but I never in my life made an inflammatory talk of any kind, and especially not to a crowd of people that I had grown up in their midst ~~and~~ and felt something in common with them, because I was a working man myself. I had made a talk before that to the Aluminum Ore employees at the Labor Temple, and there had counseled them and advised them that their strongest **weapon** was public opinion; that they lost and sacrificed that when they undertook to commit any act that **was** a violation of the law. I told them up there along that same line - counseled patience. I said, "you must not charge **all** of the **blame** **comings**" --- and I was endeavoring in my mind at the time to

advance a reason why there should be no hostility between the inoffensive black man who unfortunately had gotten into the city; that he was only here seeking the land or the place of great opportunity, like the white man thought when conditions were unfavorable or oppressive; and I said the ones to get after - of course he may have deemed this inflammatory - **are the** employers of labor, the ones at the head, and I mentioned them, Mr. Conway, Mr. Hunter at Swift's, Mr. Eaton at Nelson-Harris and Mr. C. B. Fox at the Aluminum Ore Company. Now I said I believed that the mayor here had it within ~~his hands~~ his hands to get these heads ~~together~~ of these institutions together - or these industries - and undertake to show to them the bitterness and feeling that now exists between whites and blacks in this city, that ought to allayed or done away with; and that the labor element seemed to believe - or so believe that he was largely responsible for it. And I outlined, as I thought, to the mayor that I believed these heads of these industries ought to be reached at once and appealed to, if they had any interest in the welfare of the city and its citizens, that this policy ought to be curtailed or stopped, it ought to be done away with; and suggested as a remedy to the mayor - which possibly was deemed inflammatory by Mr. Conway - that the city was furnishing these institutions or industries with fire and police protection, and I said if I was the mayor

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I would notify them that unless they changed - unless they modified - because changes are not brought about readily and easily as a man can talk, and change them - from now on - giving them a reasonable time - "I will see that you get no fire or police protection in this city. Now you have got to aid or **equip** me in bringing about a change in the condition which now seems to threaten us." I said, "I believe if the mayor will do that, possibly this condition can be relieved."

Then in conclusion I said to them, "now it behooves all of us, every man and woman here, to be careful and cautious not to say or do anything. Remember now that of course these conditions that have been created here and possibly encouraged and went on, have aroused you; but over and above it all we are Americans, and remember ^{at this time} in this crisis, there ought to be no division between the races." And with that I think I concluded and went away and went home.

Mr. Foster: You weren't there and didn't see the riot after the meeting adjourned?

Mr. Kane: I came out of the meeting.

Mr. Foster: Before they adjourned?

Mr. Kane: I came out of the meeting and these men have charged that meeting of my father being *in any* largely responsible for the riot that was precipitated, and they claim precipitated the riot of my father by that meeting, and of course for the aftermath

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that occurred on July 2nd. That is not true. The men left the meeting, some going south and some going north on Main Street. Those going south on Main Street to the south end, those going north of course heading towards the stock yards or back towards the eastern portion of the city and towards Lansdowne and generally they catch ~~at~~ the cars at Missouri and Collinsville Avenue.

Some policeman - I can't recall his name - he brought in some colored men, and of course I don't know - the crowd said that the policeman said that he had held up and out a fellow on Gady Avenue.

246 Mr. Baker: Would it interrupt you right there now, so as to save time. The witness didn't say that he stayed until the meeting concluded.

Mr. Foster: Did you stay until the meeting concluded?

Mr. Lane: I stayed until the meeting was over.

Mr. Baker: Did you hear Major Hollman speak?

Mr. Lane: Hollman made a short talk, yes.

Mr. Baker: Did you hear Mr. Flannigan speak?

Mr. Lane: Yes, sir; I heard Mr. Flannigan speak.

Mr. Flannigan was invited to the stage, and he made a short speech at the conclusion.

Mr. Foster: Do you remember what he said, Mr. Lane?

Mr. Lane: Well, to my mind he principally indulged in a sort of vaudeville - joking and telling about Denver Side and this side and that side; and I thought

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he was going to sing for a while.

Mr. Foster: Did he say anything about the mob? That there was no law to punish mob violence?

Mr. Lane: Well, I don't recall that. I don't remember him saying that. He was talking about something someone that undertook to move in out in to Denver side, and if the neighbor didn't want him in there he didn't move in. That is about as near as I remember him saying anything about a mob. I was more interested in what the mayor was going to say and ~~undertook~~ ^{to listen} to listen closely. He seemed to think it was a hard nut to crack.

Mr. Foster: Were the other men, that spoke were their speeches inflammatory?

Mr. Lane: No, sir; they were not. There was not an inflammatory speech made at that meeting --- that is, if I am a judge of talks.

Mr. Foster: You don't remember Mr. Blannigan's speech though.

Mr. Lane: I don't remember in substance all just now. He started by telling some stories, because he was the first man on the program, and as ~~soon~~ ^{soon} as any of the crowd had started to file out, ~~Somebody in the~~ ^{Somebody in the} ~~crowd~~ ^{crowd} called for him, and that is the ~~reason~~ ^{reason} they finally - there seemed to be a disposition to adjourn the meeting, and then when the crowd called for Blannigan ~~he~~ he got up and the chairman introduced him.

Mr. Foster: Well, you were saying about this

report of the policeman.

Mr. Kane: Why, the policeman was bringing in a prisoner to the station, and said, I think, that he had robbed or cut someone on Gady Avenue. Then there was a rumor that two men had been robbed and someone shot on Gady Avenue. Gady Avenue is the street running east from 10th Street and is the first street north of Missouri Avenue and the first street south of St. Louis Avenue. It lies in between St. Louis and Missouri Avenue, running east from 10th Street to 20th.

Mr. Foster: Then what did you see?

Mr. Kane: I got over to the corner, and just as I got in front of Merker's drug store on Missouri Avenue I saw a crowd surging at the corner of the Cahokia Building, the Illinois State Trust Company, and I started over there and they said - the crowd said - and I noticed a black man and the policeman had hold of him, and Stanley Caschel, former sheriff here, was standing the crowd off, and someone had said that the colored man - or the black man and some white men had had some trouble on the corner. There were possibly 200 or 300 around there, and some of them I think I heard a fellow say, "get a rope and lynch him." But there wasn't any rope got or any lynching done, because the policeman took the man away and of course there was quite a lot of people there who shrieked anything like that, and it seemed to kind of simmer down at the time, but

I afterwards heard that a great many of them followed the fellow down to the station, and the police there - or this policeman or others - very foolishly told the crowd or undertook to tell them, I believe, that some man had been cut and another one shot on Gady Avenue, and they say that they were very threatening around the station there, talking about getting the men out or something of the kind. But that I didn't see, any more than I was informed afterwards. The mayor undertook to make a speech to them, or talk to them. Mr. Boylan, I believe, is familiar with that. He was standing right alongside of me there. But that is all I know of the meeting, any more than I know when I came down next morning, to work I found the crowd had left the station and surged down on Broadway, and there had beat up and mistreated and abused a number of black men - or I don't know that there was any women on the night of May 28th or Broadway, but up on Broadway there was a pool room and a restaurant operated by black men, and the front was broken in; and on the corner of 4th and Railroad Avenue there was a restaurant there that had been operated by a black man, and I think that going down there, you see 4th Street was a thoroughfare south to the south end, down where a good deal of bitterness existed down there, and what they call the second ward, which is in the vicinity of the Free Bridge, and along Market and Baker Avenues; and they say

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this crowd was going down that way and that they put this fellow out of business by throwing rocks and bricks into the front of his place. I know the front was all knocked in when I went down there some time during the day and took a look at it. That was all I know about it.

Mr. Foster: That is all you know about the 18th, now?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Foster: What do you know about the riot of July 1st, Mr. Kane? Did you see that riot?

Mr. Kane: No, sir: I never saw any part of that riot for the reason that I was in Granite City, and I was called twice. I was called along about noon time by Mrs. Kane, who told me over the Kinlock phone, which we have in the house that they were rioting in East St. Louis. The women had got that from people coming back or surging back and forth on the streets. She said, I had better come home, and I said, "no, now don't be paying any attention to these false alarms and rumors that you hear like that. Just simply go on." So I had a good deal of work to do, and along about between one and two o'clock, if my memory serves me right, she called me up again and then I thought I had better come home. I got on a Granite City & Evansville car coming through Granite City, and I came on it and got to Collinsville and Summit Avenue, and at Collinsville and St. Clair Avenues, I saw a few

161st Street there

soldiers there - a few militiamen. I think I saw one down in front of the Stephens house when I came down.

Mr. Ross: What time was this?

248 Mr. Manc: That was between - it might be between two or three o'clock in the afternoon, July 2nd. And I went home, and my people were upset and some other women come in there and said that their neighbors said that the negroes were coming down from Brooklyn and going to get us up there; and that the negroes in the south end were coming up from the south end, and I said, "Oh, don't pay any attention to anything like all that. You couldn't push those Brooklyn negroes down here with a bridge engine. There is soldiers down here, soldiers all round you." Now these mobs coming down from the north end and coming ^{up} from the south end, of course that was vivid imagination I guess --- or wild imagination. They thought there were black men coming every place. But I thought the best place was home, and I never went out and therefore didn't see any of the happenings, or events that took place between three o'clock and eight; but I stayed at home all the time. And in the evening it spread of course like it was getting worse, for the reason that fires commenced to break out, and you could see right straight down 7th Street which hit Mc Casland's Opera House, which just laid on the west - or the east end of what they called the

Black Valley, you know, extending from Rock Road to 8th Street, along Walnut Avenue. The women around commenced to crowd in from the neighborhood, a great many of them - their men had went away, went down, I guess to see the sights, as they called it, and of course I stayed there. There were eight or ten women around there at one time; some with children, and along about eight o'clock a militiaman come down 7th Street and he says, "they are coming from Brooklyn," and of course that frightened the people again, and frightened the women, and he went on and a few more men come around there that were living in the neighborhood and said, ~~some of them~~ ^{some of them} were frightened, and others said, "there is no danger and we will just stay right here." And he stayed there for the rest of the night. That is all I know about it. I never went down to see the fires. We could see the glass and the flare up there at one time, and die down for a while, and then the fire would break out in another place, until we read the papers the next day, and I thought the best place for me was home, because I couldn't go any place with a lot of women screaming. The soldier didn't add anything to the serenity of it when he come down 7th Street and with the fellows were coming from Brooklyn and going to get us. I didn't think they would.

Mr. Johnson: Getting back to the political

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feature of it, you have spoken of Mr. Earlton.
Is he a Republican or a Democrat?

Mr. Kane: Well, I had always been led to believe that Locke was a Democrat. A lot of fellows say that he wobbles once in a while.

Mr. Johnson: When is it said that he wobbled last? (Laughter).

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't know of anyone *saying* when he wobbled last. He has been charged with being shifty.

Mr. Johnson: When was he shifty last?

Mr. Cooper: The last chance he had?

Mr. Kane: Well, the last election was in April 1917. He wouldn't be shifty there because he would naturally be for his fellow, Hollman.

Mr. Johnson: Well, is Mr. Gerold a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. Kane: Yes, E. Gerold is a Republican.

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Mr. Johnson: And Mr. Tolson?

Mr. Kane: He is a Democrat.

Mr. Johnson: Commonly reputed as a Democrat?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: That is the cause of the holy alliance between Mr. Gerold and Mr. Earlton in the election of which you spoke, when they undertook to handle some negroes?

Mr. Kane: Well, that alliance started back in 1910.

Mr. Johnson

Mr. Johnson: Upon what occasion? That political event was on then?

Mr. Kane: Well, we will have to go back in order to open up the way there. In 1911 Joyce and Lambert were the opposing candidates for mayor, and Lambert was elected over Joyce.

Mr. Johnson: That Joyce was that?

Mr. Kane: Maurice Joyce. And of course you take Joyce — a good many of the people favored him — fellows who had interests in the city and who believed in good government, believed he possessed capabilities for making a first class mayor. He was a graduate of St. Louis and Harvard law schools and he ran on a law and order platform, and he was opposed by Mr. Lambert, who ran on a wide open platform.

Mr. Johnson: Unlawful and disorder?

Mr. Kane: Well, it didn't state that, but it was understood that Mr. Lambert stood for everything. You see Mr. Lambert used to be beer agent for the Anheuser Busch Brewery, and was at the time he ran for mayor. He resigned I guess, after he was elected. And a great many — that is not a great many, but a quite a number of this Committee of 100 now, they supported Mr. Lambert as against Mr. Joyce.

Mr. Johnson: Let us keep in sight, however, the object of the alliance ~~between~~ between Carol and Mr. Dalton. You said you would have to go back.

Mr. Kane: I had to start there. Mr. Lambert was elected. Well, we will travel quickly. Then

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~~When~~ Lambert determined to name his successor — or aid in the selection of his successor rather, because he was elected.

Mr. Johnson: Was Lambert a Democrat or Republican?

Mr. Lane: Lambert was a Republican. John H. Chamberlain was named for mayor. That started the connection.

Mr. Johnson: What do you mean by "named for mayor?" Do you mean nominated by some party.

Mr. Lane: Those nominations were made by caucus ^{or conferences} — don't you see, the primary law being evaded entirely because they changed the name every year or every two years, whenever it suited them, but Chamberlain was agreed upon as the candidate for mayor on a nonpartisan ticket. They run nonpartisan tickets here and have run nonpartisan tickets since 1901 or 1902, and before that it was only partisan from 1897 to 1902, and nonpartisan all the time before that. But Chamberlain received the support of the Lambert administration ^{of} which Gerold was a part and Elias Cook was Chamberlain's opponent, and Mr. Carlton entered into a close alliance with Mr. Gerold — in other words, I understand that a part of the gentleman's agreement entered into was that Mr. Carlton was to be permitted to name the Democrats ^{might} who ~~were to~~ be favored with local offices in return for his support of Mr. Chamberlain.

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Mr. Johnson: Was Chamberlain a Democrat or a Republican?

Mr. Kane: Chamberlain was a Republican representing the 4th Senatorial District. Chamberlain was elected.

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Mr. Johnson: And Earlton supported him?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: What officers was Mr. Earlton to name that the Democrats were to have?

Mr. Kane: I don't know that, Mr. Chairman. I was not a party to the agreement and of course ---

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) Did common rumor give their names?

Mr. Kane: Well, some of them were placed in office afterwards.

Mr. Johnson: Then? Who were they and what offices?

Mr. Kane: Well, Mr. Canavan was made Commissioner of Public Works at the time.

Mr. Johnson: And he is the business partner of Mr. Earlton?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Name another Democrat who got a position under the Republican mayor?

Mr. Kane: Well, they didn't appoint many Democrats. Naturally he had to take care of a number of his fellows that came along in the Lambert administration that he wasn't in a position to take care of a lot of them.

Mr. Johnson: Who would Earlton want put into office,

or kept in office, whether he be Democrat or Republican?

Mr. Kane: Well, I supported Mr. Chamberlain, and then it seems that they disagreed about Mr. Chamberlain and the next time out he supported Mr. Hollman, and Mr. Hollman beat Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Johnson: Yes, but we are losing sight of the object of my main inquiry, and that is how Mr. Gerold and Mr. Worlton got together, one a Democrat and the other Republican? Upon what particular thing did they agree? What were they after in town?

Mr. Kane: Well, Mr. Chamberlain made the second race to succeed himself, and that is the time that the alliance became very close between Mr. Worlton and

Mr. Gerold - that is I thought so for this reason: Mr. Chamberlain had, during his administration, instituted some suits against Mr. Gerold for the recovery of money alleged or claimed to belong to the city.

Mr. Johnson: That Mr. Gerold was charged with having misappropriated?

Mr. Kane: He was sued, and Gerold was somewhat cold and indifferent and sore, they said because Chamberlain had possibly aided in the prosecution of Gerold for this shortage; and at a meeting - the second time, that is I was opposed to Chamberlain the first time. It was a nonpartisan ticket. I supported Mr. Cook, Judge Silas Cook, but when Chamberlain made the second race - I might as well dwell on this as I go along -

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) Well, I am trying

quickly now to get at the cause of the alliance between Mr. Gerold and Mr. Carlton.

Mr. Kane: Well rapidly - one night there was a meeting ~~sixty~~ on Main Street in the old postoffice building of the executive committee interested in Mr. Chamberlain's campaign.

Mr. Johnson: Was the postoffice in there at the time?

Mr. Kane: No, sir; they called it the old postoffice building because it had been the postoffice before the Federal building was built. And Mr. Chamberlain came in there and said that a proposition had been made to him that he would receive the support of Gerold providing he promised or assured Gerold that the litigation against him for the recovery of certain moneys alleged to have been taken by Mr. Gerold and that he would support Chamberlain. But he did not. He supported Mr. Hollman.

Mr. Johnson: Gerold did not support Chamberlain but supported Hollman?

Mr. Kane: He supported Hollman, and the suits were shortly afterwards, against Mr. Gerold dismissed.

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Mr. Johnson: And who had the dismissal of them?

Mr. Kane: The Corporation Counsel of the city of East St. Louis.

Mr. Johnson: And what is his name?

Mr. Kane: I think his name is Mr. Sullivan, if I don't mistake. I don't know that Sullivan had

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them dismissed. The city attorney might have had them dismissed.

Mr. Johnson: First, what is Mr. Sullivan's first name?

Mr. Kane: D. J. Sullivan.

Mr. Johnson: And what is the city attorney's name?

Mr. Kane: Thomas L. Pekete, I think at that time --- no, Joseph B. McGlynn was city attorney.

Mr. Johnson: And the suits, ^{however,} against Mr. Gerold for the misappropriation of funds were dismissed?

Mr. Kane: Yes, sir; so I have been informed, and there is no suit been prosecuted against him since then.

Mr. Johnson: At whose door does common rumor lay the responsibility for having those suits dismissed?

Mr. Kane: Well, they charge it to the Hollman administration.

Mr. Johnson: Where does Mr. Joe. McGlynn come in there?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Joe. McGlynn was elected on the other ticket. Joe. McGlynn was one of the successful fellows on the Chamberlain ticket. I don't suppose he had any connection with it, because he was not in the administration as constituted at that time.

Mr. Johnson: Where does Attorney Sullivan come in, to whom you have just referred?

Mr. Kane: To the best of my belief he was corporation counsel, and he had defended Gerold in his suit

when he was being prosecuted by the state.

Mr. Johnson: Then you say he was corporation counsel you mean he was counsel for the city of East St. Louis?

Mr. Lane: Yes, sir.

Mr. Johnson: So he was counsel for East St. Louis, that wanted the money and he had been counsel for Gerold, who was accused of taking the money?

Mr. Lane: He defended Gerold in the prosecution.

Mr. Johnson: He defended Gerold for the prosecution for having taken money from the city of which he was corporation counsel?

Mr. Lane: Yes, sir, - no he wasn't corporation counsel at that time, ^{you see,} Gerold was treasurer under the Lambert administration, and the corporation ^{counsel} at that time I think, was Clarence E. Pope. Clarence E. Pope supported Mr. Lambert as against Mr. Joyce, the president of the 100 Club, or whatever you call it.

Mr. Johnson: Well, again I will ask the question. At whose door does common rumor lay the dismissal of the charges against Mr. Gerold?

Mr. Lane: Common rumor is of course that the suit was dismissed by the Hollman administration. I have never heard it ~~that~~ specifically.

Mr. Johnson: But who in the Hollman administration now had control of it to the extent that he could have ~~dismissed~~ the dismissal made?

Mr. Lane: I would figure that the mayor had control of it. He would direct the counselor, if

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he was directed, because he names him.

Mr. Johnson: Who was the counselor?

Mr. Lane: The counselor was at that time,

D. J. Sullivan.

Mr. Johnson: So then, common rumor lays the dismissal of these charges against Harold, first at the door of Mr. D. J. Sullivan; and next as his superior officer, at the door of Mayor Hollman?

Mr. Lane: Well, I don't know that I have heard it specifically ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{discussed} or talked in that way. They just seemed to be general in this statement that it was the Hollman administration that had the suit dismissed.

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Mr. Johnson: And the responsible man of the Hollman administration at court was Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. Lane: Well, of course I don't know *that to be a fact*. I was not there when the suit was dismissed.

Mr. Johnson: That would naturally be, wouldn't it?

Mr. Lane: Well, I would feel that he would possibly be the responsible man in court, as you say. I would judge that.

Mr. Johnson: And was it ever dismissed in court or out of court?

Mr. Lane: Well, now I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Johnson: Are cases some times dismissed here out of court? Is that the practice out here?

Mr. Lane: *the cases are* I think *often* dismissed all over the country - that is, there are lots of times

various agreements reached outside of court, that are acceptable to the court. I guess that is in a legitimate way.

Mr. Johnson: Then finally it had to be put up to the court as to whether the dismissal was acceptable. Is that your statement?

Mr. Kane: Well, I am not familiar with the legal procedure in those matters.

Mr. Johnson: Well, if there had been an agreement of parties on the outside of court, and the final dismissal of it were put up to the court, it is likely - who was the court? What was his name?

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't recall the judge, unless some of the gentlemen here who are familiar with it.

Mr. Webster: Was that in the city court or the Circuit Court?

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't remember where this suit was filed, and here then I know it was a matter of newspaper comment at the time that the suit had been instituted against Corold for the recovery of that money, alleged that he was short.

Mr. Johnson: Were ~~xxxx~~ criminal prosecutions ever instituted against Mr. Corold?

Mr. Kane: He was indicted by Mr. Webb, prosecuted by J. M. Webb, *brother of* the attorney.

Mr. Johnson: What was the result of that prosecution?

Mr. Kane: He was found guilty, and Mr. Sullivan, his lawyer, I believe, secured - I don't know -

is it a writ of *certiorari*?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.

Mr. Cooper: They sent up the record?

Mr. Ene: Yes, he had a hearing by the Supreme Court of the State.

Mr. Johnson: Then what happened?

Mr. Ene: Well, I think that the judgment or finding of the jury - in other words the finding of the court was reversed.

Mr. Johnson: Well now, we have ~~xxx~~ traveled over all of that ground. Let us come back again for the *third time* and see if you can give me any reason why, in your judgment, or according to common rumor there was an alliance between Mr. Harold and Mr. Dalton? Let's not travel away from it this time. Let's keep right close to shore. Give me your own opinion as a factional politician, and as an active politician, what are your views on the subject of how they happened to get together?

Mr. Ene: They got together, in my belief just for selfish reasons ^{and motives, in other words} to share the emoluments of an office that might be jangled or waded back and forth; securing the retention of office - securing the retention in office of men who might be friendly to either one or the other, and the appointing of men to office who might possibly agree to be friendly in the future.

Mr. Johnson: You said something about one or the other or both of them having influence with the negro votes. What did you say about that?

Mr. Kane: Well, that was charged, and they never denied it. They appeared to be very active amongst that class of people.

Mr. Johnson: You mean politically active?

Mr. Kane: Politically active around election time, or prior thereto?

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Mr. Johnson: When did Tarlton want to vote them on the Democratic ticket, and Gerald want to vote them on the Republican ticket; or did they agree as to which way they would vote them---if they could vote them at all?

Mr. Kane: Which way they would vote?

Mr. Johnson: Read the question.

The question was read as follows: "Mr. Johnson, when did Tarlton want to vote them on the Democratic ticket, and Gerald want to vote them on the Republican ticket; or did they agree as to which way they would vote them---if they could vote them at all?"

Mr. Kane: Well, their efforts you said to be directed possibly for a part of the ^{ticket} ~~war~~, because they couldn't get the black man to vote in the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Johnson: He is just naturally a Republican?

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't know that he is naturally a Republican.

Mr. Johnson: He is practically a Republican?

Mr. Kane: Practically---well, I know he would figure him as a Republican asset and a Democratic liability. I don't see them voting any Democratic tickets.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know how Mr. Gerold and Mr. Tarlton stood on Mr. Schaumleffel's race?

Mr. Kane: I don't know, sir.

Mr. Johnson: Were they both for Kollman for Mayor?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Johnson: Do you know whether they were together in any other political contest?

Mr. Kane: They were together in the **Cook-** Chamberlain contest .

Mr. Johnson: Were they together in any ^{other} district or national contest? Did they separate on the presidential **race?**

Mr. Kane: Well, I wouldn't figure that Mr. Gerold would support a Democratic president, because I place Mr. Gerold as a republican.

Mr. Johnson: ^{Would} you figure Tarlton would support a republican president?

Mr. Kane: Well, Mr. Tarlton always let on to me that he was for Wilson, and a democrat, and I judged he was. He was running on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Johnson: Were they together or separated on the congressional race last fall a year ago now?

Mr. Kane: Well, Mr. Tarlton led me to believe that he was for the D. H. Hudga, who was the Democratic candidate for congress.

Mr. Cooper: Who defended Mr. Gerold? I want to get this thoroughly in mind. Who defended Mr. Gerold on

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the criminal case?

Mr. Kane: D. J. Sullivan.

Mr. Cooper: Anybody else? I thought you named somebody else as being associated in the defense, or on the civil case when they brought suit in the civil case.

Mr. Kane: Well, I don't who brought it. The suit to recover from Mr. Gerold was properly instituted by Mr. Baxter. I think he was counsel for Chamberlain, then mayor.

Mr. Cooper: But who defended Gerold?

Mr. Kane: Who defended Gerold in the criminal prosecution?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

Mr. Kane: D. J. Sullivan.

Mr. Cooper: Anybody else?

Mr. Kane: I don't recall who might be associated with him.

A voice: Schaumleffel.

Mr. Kane: Well, that is true, yes, I didn't recall that.

Mr. Cooper: Schaumleffel helped to defend him in the criminal case, didn't he?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now who defended him in the civil case, for the money?

Mr. Kane: Well, I would judge that Tarlton would be his defense.

Mr. Cooper: Well, do you know?

Mr. Kane: No sir; I don't know. I know the suit was a judgment against him.

Mr. Cooper: Now may I ⁱⁿ interrupt here and ask if there is anybody that does know who defended him in the civil case?

A voice: Dan McGlynn.

Mr. Cooper: Who said "Dan McGlynn?" Will you please rise and be identified?

(The person who made this statement rose in the audience)

Mr. Kane: Mr. Gillespie.

Mr. Cooper: (Addressing Mr. Gillespie.) Are you an attorney here?

Mr. Gillespie: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: What is your full name?

Mr. Gillespie: Thomas E. Gillespie.

Mr. Cooper: Dr. Foster says you are a good man, and I take that to be a fact. So Dan McGlynn was the attorney on the civil case?

Mr. Gillespie: Mr. Chairman, in justice to Mr. Sullivan, who is not here, I want to say that when that case came up in the circuit court---

Mr. Johnson: (Interposing) The criminal case?

Mr. Gillespie: No, the civil case---Mr. Sullivan refused to have anything further to do with the defense of it. He had defended Mr. Gerold in the criminal case, and afterwards Mr. McGlynn was substituted as the attorney in the civil case.

Mr. Baker: In the meantime he had been elected city attorney---Sullivan had?

Mr. Gillespie: Well, I am not sure about that.

Mr. Raker: He had been elected city attorney, and then the mere statement of the fact---

A voice: He was appointed.

Mr. Raker: Well the same thing---he was appointed.

Mr. Cooper: That is what I am getting at precisely. The counsel for the defense on the criminal case of this treasurer, who was said to be a defaulter for over \$100,000, were D. J. Sullivan and Schaumleffel?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Who is now state's attorney of this county?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Then under what administration did that prosecution take place?

Mr. Kane: The prosecution?

Mr. Cooper: Upon the criminal case against Gerold.

Mr. Kane: It took place under the administration of Charles Webb.

Mr. Cooper: But who was the mayor?

Mr. Kane: The mayor was Chamberlain.

Mr. Cooper: And Chamberlain was a candidate for re-election?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Who opposed him?

Mr. Kane: Mollman was his opponent.

Mr. Cooper: Now Mr. Gerold knew, didn't he, that Mr. Schaumleffel had been nominated for state's attorney on the Republican ticket in the Mollman campaign, when Moll-

man was running for mayor?

Mr. Kane: That was in 1916, yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And he knew later, didn't he, that D. J. Sullivan, who had formerly been his attorney, was city attorney?

Mr. Kane: Corporation counsel, as they termed ^{it} _^ The city attorney was Pekete.

Mr. Cooper: Now just when was it, as nearly as you can fix it, that this agreement was made between--- of this alliance entered into between Tarlton and Gerold?

Mr. Kane: Well, Chamberlain was mayor from 1913 to 1915, and ran for reelection in 1915; so the agreement was made in 1915, because Gerold supported Hollman--- against Chamberlain.

255-X Mr. Cooper: Now about the suit they settled, you mean the civil suit to recover money from Gerold on his bond?

Mr. Kane: Chamberlain came in one night---I believe I just inadvertently stayed in a meeting---I was there as a member of the committee, so called, executive committee.

Mr. Cooper: (Interposing) Of what?

Mr. Kane: Of this---I forget, I think they called it ~~the~~ "administration party", and Chamberlain came into the meeting and stated that a proposition had been submitted to him that he would receive the support of Fred E. Gerold if he would dismiss the suit against him; and he said, "what do you gentlemen think about it?" He said, "I told him that I wouldn't dismiss it." And they agreed that he pursued the right course, and the right policy to prosecute

the suit.

Mr. Cooper: And that having been refused, then Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Gerold supported Mr. Mollman?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Gerold and Eddie Miller both supported Mollman.

Mr. Cooper: Gerold and Eddie Miller both?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Was Eddie Miller a republican?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Now Chamberlain had refused to dismiss this suit which had been instituted to recover money due the city, and is it a fair inference that Gerold supported Mollman because Mollman was understood to be in favor of dismissing the suit? That would appear to be evident when it was followed by the dismissal of the suit, wouldn't it?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Was Chamberlain a republican?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; and Miller and Gerold were republicans.

Mr. Cooper: And the republican candidate for mayor refused to dismiss a suit against a man who was a republican and charged to have been a defaulting treasurer?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And then this republican who ^{had} made the proposition to a republican candidate, Chamberlain, turned around and supported his opponent, a democrat?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And afterwards that suit was dismissed.

Is that it?

Mr. Kane: And went out and did yeoman service amongst the colored fellows.

Mr. Cooper: Afterwards the suit was dismissed, wasn't it?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: During the Hollman administration.

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: That is about the time that he and Carlton got together, wasn't it? ^{perhaps} Don't this dismissal of the suit was the result of political work? I would say the result of an agreement for political support?

Major Chamberlain

Mr. Kane: Well, at this meeting stated openly that Berold had agreed, even at this late hour, although he had appeared to be in a way supporting Hollman, alleging as a reason for his indifference and apathy that Chamberlain's aid and prosecution of the suit against him was what caused him to go over there; but at this time, the meeting, he would support Chamberlain if he would agree to dismiss the suit.

Mr. Cooper: And Chamberlain refused to dismiss the suit?

Mr. Kane: Chamberlain refused to dismiss the suit.

Mr. Cooper: And the result---and the fact was that afterwards Berold did support his political opponent, a Democrat?

Mr. Kane: He supported Hollman, yes sir.

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Mr. Cooper: And this is the only fair inference, is it not, is that Berold supported Hollman because he

had a promise that if he would, and Kollman were elected, the suit would be dismissed?

Mr. Kane: It is fair to assume that he must have understood in advance that he would be taken care of.

Mr. Cooper: And Schaunleffel at that time, or very soon after, was elected District attorney?

Mr. Kane: He was nominated in 1916 and elected.

Mr. Cooper: And the criminal case---you say that Schaunleffel was one of the attorneys for this alleged defaulting treasurer on the criminal case?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; I believe he was associate counsel with Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. Cooper: And when he came in, it was pretty certain, was it not, that the criminal case against Gerold would never be prosecuted?

Mr. Kane: It would appear that that would have failed, naturally.

Mr. Cooper: So that when Schaunleffel was elected District attorney---state's attorney---Gerold was safe on the criminal case, and then when Kollman got in as mayor, he was perfectly safe on the criminal case?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: Gerold had them going and coming, didn't he?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And the people got left both ways?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: He tax^{payers} foot the bill?

Mr. Baker: Now you say that Sullivan was an attorney.

and he was appointed corporation counsel. So that takes him out of the Gerold case. Isn't that right?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; he was appointed corporation counsel.

Mr. Baker: He was attorney for Gerold?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: But the attorney there, Mr. Gillespie, a moment ago ^{said} that Mr. Corporation Counsel Sullivan refused to have anything to do with it.

Mr. Baker: Of course, it would be a criminal offense and would disbar him. That was open and above board. Here was his record in the civil case and in the criminal ^{case;} here was his record as corporation counsel. Now to appear for Gerold---why, they had a dead cinch against him. Nothing on earth could have phased him. That is too plain to even think about.

Mr. Cooper: They probably thought about it but they didn't do it (laughter).

Mr. Johnson: So first and last, Mr. Gerold had representing him everybody who was in a position to dismiss one or the other or both of the cases?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; he was closely allied with them and identified with that ring and placing them in power.

Mr. Baker: Who followed to represent those attorneys? Who followed their case and took up Gerold's fight for him criminally?

Mr. Kane: There was no prosecution. The prosecution died.

Mr. Raker: Now the same way with the civil case?

Mr. Kane: The civil suit had never been called up.

Mr. Raker: And his attorney was appointed corporation counsel?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: Do you know anything about the fact that Mollman at the time of his election for mayor, the first time, was a member of the drainage or levee board?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; he was a member of the levee board or drainage board for this sanitary district. He had a year to serve yet. There was a year of his term to serve. He was elected in 1915, and ^{his} the term of office didn't expire until December, 1916.

Mr. Raker: Did he hold that office after he was elected mayor?

Mr. Kane: I never saw any record of his resignation, so I judge he held on through. The records would show that.

Mr. Raker: What was the salary of that position?

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Mr. Kane: One thousand dollars a year; \$83.33 a month.

Mr. Raker: And where was Mr. Tarlton after being a member of that levee board?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Tarlton was president of the East Side levee and sanitary district, and Mr. Robert E. Conway, of Armour and Company, was the other member.

Mr. Raker: That is Tarlton's partner now?

Mr. Kane: No, Robert E. Conway of Armour and Company. He was a member of the East Side levee and sanitary district. He has since moved to St. Louis, and they nominated ^{two} men,

Mollman being mayor, of course, there was a vacancy there, and Conway being out of the city, they named Mr. Kramer and Mr. Flynn in the primary of 1916.

Mr. Raker: Then there wasn't any election to fill Mollman's place until the regular time in 1916?

Mr. Kane: No sir; no election called.

Mr. Raker: Although he was acting as mayor?

Mr. Kane: He was a member of the East Side levee and sanitary district.

Mr. Raker: And an associate with Carlton and a member of the board?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Raker: And who was the attorney for that levee district?

Mr. Kane: Mr. Gillespie.

Mr. Raker: Wasn't Sullivan interested in that some way, as an attorney?

Mr. Kane: Well, Mr. Sullivan has been employed by the levee and sanitary district, I think, to aid in the prosecution or defense of suits that were filed against them for damages.

Mr. Raker: Then during the same time Sullivan was attorney for the levee board?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; he was employed by the levee board, as I understood, as an additional counsel or aid, or acted in conjunction with Mr. Gillespie.

Mr. Johnson: But he can testify to that himself.

Mr. Cooper: Is that the same levee board that it has

been testified to here, and this the same Sullivan that had a thousand acres of land up here that laid in the swamp; Tarlton had about one hundred acres or so; Tarlton and Canavan had another tract of land that they arranged to drain it under the reclamation district. Is this the same Sullivan?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; that is the same Sullivan.

Mr. Baker: And this is the same board you have just spoken about, of which Mollman was one of the members?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; there is two new faces on the board since 1916, Flynn and Kramer.

Mr. Baker: They bought land just before the board decided to drain it, as you understand?

Mr. Kane: Well, in the campaign they were charged with being the owners of the land, and their photographs, showing the portions that each one owned, and the acreage, and all that, prepared by the former secretary of the board.

Mr. Baker: It was understood that these men bought those tracts just shortly before the drainage?

Mr. Kane: It was said they bought it just before the drainage, and become interested in it, because it was good soil if it was drained.

Mr. Baker: That same drainage district and election of those officers was also involved in the general election that you have spoken about, by virtue of the handling of the voters, the registration?

Mr. Kane: Yes, the board was elected in 1912 and re-elected in 1916. Tarlton was one of the former board that

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held over---that managed to be elected in 1912, and the rest of the board were defeated, Mr. Sexton and Mr. C. T. Jones, and Mr. MacGray.

Mr. Raker: About what amount of money does that levee board get per year for its expenditures?

Mr. Kane: Why, they are supposed to expend in the neighborhood of \$6,500,000, for the erection of this levee; and I think their levee in a taxable way---I think it is \$150,000 each ^{year} if I don't mistake---\$300,000; \$150,000 twice a year. Then they issue bonds.

Mr. Raker: A good part of that is expended for salaries and counsel's fees and so forth?

Mr. Kane: Well, according to the report they made one time, it looked like the biggest portion was meant for salaries.

Mr. Raker: Then we have Mollman, the mayor, and Tarlton as the president of the levee board; and Canavan as the member of the Mollman administration, chairman of the board of public improvements.

Mr. Kane: He has supervision of ^{all} the improvements of streets or alleys by special assessments.

Mr. Raker: That is another tax they get in addition?

Mr. Kane: They tax the abutting property owners for a special improvement.

Mr. Raker: And that is handled by Canavan in the way of seeing that the work is done?

Mr. Kane: The estimates are submitted by the city engineer, and then bids are solicited and the contract is awarded to what they term, in response to advertisements,

to the "lowest and best bidder".

Mr. Raker: Who handles that, Canavan?

Mr. Kane: Not Canavan alone. There is a board of local government. I don't recall the membership of it now. Some of these newspaper men here may remember it. They call it "Members of the Local Board of Improvements." I am not familiar with their names. Canavan is the chairman of the Board of Local Improvements.

Mr. Raker: Well, it is true that board---

Mr. Kane: (Interposing) Appointed by the mayor, you know.

Mr. Raker: Well, it is through that board that these contracts are let for improvements?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; instead of being let in the old way by the counsel. After the city has reached a certain size, they are entitled to a board of local improvements.

Mr. Raker: Those contracts appear to be all right, do they? Is there any complaint in the way they are let?

Mr. Kane: Well, I never heard of any complaint.

Mr. Raker: That's all.

Mr. Cooper: Just on that one thing about special assessments---Canavan is the chairman of the Board of Local Improvements?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And that Board of Local Improvements fixes the special assessments?

Mr. Kane: Well, they fix the special assessments, yes sir; on those estimates that are prepared by the city engineer, Harper.

Mr. Cooper: Is there a good deal of that work done here in this city, special assessments?

Mr. Kane: There has been a great deal of it---an immense lot of it, yes. But it must be approved and confirmed by the courts, you know.

Mr. Baker: Yes, but the court---that is rather a perfunctory affair, isn't it, this confirmation?

Mr. Kane: Perfunctory is right.

Mr. Baker: That court confirms this special assessment?

Mr. Kane: The county court.

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Mr. Baker: Judge Messick?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir (Laughter).

Mr. Cooper: Now you have touched an exceedingly ^{ly} important thing right here.

Mr. Kane: They can go into the city court here and have them confirmed too.

Mr. Cooper: Yes, but they can go into the county court too, can't they?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: And they do, and now that opens ^{up}---we have been wondering, the committee has---Judge Baker has deflected his questioning here a good deal of the time, as we have gone through this long investigation, to trying to find out how it is that these people can control and keep the control of this city as they do, ring within ring; every sort of corruption and fraud and crimes of violence. Now the other day there was introduced in here a part of a report

of an expert committee of accountants employed especially by the city under the Chamberlain administration to investigate the accounts of the alleged defaulting treasurer Berold; a very prominent firm having offices in four or five leading cities of the country; and in that report they say that if the statement of the comptroller is true, large property owners in this city are escaping entirely the payment of their special assessment taxes. You say that there is a great deal of special assessment tax work in this town. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

Mr. Cooper: If that is true, then there is a great amount---or a considerable amount of special assessment taxes that are not paid at all by the big interests. Isn't that so? And if the report of that commission is true, it would naturally follow that possibly some were not paid that ought to be paid. Now then you have this condition, haven't you: These big interests that don't pay their taxes, could put up money to finance a campaign against the man that fixes the special assessments, or board, couldn't they?

Mr. Kane: They certainly would.

Mr. Cooper: But if they escape taxation they will finance the campaign for the crowd that lets them escape the taxes. Isn't that it?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; they are in favor of lower assessments.

Mr. Cooper: Well, do you see any reason---that explains one of the ways by which that crowd keeps control. The poor

people and the small property owners are helpless. They have to pay their taxes, don't they?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir; they do.

Mr. Cooper: And they, of course, feeling that they are helpless, and not having money to put up to finance a political campaign against anybody, just look upon the case as hopeless and pay the assessments and let it go.

Mr. Kane: That is the way they do.

Mr. Cooper: But the big fellows, if these reports are true, that can finance a campaign to defeat a crooked crowd, keep the crooked crowd in if they let them escape their assessments. Isn't that so?

Mr. Kane: Well, there ^{is} certainly ⁱⁿ a spirit of favoritism, and this favoritism ^{reboonds} ~~reboonds~~ to their benefit; and selfishness stands out in bold prominence there all the time.

Mr. Cooper: And you see the opportunity then right there for this crooked ring that does these things, to get all the money they want to keep themselves in; if big property can escape the payment of taxes. Isn't that so?

Mr. Kane: Yes sir.

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Mr. Cooper: That is one thing.

Mr. Kane: That is one of the things that leads to the retention of those fellows, of course.

Mr. Cooper: It hadn't occurred to me until you told about these special assessments and that there was a great deal of it done here, and I found out the personnel of that board. That's all.

Mr. Baker: The committee will adjourn until ten o'clock

tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:40 o'clock P. M., the committee adjourned until 10:00 A. M., Wednesday November 14, 1917.)