

But it --my--they didn't have a very keen sense or appreciation

of public relations in that sense--because hoodlums who got the

I'm limiting it to that -

most publicity--there again, in my experience. And as I recall,

the goodlums who got the most publicity were the hoodlums who'd

wind up in prison. The Joe Zarelli/s who nobody got close to.

who was

And ~~was~~ reputed to be a very big man in the country as well

as in this area. ~~It~~ --stayed out of it. Stayed out of the papers.

hard

And the ones that were getting out of it were the ones that

got into trouble, it seems to me.

WL: Ray, would it be ~~g~~ too far-fetched to speculate that the roots of organized crime today may have been seeded during prohibition?

RG: Well, as we know it, perhaps. ~~xxxxxxx~~ And at least a lot of the people who are wealthy, ~~and~~ occupy fairly high positions in the underworld today got their start in prohibition. I remember

--look, I knew some of these fellows when they had a turtle-neck sweater and a pistol under their belt. And two dollars in their pocket.

a damn nerve

And a lot have gotten _____ you know, by clawing and kicking and

then

biting and shooting--they acquired, and then they'd bring this out

well, what -

into other things. They got into gambling, and they got into juke

boxes; they got into legitimate business. ~~There~~ Their offspring
 got into legitimate businesses. But see, a lot of these very wealthy
 hoods today started from merely scratch--from the other side of the
 tracks--with nothing. And they made it on their own--they made it
 the very hard way. I think of the names that used to be in the

paper so often in Detroit --of, oh, Joe Massey, for instance. ~~He~~ *of he*

You mentioned Pete Lacappelli;
 and his brother Lonnie and Joe Bommarito came up here from Saint

Louis --they didn't have anything. They ~~are~~ --either the local or
 the imported ones had nothing. The ~~the~~ Purples when they disintegrated
 and they died--some of them had acquired some money--they all started
 off--most of them started off, with a few exceptions--most of them
 started off with absolutely nothing. Well, the kids started with
 nothing. The families of a couple of them were rather high-middle-
 class in Detroit.

WL: Do you more or less agree that to have organized crime, yo^u need a
 common vice denominator? Like you had--we had booze during prohibition--
 gambling--we had the anti-gambling laws--so this gave the denomiⁿator
 an area where they could work illegally and today I'd supposed you
 would say it would be dope--would it not?

RG: Apparently in the last three years or so it's gotten to be dope.

Now, I have reason to believe that for many years --even today, for many years, including the last three years--in Detroit, that organized crime, as we knew it in the Prohibition days--and then later on, gambling was taken over by some of the same people-- was not controlled by organized crime. I don't think that--and I'm not as close to it as I was--but I don't think an organization controls dope in Detroit or in any place I know of today. And somebody's opened the floodgates in the last 3 or 4 years--in

narcotics, because all the big cities are flooded with it. ^{Because} ~~But~~

so far as Detroit goes--I think this is true in other cities--and

I gather this from ^{talking} ~~taking~~ to people who are in a position to know--

law enforcement people--it's gone up. And that's why we're experiencing

^{I think} so many murders in Detroit, one of the reasons, ~~wo~~ many murders in Detroit.

So many of them are dope-connected, and there's a parallel between the

gangs fighting to control ^{dope} ~~drop~~ and the gangs that used to fight in pro-

hibition. ^{MK: Yes.} And gambling. [^] And it existed in that sense as a common

demonstrator. But organized crime as we know it, in , you know, in

the conventional way we think about it--has changed--new people are

taking over America--are taking narcotics. Now I don't know if they're

bringing it in this country; I don't know about that. But I think they're bringing it into Detroit, and they're controlling it after it gets in Detroit. Prostitution is not an organized ^{thing} ~~crime~~. There isn't one big ring of prostitution, black ^{or} ~~or~~ white. There again, you can have your individual enterprise, as you can in narcotics. Now your¹ subject, of course, to shakedowns, you're subject to being robbed, you're subject to extortion and all sorts of thing. But as far as --look, if you open a ^{Bar-boot game} barbuta? in Detroit --say you'd get away with it, and you have one going. That somebody would be around and say, "^{Hey} Say, close this up. I run all the bar-^{boot} ~~pool~~rooms in Detroit." That person used to be Pete Carrato. ~~We~~'s dead. We didn't have barbuta ^{I didn't let it run} when I was police commissioner. I wouldn't let it run, because it's a dangerous game, people can get hurt. But when barbuta's running, one person runs it, and nobody else's going to. Unless he's a partner and he permits it. ^{Dice - other things -} But I don't think that applies to prostitution--I don't think it applies to narcotics. I think if we had 5 girls apiece we ~~could~~ ^{Could rock them w/out} wouldn't worry about being put out of business by "a ring" or "a gang." If we had narcotics--if we were the big importers of heroin ^{to} to Detroit, we could find our outlet.

And other people would be doing the same thing. There's no monopoly

on either of those. And I don't think that there has been in--God,

an awful lot of years, if even then. Now, organized crime in the

it's one of those Semantic things --
sense --if there is a Mafia, I don't know. I been around this thing

a long time, I dont know today if there is. I think the other--

n ~~you know~~ to know, you gotta be born one. But there's something,

loose leadership
some ~~xxxx~~ _____ in that organization, Undoubtedly, and I think

in some areas they do deal only in narcotics. Some may deal only in

prostitution, although both of those are generally frowned on. Or

some member might be getting away with it. But I don't think that's

happened in Detroit in one hell of a lot of years, if it happened then.

WL: Yes, the only reason you think they might be in dope is that there's

such a mass movement in dope you wonder how disjointed, unorganized

people could bring it in.

RG: Yeah, but there can be a lot of sources outside Detroit. A lot of

suppliers outside,; people who go out and bring it in. But I don't

think --or maybe it's possible that there's a top echelon in control

of the import of narcotics--but that would be just the kind of person.

Another ~~problem~~ is peculiar to these last few ~~years~~ now in the narcotic

area is the synthetic drug. And, you know, LSD, and the various

Yeah, ~~the~~ they're made, in a basement of a laboratory. other things. And we made sure. ~~in a laboratory~~

WL: Well, we're on a pretty good area here, because the big stories that are constantly becounted in the paper ^{all} is the Buckley murder and the Wollingwood massacre. Now what was it, just about 6-8 months ago, we had 7 people killed on Hazelwood?

WL:
RG: --on Hazelwood. Which makes you wonder if that isn't , wouldn't have to be a ^{gang} game, or a ritualistic type thing.

RG: Well, the only ritualistic murders, it's when the papers, either I missed it, or they missed it, because I haven't read about it-- was the Benny Evangelist's murders in 1929, when something like 11 people in a home that was all weirdly decorated were--had their heads cut off and were murdered in very strange ways indeed. And when they're talking about big murders in Detroit--and I missed that one--

WL: Was that in Detroit?

RG: Yes, it was in Detroit. And it was in 1929, I was in Europe for the summer.

They --

WL: Excuse me, Ray, is that the Witch of ~~Dover~~ ^{Delray}?

Verras
Letters

Verras

RG: No, that was Rose Ritters. I covered that too. Rose ~~V~~etters (?)

had insured her roomers--she was a Hungarian ~~W~~oman--she insured
^{men} the roomers in her home, ~~who~~ was--she was convicted of murdering ~~ing~~ in
^{case.} one. But apparently she had a habit of finding ~~it~~ something wrong
with the roof and getting him to go up on the ladder, and then a
windstorm would knock the ladder over and break their neck. After
the insurance was in proper order. So she was dubbed the Witch of
Delray. Her name was Rose Verras. She was a little ~~old~~ woman,
weighed about 90 pounds. And her son, around 16--I never thought
~~he~~ had anything to do with ^{any of} it at all. But he got some sort of a
conviction ~~at~~ out of it. He spent 5 years or so in jail--prison.

WL: AM I keeping you too long, Ray? If you get tired, just yell.

RG: Yeah. We'll take a break/

WL: I was fascinated by this thing, because I ^{portulated} said a couple years ago
? that these dope these are going to end up in beer wars. You know,
like the territorial beer wars.

RG: That means black, you know.

WL: Yeah, all black. And when this 7 was killed, I said, Gee, this
tops the Collingwood massacre.

RG: Yeah, and it topped by one the Fishmarket ~~massacre.~~ *murder.*

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- I guess that's the word -

WL: And ~~xxx~~ yet we never went overboard, on the Fishmarket 7, and I'm sure it's not because they're black, because I think blacks now get as much attention as whites, maybe more, in the ^{Crime area} primary.

Well gee, the Collingwood massacre and the Fishmarket murder, well they went on for days and weeks in the newspaper. But I wonder, Ray, if that's because in that era the newspaper was the--

RG: --only--

WL: --only medium of--

I think

RG: That's part of it, But the other part too, I think, was that crime wasn't as ~~was~~ commonplace, as ~~xx~~ accepted.

WL: What have we got, about 500 murders, 580?

RG: Up to this point--

WL: People are getting used to this.

RG: when I was police commissioner, I think this was 1965, because we had 166 murders. And you know, this was a terrible thing, ^{well} ~~wow~~, you can't --police can't control murder as a rule. I think gang murders, robbery murders, and narcotics murders. The police can be in more involved in them, they certainly can't the family things.

MK

Massacre

WL: Wasn't there another factor in the Collingwood murder, and that is,

arrests were quickly made, and that kept the story going.

RG: Yeah. and it was ~~the~~ Purple Gang. Now if the Purple Gang spit

on the sidewalk, it would be a story. They were news. And billed

to my opinion, out of proportion. But they were all arrested within

a few days except Fleisher, and then he helped keep it alive. . .

Seems to me I spent half my life flying around the country, looking

for Fleisher--for the Lindberg kidnapping, for the Collingwood thing,

for--I was always ^{going} in an airplane, looking for Fleisher.

The Collingwood

WL: Listen, Ray, I was wondering if ~~Fleisher~~ and the Fishmarket and so

on recalled to your mind any of these newspapermen stories, you know.

RG: Yeah, ^{welp} wow, yeah. One newspaperman story was Bedford and Carlyle.

I'd --Goodrich--Merton Ward Goodrich who killed a little girl--was

arrested in Terre Haute, Indiana ~~wikk~~. The Detroit News at that

time had a beautiful airplane. Do you remember that, Bill, the plane?

WL: Yeah, the blue--Earlybird.

RG: --Earlybird. Well, it was Jeez, it was ~~gxxx~~ great to fly reporters

to stories. Except for one thing--~~xx~~ as the other pilots out there

used to say, They wouldn't take it off the ground if there was a pigeon

on the field. Or if there was, there was, you know, solon ^{the least bit intelligent} ~~would~~ to

protect that damn thing. And we used to go up ~~and~~ in a thing made

out of orange crates, ~~or~~ anything we could rent. So ^{Howard} ~~hard~~ Carter

^{Wait a minute,} Dickerson--the ~~one with~~ Goodrich--was arrested in New York ~~when I~~

^{beyond that} ~~got back there~~. And to go back we ^{Howard} had ~~Hard~~ Carter Dickerson had

been murdered in Detroit; he was a New York attorney and he arrested

in Terre Haute, Indiana, three girls, ^{2 of them} ~~including~~ sisters and a man

who did it were convicted of it later. So we flew ^{down} ~~there~~ but the

News wouldn't take off, and finally ^{Beresford} ~~Burford?~~ and Carlyle got there.

^{Lucky when I got here and} Well, I was walking ~~and~~ I ran into a cop I knew ~~when~~ I got to

Terre Haute. He took me and they ^{talked to} ~~took~~ all of the people--you know,

red carpet. So, ^{Beresford} ~~and~~ Carlye ^{God,} got there, oh, hours later.

^{Why} I don't know if we were still there, as a matter of fact, but we

hadn't come home. Yes I ~~do~~, because we were going to drive back ^{with}

the prisoners; and they had extradition. So when ^{they} ~~I~~ got there, it

was a Saturday afternoon, and I said come on. So I took them,

^{laid it all out,} Gave them the whole--introduced them to people, got their story,

so, you know--otherwise, they'd be floundering around until midnight

or so. So just a short time after that, like a couple of weeks ^{or}

so after the trial--a week after the trial-- they got Goodrich in

New York. And we flew down--and the News beat us. It ~~was~~ a nice

day, and Jack was there. And I knew it ^{what hotel -} ~~went~~. The thing I wanted to do, as soon as I got off that plane, was to get ahold of

the detectives from ~~Detroit~~, who went down ^{in the News plan} to ~~this~~ thing. So I

called the room, and Jeez, there were just --no, I had Arnold ^{Fulmer} --

do you remember that photographer on the Times? He --I was ^{calling} going one

place, I said, call that ^{the room} ~~the~~ and get ^{Branton} Granton and Schweizer, and

tell 'em, keep ~~on~~ the line, I want to talk to them. So ~~he~~ called

^{where} and he came back as ~~I~~ was just finishing my call --^{he had} with a weird look

^{and} on his face, he says, "^{They'll} I'll meet you at the ^{126th} 125th Police Precinct.

And I says, that's Carlyle. That's ^{son of a bitch I just helped in Ft. Wayne}

WL: (laughs)

back -

RG: . . . So I jumped in ~~the~~ a cab and raced--I gave the drive a lot more money to get over there--the New York ^{er} Hotel. And the two coppers,

^{Branton} Grant and Schweizer were just coming out the door. And they ^{said} ~~said~~,

Ray, when did you get in here? And I said, Buddy, you smell.

And I was wrong, they didn't know a thing about it. They had left

--see, and left Carlyle out there. He answered ~~the~~ ^{, boom,} the phone and told

me he was gonna get rid of us in a hurry. They were on their way out

to see the mother of one of them who lived in Brooklyn. ^{So I'd have been out} Sort of an

all-night, you know, floundering. But I got an awful lot of

of help from them. But then, just another few weeks after that, a baseball player, big league player, was released, in the middle of--no, before the end of the season. Not from the Tigers, from some other team. He came up to Detroit, and went ^{out} to City Airport and he chartered a plane to take him up --well, at any rate, where he was going I don't remember, but over Toronto the next morning the people look up ^{ed in the sky} and they see an airplane going all over the God-damned sky. He'd gone berserk--he was drunk--^{on} and the plane-- the flier had taken a friend along, just for the ride. And the two of them beat him to death--they had to kill him to keep him from killing them--with a fire extinguisher--and this is while the fight is going on. So we fly up to Toronto--now they're in jail. They kill this guy--these ^{to save their lives} 2 ~~that are alive~~--there's no question about Canadian law, that--but nevertheless, ~~anyhow~~, they're in the can. So, right away, you can't get in ^{their jail} their without either paying off or something, so right away I found out who their attorney is and grab him. He's a big Irishman named Murphy and he was ^{appointed King's} appointed counsel. He was in private practice, he is very well known there. And a nice guy, and he liked ^{whiskey} Fusby. ^{lets you + I get a} C'm Murphy, I ~~gotta~~ drink, and then we'll talk--

he likes a drink
 So I see him, I says, number one, I want to talk to thase guys,
 i want to go in the jail. He says, well, I'll tell you what you
 can do for them. He said, "They need some clothes." I said,
 "Do you think I'm going to buy them suits of clothes?" *— those damn brims* to talk
 to them? I'llll make it up first." "No", he says, "the pawnshop--
 what the hell. Ten dollars for one suit--~~can~~ you go for that?" S⁰
 we went over to the pawnshop and bought a buit for ten bucks, and
 I don't know, a~~x~~ hat or something, and took it over, and he took me
 in the ~~max~~ jail with him, and I had a long, Blow-by-blow interview.
 So, we --I got it, phoned it in. Did I write it? *No* Do, I phone^{ed} it
it was afternoon — in, and we go back to my room in the hotel *where*--we were drinking--the phone
 rings, and it's Carlyle. He says--Murphy answered, and he put his
 some guy named
 hand over the phone, and he says *it's* Carlyle. I said "Tell him we'll
 meet him at the 126th Precinct and hang up." He says, "We'll meet you
 at the 126th Precinct--boom, and out we went. (laughs). But these
 things were simply going on and yet we remained friends--I don't know
 how--and I saw Jack *didn't see him* _____ till we got back to Detroit--and he didn't
 mention it, Oh, I guess I hand't seen him for weeks, and he said,
 I've been telling Fritz Gartner something about that SOB on the Times
 who kept him up all night so he couldn't get in. He eventually got

in somehow, he wouldn't give up, he stayed up all night and got in to see him the next morning.

WL: How did you--I read a lot of stuff including a story, you probably remember it, Michigan Soused But Happy(?)--I've forgotten. And a guy wrote this story in a magazine called "Plain Talk."

RG: Oh, G.D. Eaton. I know him.

WL: . . . Soused and something, I can't remember.

RG: G. D. Eaton was the rebel. We were the Anarchists. Or, he was the campus anarchist. And I was in school out there then. And I knew Eaton--he lived--he was truly an intellect^{ual}. And his Mencken, of course, thought he was next to God. And he wrote a book, and incidentally, it was a good book--this was after; he was older than we were--quite a bit--and after he got out of school, he wrote--as a novel. And it was a good novel, but it never went anyplace. Backfurrow was the title. F_U_RR_O_W. You probably knew his brother but didn't know it was his brother--Bill Eaton of the state police?

WL: Oh, I know the name, yeah.

RG: Yeah. He was a lieutenant in the State Police. And he was just the opposite. He and the gang were mortal enemies from birth. Bill was

a very good guy, a very conservative guy. Eaton was brilliant, and Plain Talk was a newspaper that he got out. I wrote a couple of things for it. And he was being beaten up by the athletes every once in awhile, _____ Michigan _____. But Eaton was a very brilliant guy that did write for the --occasionally had pieces in the Mercury. When Mencken had it with --and Mencken was constantly writing about ^{him} ~~them~~--but he didn't --he had that one novel and then he died. G.D.E. ~~were~~ his initials--God damn everything! (laughs)

WL: I want to switch tapes now. There it goes.

RG: One recollection that stays with me, and sometimes haunts me is going out on ^{fast-breaking} stories, big stories--alone--for the Times and finding twelve top-flight news reporters there. We ~~were~~ usually outnumbered about 4--I might ~~add~~ ^{xxxx} have one other guy--or gal--with me. Vera Brown, perhaps, and I sometimes wonder which was easier, working against Vera, because I did that when she was on the News, or working with her when she was ^{on} ~~with~~ the Times. Now they were both so tough; she was tough either way--but sometimes we'd be together. But we were outnumbered--like you were up against the Russian Army every time you turn around--you'd trip. We used to console ourselves or

rationalize, or keep our ~~sanity~~^{by}, saying to ourselves, look, we're lucky, because what they're doing is duplicating and nobody knows what the other one's doing. Now this was feally far-fetched, but this kept us sane. We were working against such numbers, they ~~xxxx~~ story would be spread out like the--Ypsilanti ^{Torch} ~~tourist~~ murder, for instance--~~like~~ when the Times, and I assume it was the same with the News--the presses didn't stop all day. We just kept putting out extra after extra after extra. It was breaking so fast. And it was going ~~so~~ fast that I saw Jim Swyenhard--remember Jim? Must have weighed 250--and he wasn't very tall, certainly not tall for that weight; I saw him actually --he was then in his mid-50's-- running down the street in Ypsilanti--~~xxx~~ everybody was doing their stories on a dead run--but the News was --had a lot of good reporters. A lot of them. They were all good. And they had so damn many of them that they just swamped us. We had a --we had to be lucky, as we were sometimes--and you know, in order to compete on a fast-breaking story, where you _____ on the Free Press all by yourself at night, I didn't talk much about them--well they had reporters, they ~~did~~ didn't have to be

so damn sweet for us as we did.

WL: They knew they could re-write you.

RG: They'd just pick up and re-write us. And as I said, so many times,

we'd be killing ourselves, and ~~xxx~~ ^{all day} just before the last edition,

the whole thing would break. And ~~xx~~ it would be too late for us

he and we'd have it. It was interesting. ~~This was one fellow-~~ It was

the the one perfect life because they were constantly without rules.

There's an air of madness, of complete madness, if we're talking about

journalism in Detroit. And that was the year that tabloid called

the Daily published and was followed in a year by the Mirror. Now

the Daily was running on a shoestring, but ~~it was~~ ^{they were} a tabloid, using

all the wild tabloid tricks of the early '30's. This was when the

graphic, all the New York tabs were going--then they went broke. The

Mirror, which was the Chicago Tribune people ~~it~~ ^{money-} bought it. And they brought

in Chicago reporters, but mostly --and Hearst-- edited it. All the

^{page} front type. And I think every one of the reporters ~~ran these together--~~ ^{managed to get a}

^a deputy sheriff badge, or ~~the~~ state police badge, as soon as he got it.

So we weren't competing with newspapermen. I mean these were cops,

you know, that people let in, not you. They did everything that was

you know, that if we did--we werked awfully hard against each other, but we weren't vile that way. A confidence to them was page one. And _____ for the year too, and lost a million dollars and went out of business. But of course, they were the rough years; it was a hell of a time to start a newspaper or anything else in Detroit; because during the Depression. But they would have the damndest wildest stories. They'd start with a fact--you know-- John Doe was murdered. All cases--John Doe was murdered. Then they'd take off on flights of fancy with crazy art --pictures that were just--were lost from then on. And there'd be no resemblance between this and ours. But it was exciting because they were doing such mad things. But it was Chicago type journalism.

WL: I guess all this ^{here} came to a head during the recall ^{of Boules} ~~polls~~, wouldn't you say?

RG: Well, that was--you see, Jerry Buckley was murdered then.

WL: Yeah, they were just a week apart.

RG: The recall?

WL: Yeah.

RG: Now, pardon me--unless I've taken leave of my senses, the votes were counted at 8 or 9 o'clock at night--we were all through work--and at one o'clock the following morning, Buckley was murdered.

WK: So it was within the same 24-hour period.

REX Now, following the vote recall, what was the situation in the city then? Was it--?

RG: Frank Murphy.

WL: Frank Murphy. Now, of course, Frank was--?

RG: Frank was the Times --Detroit. He was recorders--See, the Times was a new paper, and they were looking around for breaking in a man to--they'd pull him up, he'd pull them up, too, ^{it was a mutual} ~~this sort~~ of thing. So they found this red-headed Irishman, who believed that there was a halo over his head and in the district attorney-- Federal District Attorney's office, ^{as an} assistant--and brought him along-- made him Recorder's judge--in Recorder's Court. And got him a sweet trial--Clarence Darrow and everything. And they made the guy, and then elected him mayor.

WL: How was the News reacting to all of this?

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RG: The News pouted about it, but as I recall, and I think this is the general impression--I don't think that the News took Murphy seriously, at first. And that was when he was judge--well, he became mayor, my recollection is that they didn't do an awful lot then because the field wasn't so good. The big fights between the News and the Times --and they were dirty, dirty fights--was when Johnnie Smith would be running--and the Times would back Johnnie Smith for mayor--the Times would back Smith, and the News would back somebody else. But more of a ~~mp~~polished, suave sort of candidate.

WL: Where does John Lodge fit in there?

RG: Well, I think they probably did Lodge. He was mayor once.

WL: Yes, ~~he~~ was mayor once, and I think he lost to Smith in the second term, I can check it.

RG: But the News--they didn't--both papers I think were guilty of doing things that just wouldn't be done this way now. Oh, talking about property that the News _____ homes were used for houses of prostitution--the background of Smith's wife--she was Polish--it got pretty dirty journalistic battles. And I was in school,

I wasn't working; but I did work on some straw votes--

WL: Ray, where'd you go to school?

RG: Well, it's a long story. I went to Notre Dame and Michigan, and
at
then I took some courses ~~that had~~--it was then City College.

WL: Oh, I see.

RG: But I was eight years at Notre Dame--I was a slow learner. No,

I started--see, they had boarding school. I went when I was 11.

WL

~~RG~~: Oh, I see, then you went through high school.

~~WK~~

RG: Yeah, and then I got in my freshman year and I'd been there and

had got to be so that I knew how to not ^{have to} do anything at all if I

didn't want to, and I thought maybe I ought to change the climate

of my--so I went to Michigan. Several of us went together.

WL: I just wanted to get that relationship.

RG: But I was born in Detroit, of course.

WL: We were talking about Murphy. Did Murphy then try to clean up

the town? Was there a reform?

RG: He appointed --Lockins was police commissioner-- John Lockins was

the U.S. District Attorney--and his brother as police commissioner.

He was a Phi Beta Kappa from a big law firm, a very successful.

But no, I'd say that yes and no. There was some effort to make some cleanup of the city, but we were--everybody was so frightened of a revolution because it was really the depth of the depression. And this was when we had the hunger marches, and the marches on the Ford Motor, and the big rallies in Grand Circus Park. And the Commies, as you know, were very, very active at that time. And so much of the energy--and of course, of the police--were directed there. And I don't --there wasn't any--it was just that the mob might just tear down the main street, they were afraid of. Then the administration was so busy finding shelter--shelter and food for the completely destitute people--made destitute by the depression-- that really, a great deal of ^{time} and energy were not being spent by the police--well, for instance, this was during prohibition-- so you have this other law going for us. In addition to all the others, you had prohibition. Yet the reporters judges--in ~~the~~ ^{recorders} order to justify their existence--they felt they had to reach out and get jurisdiction over civil cases which ~~xxx~~ they had never had until then. And ^{there was} so ~~xxx~~ little work for the courts. And it seems to me the police were doing their job, but reasonably well--

you could bet a horse anyplace--or even during his administration--

it wasn't anything like under the brief tenure of Bowles. Bowles

just didn't ^{even} have a clue as to what a mayor should do. And the gangs

^{really} just sort of took over then. And I don't --I seriously ~~thought~~ ^{doubt}

that he knew it.

WL: Do you--I get the impression that police added to during this whole

period was something like the big 10 basketball referee who says,

"No arm, no fall."

RG: You can count the stitches.

WL: Yeah. Right.

RG: I went over to see Jack Manning --some black man that Jack Manning

likes very much--and we was arrested for having slashed the hell

out of somebody during a fight. So I went over to the prosecutor--

the assistant--Bill Flanagan--You remember? Hell of a nice guy.

I said, "Bill, here's the circumstances. This guy's got no record,

he works hard, he's as good--you know, god-fearing--and Bill says,

"How many stiches, Ray?" (laughs) I says "What do you mean?" He

says, "Here's how I go--if it's over so-and-so stitches, it's got to

be a felony. But if it's under--like 200 stitches, it's a misdemeanor,

^{in our misdemeanor}
so we can have the thing taken ----" So, maybe that was --

WL: Of course, now we're getting--complexion--

RG: Complexion--times change. You know, you wouldn't have street stickups of little store stickups, or eight-dollar stickups, because who'd take a chance on it? They 'd rob a bank, they wouldn't come out with \$700--it would be \$70,000, they ^{sd be} ~~were~~ professionals. The amateurs weren't in that.

WL: We're getting pretty close I guess, to the time ^{when} ~~that~~ Mrs. MacDonald wrote her letter, aren't we?

RG: Yes, Janet MacDonald.

WL: In 1939, I think it was.

RG: It was August. The Grand Jury started in September of 1939. That's the Ferguson Grand Jury.

WL: Now, is it-- The story ^{at the news} is that the News called the Grand Jury. ^{for that}

Is that true?

RG: That's true. The News --I'm pretty sure that Carlyle did the whole thing; he might have had some help. But they got a petition quietly, secretly, because they were going to have a big scoop on the story.-- to the Circuit Court asking for a one-man Grand Jury. Now I don't think there had every been one before. Because the only Grand Jury I knew of was that one I covered in the Buckley murder--that was '23.

Man, and the News had Ferguson picked up. And the News was going to break the story on Sunday. And I asked--I was working Saturday and I got a phone call from ^{Bledy-} aguy on the County Board--
"Jesus Christ,
 says, *"Write--get your pensil "* I said, "Thank you very much," because he had just saved our lives. In mean, in that we had the story. The News did, it was there. I would say it was the Grand Jury, they got it going. You see, MacRae could have had that Grand Jury himself, but he pooh-poohed it, because he was sure that nobody every would tell on him. And he ~~couldn~~ have controlled the thing as prosecutor. But the News did. They got it, and they got the people appointed, but from then on, it was --we had--something had happened in that Grand Jury that should happen on all Grand Juries. I mean a hundred things happened that should never happen, because the Bill of Rights, the Constitution was thrown out the window. It was --nobody had any rights at all. And it was pretty bad, but--and I don;t think the end ^{ever} justified the means, like --although the city was corrupt as hell. Any newsbody on the corner ~~could~~ tell you ~~wherex~~ what collector went to this habdbook, that handbook--and so on, you know, the whole--it was really bad.

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But--in the other--I suppose they couldn't have gotten all the results by using kid gloves--but what they did--the newspapers--we all covered the Grand Jury and we were there--and we knew pretty well what was going on. Now we didn't know everything ^{everybody} they said, but we knew pretty well--McCormick, Collins and I. Freddy Collins on occasion. But we would not tell our editor or a living soul; and ~~that~~ ^{not} one word of what that Grand Jury did ever got in the newspaper. Nor was any mentioned of it made in any way. Unless they did something official--like put somebody in jail. Or issue indictments. Take some action like that. And this, of course, the others --why I objected to Piggins so much--when he was getting police in his rotten, underhanded way--he was going, just wracking that department and coming up with ~~nothing~~ nothing. And so many Grand Juries they feel two things--one, of course, it goes to their ego. And two, I think they feel they gotta come up with something, whether it's true or ~~is~~ not. But we never printed anything--Ferguson went ^{to} around the papers, and exactly that agreement.

WL: Ray⁶, did you start working in 1927?

RG: In Pontiac.

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WL: --in Pontiac.

RG: No, I was in Pontiac in ~~1926~~ '26.

WL: --'26.

Professor Kelman--Side 1
Voice: Ed Batchelor
Reel 9

RG: You were asking about the type of people in the blind pig. ^{No,} ~~Now~~
~~this isn't~~ ^{they weren't} ~~underworld;~~ ~~these are observations~~ ^{this is from the observation} of people who knew
^{or had} them; seen them before, because they were not, ^{kept} at the police station, ^{so another}

Another crazy thing--they took them all over and got the whole city
burned down, and dismissed them immediately, which was all right with
me, because the police take ppeople as ^{standard} ~~standing~~ operating procedure
--customers in a blind pig or a dope joint or house of prostitution--
take them in, hold them overnight, take them to court, ^{as loiterers} and they're
dismissed. Particularly ^{so} in a blind pig. Of all this trouble is ^{police}
procedure---but it's ~~trouble,~~ and there are 80-some people in there;
none of the customers had anything happen to them at all. ^{Wasn't even looked up.}

EB: It is kind of ironic at that.

^{MK} RG: There is a charge ^{that could have been} brought against them, though--frequenting--

RG EB: Yeah.

RG EB: ...~~ok~~ loitering, or frequenting. ^{It could. It's a misdemeanor, but we never} ~~And~~ unless it's quite an ^{get a prosecution,}
harrassment--
unusual circumstance--they bring them in. ~~And~~ it's ~~harr~~ ^{harrassment--}
but with
the thousands of blind pigs that existed--^{exist} in Detroit--I don't think,
~~in anyone's opinion,~~ that this is an effective form of harrassment,
and you're taking a hell of a chance doing it. They--^amusicians--from
the Chop House--that was picked up on a Five or ten-dollar traffic
warrant on his way home one morning--and the warrant was from Warren,
Michigan--not even a Detroit warrant--and he ~~was~~ ^{was} put in the cell ^{with pen}
in the 13th preadint--then the police brought in a lot of unruly men
from a blind pig raid--and they beat this guy--they almost killed this
poor musician--you remember--

EB: Yeah, I remember. ^{The case}

RG: He just lost his ^{and} suit, how he lost it, I'll never know. ^{His} ~~The civil~~
case against the city. But --see, they bring those people in ^{I think they placed} when ~~they~~ ^{sent them}
^{on their way,}

I also think at that riot--if they hadn't taken the ABM on the installment

Reel 9--p. 2

plan, they didn't ^{coof} pay for the buses--^{or he} there's a wagon, and they just took 'em 2 or 3 at a time--if they --if that hadn't brought on a riot, some other ^{incident} thing would have that summer. ^{Detroit for} Cause ~~xxxx~~ some reason was--despite all the work we did, I think we just have to get--if the greatest ~~strat~~ strategists in the world had planned it, they couldn't have worked out a better time of the week--or the day--^{to stage it} because we had nobody, but ~~had~~ nobody at work, and we don't --you have 4300 men and just work out the logistics of that, working a 40¹/₂ hour week with ^{the ones that are} required to stay inside. The detective work ^{the} for court and everything, you ~~nd~~ don't have much control. And certainly no city has ~~making of~~ enough to handle a riot --their normal duty people.

EB: Ray--you mentioned the greatest ^{strategists} --this might be a good time thoughts --I think--to hear your version--there was ~~talk~~ of a conspiracy at the time--we had ^{some guy named} Louis Lomax, a ^{who} black journalist, he came in and wrote

RG: . . .about the salesman, door-to-door salesman.

EB: Yeah--I mean--a lot of ^{many} people remember that--it might be a good thing to nail right now.

RG: All right--there are two or three things. Lomax wrote about door-to-door salesman he thought were sort of ~~x~~ ^{advance men} and also stirring up the thing. Another was that even some of police in the 10th precinct told me two things about that night--that they saw ^{more} an Ohio license plate ^s then normal--in the 12th street area--and the other was that some of the most active seemed to be wearing a red-type T-shirt. Well, we couldn't get into that like in 2 minutes after it started, but we did get into it as soon as we ^{would get} got our breath. And we could not substantiate--the police department could not ^{any of} substantiate that this had anything to do with it. Now--my theory, and it's got to be a theory, because we can't support it, is that it was a combination of circumstances ^{as} that during the heat and intensity of the situation, he might find a ^{as} gap ^{as} other circumstances, ^{that} it would result in a riot. There were people in the street, I'm convinced, whose job it was to stir things up--once there was a police incident,

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these people

they would get in it. Now 2 or 3 were identified in this crowd as

stirring up the crowd. This was a--remember, when the raid took place--

so this couldn't have been planned

and it was spontaneous--I'll explain that in a minute. But when the

police did start to bring out of the blind pig the prisoners --the crowd

was in a jovial mood. They ^{were} hollered: "Well, we'll send you some ^{up at from}

cigarettes to Jackson, Joe, and--you know, bantering back and forth.

But gradually--and this damn transport business took so ^{long} --gradually

the temper of the crowd turned and was being changed ^{and} in according to

the police who were there, and what they tell me in putting it together-

the crowd ^{was manipulated} wouldn't admit to it. And I think this is true. Because

nobody ^{we'd seen it} during those 3 or 4 summers in particular. ^{that} But there'd be

one--at least one, ^{time there'd been} during every incident--in a ~~big~~ crowded ^{black neighborhood} blind pig--

I ran into it personally; I was with the superintendent one night, and

^{were} we're on 12th st--and--this was prior to the riot--and we got a call,

a policeman was in trouble--and before we could get there, they said

everything was under control--and then another ^{one,} a police vehicle,

^{hit} did a car with several civilians--^{on} and say, Seward, a block off 12th;

so we did manage to get through--by the time we got there, and it was

only a few minutes--^{there} it must have been 3 or 400 people already at the

scene--they just barreled out of those apartment houses; and it looked

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bad, because ^{The} ~~there were~~ civilians, ^{there} were some children,
 they were lying on the ground bleeding; it looked as if the police
 car had run right into the side of this other car. The policeman
 has already been taken to the hospital; ^{was} it's hard to get scout cars
 in to --thru the crowd to take the other injured to the hospital-- ^{we finally,}
 then we got ^{them} ~~him~~ ^{up} upon the sidewalk, and I said to Reuter, ^{"Hang on to your hat,} ~~you're~~
^{hit;} this could be it--^{||} because the crowd was, well, you know--not a
 happy crowd; ^{at all, they were} ~~very~~ hostile. But somebody said--my God, there's the
 commissioner--and I got over there. And it seemed ^{that} like that little
 thing, ^{my being there,} seemed to gurn the crowd in favor of ^{was Jesus,} ~~old~~ ^{_____} --is he interested?
 Are they really interested? They were friendly. And they could have
 been ^{mean} ~~brutal~~. As it turned out, investigation, later--took a day or 2--
 but the car with the women and the children ^{had} turned in front of the police
 car--and the police car was speeding to ~~get to~~ help the officer in
 trouble. So ~~it~~--the police car did hit the side, but they ~~had~~ made a
 sudden turn ^{in front of them} g right --so it was not the police car's fault--but it
 certainly looked that way--and I thought we'd have a --I was really
 expecting big trouble that night. I kind of think the fact that we
 were on the street and taking an interest and doing ^{everything} ~~what~~ we could to
 get the people to the hospital--but they --one person--very loud--why ^{is it} ~~this?~~

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I wanna know why. ^{what} They take the policeman to the hospital, bnt they leave these little children ~~here~~ ^{on the street}--so I turned to a uniform ^{patrolman} and I said

take him to the scout car and get his story. We want witnesses like this and I said--you tell him everything ^{we did wrong}--take him to the scout car

right away--the guy--it was a good hunch I played, because the guy did just what I thought he'd do--he took it on the ^{double} ~~double~~, right

through the crowd--he didn't want to get into any scout car, for some reason. He might have been an ^{agent} ~~agent~~ provocateur--he mighta been--I don't

know what the hell ^{he} ~~it~~ was--~~is~~ now he mighta been just some guy who thought it was wrong.. The reason the policemen were taken first--

^{Maybe} ~~before~~ it was a fraternity type thing. I think it might be ~~natural~~ if --understandable--if it just happened they were taken first. However,

they ^{both had what} ~~it~~ appeared to be, and ~~it~~ turned out to be rather serious head injuries. The others were not as seriously hurt. And they took the

^{who had} 2 with the head injuries. But . . .

^{MK} EB: Ray, I'll bet none of that appeared in the papers, right?

EG: Nothing.

^{MK} EB: The newspapers were not interested, am I right, in . . .reporting confrontations ^{that summer} ~~of that sort~~?

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RG: No, I don't think they were. If they were--pardon me--

EB

KK: I think it might have all been--as I say, I'm not high in

the executive councils, but I think it might have been all ~~I did~~ ^{the idea that}--

any discussion of confrontations could have an incendiary effect--

I think that might the justifications--

~~EB:~~ And then, it might be a just plain laziness on the part of the --

RG: Well, maybe I don't get a very objective view, but you know, I

didn't, from where I was sitting at that time, but it struck me that

every damn thing that reflected on the police was printed. If some

~~xxxxx~~ irresponsible loudmouth got upon a soapbox or came to my outer

office and yelled "Police brutality" and boom--that sure got in the

paper. But it seemed, now, ^{because} maybe I'm not right about that--it's pretty

hard to be objective when ^{you're getting} you see that kind of thing happen every day,

and you're breaking your neck to see it doesn't happen--and you know,

you're sort of like a voice in the wilderness in ^{the} that thing.

EB: ~~... on the streets.~~

I know this, Harry,

RG: But it was true--you know this, in 1940--before the 1943 riots--

I was away during the riots, I was in the Army, but the summer before--

there were all sorts of black and white fights on the street^s. Gang fights.

And this--we never printed them, and this was intentional. On the theory that--don't say anything about it, it'll go away. And because this I discussed with the people who made the policy. And the papers whether they got together or did it individually, I don't remember, but I know that none of them printed those fights, and they were pretty big fights. Belle Isle, Jefferson, well all around town. You see a lot of the both black and whites who come up from the south. And maybe they're all homegrown people, I don;t know. But whatever, they were ^{a lot of} fights that we never--a lot of serious incidents that we never printed.

EB: ~~did~~ Ray, you say ~~the theory didn't work out~~

RG: . . .but the theory didn't work out, because . . . ~~the xxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{we had the riot}

EB: These trouble-makers; these--~~x~~ you were saying the moods of the crowd shanged because there seemed to be trouble-makers who had something to do with. . . some

RG: Yes, ^{EB: Plus this} ~~some~~ ^{EB:} ~~_____~~ delay. Now, here again, a lot of the vents ^e of

early Sunday morning are cloudy in the papers. You ^{find} read all kinds of conflicts--was there kind of a shuttle service ^{of} in taking these ^{blind pig patrons} people

~~from the blind pigs~~ ^{up to 10th} into the precinct?

RG: ^{Absolutely,} What happened was--I don't know why, nobody thought to get the

^{wire} buses which would take a large number of people. They couldn't, or

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didn't try to get enough autos which take 14, you can get 14 in--
12 is the number, but you an squeeze extra. So they're taking them
back and forth, as you say, in the shuttles.

EB: Scout cars?

RG: Scout cars. ^{EB:} No paddy wagons?

RG: I think there was one, yeah. But you got precinct⁵ around there
with the--what they call ^{the auto} a --that's a patrol wagon, and they
couldhve gotten 2 or 3 more--

EB: Yeah, sure, sure. ^{MK:} Did you discuss who made the decision to tip
over this place?

RG: Well, ^{I was} coming back to that--every precinct at that time had a
what they call the clean-up crew. Usually a sergeant and 2 or 3 men--
sometimes we didn't have evnough sergeneats then, ever--^{so}sometimes there ^{1d}
would be 3 patrolmen. This crew had a sergeant, ~~who~~ was white and 2 black
patrolmen in plain clothes. He ^[the Sgt] was in plain clothes. Clean-up works
that way, in an unmarked car. ^{-trap} But a six-year-old kid in the ghetto can
spot 7 blocks ^{clean-up} away --because they're all they will have the same area,
they might just as well have a big sign on them. But they knew that this
^{Oh yeah.} blind pig operated. One of the criticisms was--"Why did you raid it on

a week-end?"

~~EB:~~ Yeah.

~~RG:~~ That's the only time they're open. You see, they just opened on week-ends, and this was Saturday night, Sunday morning. AT ten o'clock that night, one of the black officers in plain-clothes, who was not known, took another one, a new man--he was very tall--and tried to get in--^{he} they talked to the guy at the door. This was ~~a~~ blind pig, ^{was} they ~~were~~ on the second floor--there was a doorman at a locked door at the street. And he told him that this tall fellow was a basketball player from so-and-so --and that he was just showing him around, and they wanted to get in. And so they couldn't get in, ~~xxx~~ this was ten o'clock. Now at --they just didn't have a chance of getting in-- so they went on about their other ~~duties~~ duties--you know, checking all the things they have to check. And at three o'clock they were passing the place and they saw two rather well-dressed girls, unaccompanied-- who were obviously not prostitutes--headed for the door, and one of the vice squad guys on a hunch, said, "Stop the car, let's go, ^{we'll go in} ~~we're going~~ with them." Because see, ^{you get} he ~~had~~ a better chance of getting in later than early, for 2 reasons: one, ^{is} ~~because~~ the doorman has had a few drinks by that time as a rule. And he's a little more careless. And two, ^{is} ~~if~~ he's busy, and very tired. So they just got right up against these girls and somehow

ⓧ

other man was going in, was not connected with ~~any~~ of them--and
the doorman just passed them this time, where he turned them
down 5 hours before. He was the same doorman. They didn't know
the girls, the girls didn't pay any attention. But I remember ⁱⁿ the
blind pig days, you'd ring ^a the ball, and the man or woman who ran
the blind pig ^{would} ^{at} looked in the door--they might know you, as well as
I know you gentlemen but he'd say to you: how many of you are there?
just to avoid a thing like that. That was an old trick, where they'd
just join the party. And he would say, there are 3 in my party.
And he ^{id} ~~would~~ say, who are the 3? Who are you? what do you want
in here, we don't have anything? ^{that would interest you} So they got in--now the girls were--
you asked me about the type people--they had the girls, ^{pegged} the police did,
or something like that.
as secretaries; they were all black; there weren't any white people
in that raid. And well-dressed; you know, nicely dressed; and decent
girls; they ^{had been} were probably out visiting, and on the way, one of them said
to the other, "I know where there's a blind pig--let's get a drink."
And this is the way the police had ^{them} it figured. And it's very possible.
'Cause there's a mixture of people, I suppose. Just like 12th Street

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was always a mixture of people. The businessman; the prostitute;
the saloon-keeper, the junkie, the whole--name it, ^{and} you have it on

12th Street. It's all night ~~along~~, all day long. Of course, as

I say, it was so --we had nothing to put it down with, and it just

--those people came out of their homes, out of their apartments, ^{and}

joined in the freeloading. And many of them wondered why. The--

~~I'm told~~ ; but the second day, we knew this--that a lot of ^{otherwise}

law-abiding, working, decent people who owned their own homes and

kept them up nicely--on the streets ^{leading into 12th} living in Detroit--had joined

^{this} in the pillage--and wondered what in the hell was going to happen.

So, ^{Reuter} Bruder came into my office--^{the Supt} Lt.--and he said, "Well, we just

got the first call. " Man called up and gave us his name and

address, and said, "The darnedest thing happened. I just went out

^{my} ~~the~~ back door, and there's a big, beautiful television on my back

porch, and I don't know how it got there. Now what am I going to

do?" So I said, "Thank him. Tell him we'll pick it up, and we

appreciate his cooperation, we'll certainly try to find the villain

who did a thing like to him, but see, a lot of these people,

they'd leave stuff at ^{Hubert Locke's} his house, and he'd ^{bring} give it back.

in his car. ~~The~~ ^{They'd} second day, or even that night. He'd say, "What the hell, I'm not a thief, what'd I get in this for?" But it was like--as I said--^{why} that Joe Hudson, opened his doors and said "Come on in, everybody, and help yourself." And they went in and went berserk-- because--I'm repeating--because I saw the same expression on the faces of some of those people hurrying away with an armful of stuff that they probably couldn't even use. ^o That I saw on the faces of prisoners in prison riots that I've covered. ~~As~~ for the newspaper. And I've covered several; it's a wild, glazed look; and they're--I suppose--their actions and their look is ^{is} ~~what is~~ meant by a person going bersek. ^{They're} Burning and looting and taking things that they don't want and destroying things that are meaningful to the convicts--their gymnasium, their athletic equipment--even ~~xxx~~ books--their library, they burned. They burned the auditorium, where they had movies. And ~~without~~ any sense at all, it's not selective. And maybe there's an analogy between prisoners in a prison and prisoners in the ghetto. Maybe there's a very definite analogy there. And maybe the same thing happens to them once they explode.

I ~~saw~~ a strange thing ^{went on} during that riot which as you know, was the biggest in the country; ^{he must} ~~it was~~ costly in lives and money. And we had to get the

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National Guards and our people couldn't stop it. So we had to get the president to send the army in--the regular army. And then it took time--then, I think the General Throckmorton and --

MK
EB: Cyrus Vance?

RG: Yeah. Cyrus Vance--I think they were *just stunned* astounded at the very fact that they had arrived--*when it was announced with* ~~that~~ regular army troops didn't stop the riot just like that. They kep right on. The whole thing. And just some of the things I remember, Cyrus Vance was a bug for getting things back to normal, well, nobody wanted things ~~back~~ to normal more than I did. So, he'd say, "look, put on--one thing *he had* here--put the street lights back on on 12th street--put the lights back on. Well, Jesus Christ, I knew what it was like *out* in there. And I knew ~~how~~ how the *the soldiers* cops figured--that lights would ~~be~~ just set 'em up to get shot by a sniper. So finally I said, "All right, we'll turn the lights on. So we turned the lights on and the soldiers and police immediately shot them out. You see, because they knew, they were just making targets out of them.

EB: Ray, there's a sequence in there *and it's* that's understandable because policemen, ~~they're~~ the reporters were all away at that time, but there's a sequence in there, I read *it* the clippings on this thing,

and Hubert Locke's book and everything, where we had the crowd in an ugly mood, as they're hauling these people ^{sugging blind bag} frm ~~the blind pig~~ off to the pokey --and the crowd is in an ugly mood, and then we ^{have} hear a rock or a bottle being thrown at the departing cruiser vehicle; and then there's a lapse of about an hour--it was not quite clear, from throwing the bottle, did the crowd fan out and start looting, or what the hell--? ^{happened}

RG: Yeah. The last car that was pulling away, someone threw a bottle or a rock, through the back window--the car had a couple of prisoners.

Now, I think, wisely, they kept right on going. There were a few police

I think, still in the general neighborhood. The place had been turned

back to the doorman. They took his name and address, and told him to

lock up, and it was secured. Then it wasn't long before, we ^{have to} had the

pieces ^{this} together too, because we don't have good observers--somebody

threw something through a plate glass window. Then the thing sort

of built. Now, it took us some time to react to it. Because the police

in the station were busy with all these 83 people--they were starting to

take their names and addresses--starting to do something about it--you know,

and it took a little time. Then they came back on, and by the time the

few police that we had could get there, the thing was well under way.

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And this took--well, I don't know, the length of time to build--

the police couldn't do anything. ^{They made quite} And they made some arrests; quite

a few arrests; they said that the police--you know, Mary Beck --

said there weren't--the police had sat there. That's not true.

They made quite a few arrests. ^{that day} And a lot of black people pointed

out--looters and fire-bombers--and gave the police the information.

And I know several instances where things like that happened. The

police ^{well} --~~WERE~~ they made ~~some~~ arrests and they even got some property

^{that day} back--but you must remember that we ^{had} have in the city of Detroit,

a hundred--you can correct this, ~~figure-wise~~; 113, I think, police

on the streets. My first thought when Reuter called me at 5:00 was

this might be ^{a diversion} ~~the version~~ . . .

^{MK} EB: What was happening on the East side?

RB: No, 12th St. might be a diversion for something. With this small number of men, I said, "Keep your East side men there. "

^{MK} EB: Ray, what time ^{shift} did the ~~shot~~ change?

RG: 4 o'clock.

EB: Maybe we should go into that.

RG: Yeah. The night shift comes on at midnight, of uniformed, and a few detectives.

But at midnight Saturday, that midnight shift till 8 Sunday morning,
is a lighter shift. *There aren't so many on.*

MK
~~EB:~~ So ~~hax~~ you had more men coming at 8:00. ~~Wa~~

RE: Well, ^{on} another shift. Not in addition to. But this--you got--
we had about 4300 men for a city of a million and a half and 139 square
miles. With nobody to protect it. You've got 4300 men. and you've got
many on vacation, ^{pick,} you have men working inside, you have a 40-hour week.
So ^{the} your number you can put on the street is never a fraction of what you
need. Well, aftdr about 3:30 on Sunday morning, ^{crime} things just practically
take a holiday. There's nothing going on--you see, the saloons close,
the bars get the last one out at 2:30, so the guy walks home and his
wife's got ^{him} it locked ^{out} up. He kicks the door in, she shoot's him, they
go over, and they take her ^{and him to} into the hospital, and they know there's
going to be no case. They tidy up the streets a little bit. And then
it dies. Every minute you've got to count, because you're paying these
guys time and a half. So you have the least need for ~~the~~ police from
about 3:30 roughly until Monday morning on the ~~day~~ day shift, Monday.
You don't have anything Sunday; Sunday's the lightest crime day, ~~we~~
so you have a minimal number of people working from ~~about~~ 4:00 really,
because--now that particular night, we at 4:00 all our cruisers had

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gone home--our TMU--all our special units; our clean-ups; our vice;
our auto boosters, detectives, and it was a much smaller uniform shift
that was coming ^{on} ~~in~~ a 8:00.

~~EB:~~ So you had a 4-hour gap between the end of the --

RG: But Sunday you don't have many men either. So what we did was
keep the uniformed men who normally would have gotten through, we ^{at 8} were
keeping them on. The others --and try to get as many back as possible.

And I contacted the State Police, Fred Davids, and he lined people up,

he said, you want us, and I said, not yet, but try to get some people
ⁱⁿ
in from Ishpeming, and get them you know at our precinct, ~~xxxxxxx~~
^{will you Fred,}

because at this time, it was ^{still} very early in the morning, I didn't know
how bad this was going to be.

~~EB:~~ When did ~~Reuter~~ Reuter call you, Ray?

RG: Five o'clock. And it took me forever to get out of the house
because then every son of a bitch and his brother called. And I had
to make a couple of calls too. You can see how that works. Hubert Locke
called me. ^{Longworth} Quinn called me, he said, "Send me ^{out here} over here!" like--

he was ^{ne} ^a the guy that was yelling police brutality in his paper all the
time--and he wanted us to shoot them, he wanted us--and the next edition

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of his paper, ^{had an 8-18 run} ~~the~~ headline ^{saying} read: "It Could Have Been Stopped." You

know, he kept yelling, "Stop it, they're burning and looting," I ^{get policemen!}

said, "Well where in the fuck am I going to get policemen?" And

you know, we might have ^{had} more if you had shut up before today.

MK

EB: What was your head count that day, Ray, say about four o'clock that morning?

RG: Four o'clock, I can tell you. I can give you the exact figures,

but it was after four o'clock, like a few minutes after 4:00, it would

be roughly 220 for the whole city--but only 113 on the streets. The

others would be in communications, in the station, you know, ⁱⁿ on the

various jobs ^{you} we have to do to support the ones on the street. Now,

cut that down to 113--make it 112--that's not the right figure, but

just say 112--that would be 56 cars, wouldn't it? Two-man cars.

56 cars. All right. Split them down the middle. 25 for all east

of Woodward, and 25 for all west. You've got nothing. And it's still

about that--they've got a thousand more men. But we've never had enough.

And this was of course the thing that kept us ^{awoke} up nights worrying about it.

But you know--there's no better way to deploy what you've got. ^{than we did} And we had

taken --oh I managed to get before that at least 100 policemen out of desk

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jobs and put them on the streets. And hire civilians ^{or} to make do ^{with less}.

Just to get more men out there, ~~before~~ because we just don't have

^{And} enough. We don't today.

MK
EB: Your deployment of men, then, was related to the frequency of crime.

RG: Right.

MK
EB: Was there a different frequency in terms of when riots start?

Was there any--

^A
RG: When the riot started, all the riots started on a week night, around seven, eight o'clock. Well, just like the one on Kercheval ^{in Detroit}

at night. ^{But} I'm speaking around the country. They all started around

that time. Around seven, eight o'clock, weekdays. ^{Always} It was hot,

you know, ^{always} summer's always hot weather. And Kercheval ^{always} followed the

pattern, but we had manpower on Kercheval, ^{and} but we didn't have such

a density of population and we had a better street to work on, because

Kercheval was wider, we had the backing and the help of the community

^{which} that we didn't have on 12th street. They went the other way and joined

the looting ^{or} and burning ^{or}. Then the big problem was, how do you contain 'em?

If we keep 'em right there, right off, 2 blocks of 12th street is lost.

Wh9ch is a very best we could think of. How in the hell do we contain

'em? Someone said, "Tear gas." And I said, "Christ no. Tear gas is gonna bring people out of those hot, apartments, you know, and put more on the street, it's going to spread 'em, to --what's the next, it's not Dexter, but --

EB: Linwood?

RG: Linwood. And it's going to do a lot of things that we just don't want done. Tear gas usually, unless the conditions are ideal, is a dangerous weapon to use, because often the thrower gets it right back in ~~ix~~ his face, and this day, had ^{it} --was a hot day, but there was winds and gusts up to 25 miles an hour. So we were--you know-- the winds were going in all directions.

MK

EB: Who was in command on the scene? Who was the highest-ranking officer on the scene?

RG: LT. Raymond Good at the beginning. And he worked--he got hit in the head with a brick and really banged. But he kept on working. He was the highest one--now of course the question was asked many times,

"Why didn't you shoot?" Well, my position very simple was that I didn't want to commit murder. And I don't think if you kill a person, ^{under} ~~and there~~ ^{circumstances} ~~lot~~ ^{lot} certain is a chance like that, because he's stealing a pair of shoes that

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won't fit him, or a television--they can be replaced, but you know,
 life can't. I ~~don't~~^{set} do it. The other reason is, although the first
 is the prevailing reason, but the other is, that we had about 25 policemen
 out there, that was the most we could get, and I --my feeling is that
 not one of them could have escaped alive if there had been ~~any~~ any
 shooting. And I was talking to one of the sergeants about that, giving
 him my theory on it, and he said, "No, I think you're wrong, I think
Maybe one of us
 that ~~he~~ wanted. . . "

EB: Oh, God! (laughs)

RG: But you see, no one ^{who} hasn't been in a mob realizes--why don't you
 say something?--but what the hell, nobody can hear anybody. The noise
 of the thing, even--now I knew when Conyers and ^{Keith +} the others wanted
 to go out there with ^{Hubert} the others, I knew it would do no damn good in the
 world. For the simple reason that it hadn't done--accomplished anything
 in any other city where there'd been riots--but I said, "Fine." ^{and they'd all tried it} We sent
 them out with bullhorns, and I think really they were practically like
 I don;t like
 jokes of color, but they were practically white when they came back.

MK
 EB: That was Sunday morning? (About ten o'clock, eleven o'clock.)

RG: That was Sunday morning. ← ←

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And they were out to 12th--and Conyers got upon an automobile, and the mob started to rock the car--and he had a bullhorn, nobody's listen

to him. They were lucky to get out of there. So --you just reached a point where as I say, people were berserk--you know, reason--there's

gotta be force. I don't know any other way. Just help yourself, or use force, and you don't have force, now you started to say--we tried

to contain it. We didn't want tear gas, we didn't want a lot of things-- then some police came out from the commandoes--I asked Murray when I

became police commissioner, by the time I got my coat hung up, for a few days, I asked--I believe the Superintendent to give me the plans

for--riot plans. And he says, "What riot plans?" And I said, "Well, Detroit has a riot because, things are tense as a revolution, if you've

read the papers." I said, "What are our contingents, what are our plans?"

He said, "Oh, we don't have any." The commandoes--well, the commandoes are--

did I say this to you? The commandoes are about 12 or 14 big old men in the police department from stationary traffic--you know, they have to be

very tall--and ~~now~~ now they're all close to 60--(laughs) They started them in the 43 riot and it was probably --they used to have an old car they'd

send out to grabble with--six cops would just break everybody's

head in sight--no matter if it was passers-by, or you know, . . .

it had

you don't

it's

say

of the

Murray

after

uses

we got

an outgrowth from the old flyer -

trouble

who

old ladies

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. . .well, those were different. ^{So} But then they had the Commandoes.

So, and, oh God. So we went to work on that. I said, tell me, "Where do we keep our weaponry?" They said, "It's in the Municipal Garage."

I said, "I want to see it." So we went over. Now this is shotguns, ^{this is}

anything ^{you} we needed for heavy ^{work,} stuff. Not nearly enough. My god.

Heavy clubs, if you hit anybody with ^{one} 'em, you'd gotta kill him if

you hit him in the ankle. And gas--tear gas. I looked at the dates,

^{Christ,} and it was out-dated. It wouldn't work. ^{it would} Blow up. But the whole

goddmaned ammunition--oh, god, we had ammunition--all in one room--

~~and~~ onthe second floor of the garabge with not even a padlock, ~~on~~ it.

The whole city of Detroit--oh, in the garage ^{of} at police headquarters,

which anybody ~~can~~ can go in--there's a window and a door going into

a room, and there ^{was} 's more ammunition in there--with a glass window, like

this. And a door you could kick open. And this was everything we had.

Except ~~that~~ the weapons that the police were carrying. ^{So} And Jesus Christ,

I stayed up all night ^{getting} to get that stuff fixed. We had alarms put in--we

dispersed it, spread it around, getting it all out of the one place, and

then we had that--alarms put on that would bring the cruisers and bring

additional police in if anyone went through that door without the thing

first being taken off, and it bricked up--they could have stood on
 Jefferson Avenue and thrown a grenade in their, ^{and} ~~it would've~~ ruined
 the whole city. YOU'd have nothing to work with. And had the wall
 bricked up ^{at} with the garage, and had the stuff dispersed, as well as
 getting the plan. And then we had every policeman within a year,
 no matter what precinct had riot training. Every policeman in the
 department had some riot training. And we of course were working
~~in~~ with the public, trying to make community relations, we were
 disciplining police, we stopped this business of the police beating
 people up because they were black, and I say we stopped it because
 we were ~~fixing~~ firing policemen who did it. And that had a hell of
 an effect. And never was any of this done before. The commissioner ^{of his}
^{ever got} had an inquiry, and ^{had} an investigation, and ^{made} as wear as I could tell,
 they would never get the results. ^{of the investigation, it would be shortstopped along the line + he just covered} ~~The investigation would be tricked~~
 up, and ~~be just covered,~~ so nothing was done. It was not uncommon,
 if a person, particularly a black, walked in a police station and ^{to}
 compalined about a policeman that he'd get the piss kicked out of
 him and get locked up. You know, this--I'm not exaggerating, this
 is the way the thing happened. Particularly, of course,--I don't think
 that happened much in the country club precinct, 12th ⁱⁿ and Palmer Woods,

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where--but particularly the poor and thos without clout or friends.

I'm talking too much. . .

EB: No, I'm just delighted, Ray.

RG: You've probably got questions. ~~Next~~

EB: No.

RG: But we did stop that. We did listen to complaints. So much needed to be done that I couldn't do, because I listened to people.

Now I mean, if they had a delegation, if they wanted to see me, I'd

see them. And I mean, if it was a problem, work it out. And then of

course, there were so many militant groups then. Where ~~xxx thexxx~~ they are today, I haven't the least idea, we ought to find out, because

it's significant. But Jesus Christ, a guy like Wadsworth was in ^{then}

the NAACP--^gsecretary--and he was a son of a bitch, because he'd say

one thing to me and go ^{right} stand out in the hall and tell the reporters

the opposite. We had police in our--we had a community relations thing

which I thought was the last place I'd have to look because of Edwards.

I believe that George ~~E~~ was--well I found out, finally found out--that

the black--it was mixed, ^{racially} black and white--and I found out that the blacks

weren't talking to the whites and vica versa. And they hated each other.

And ^{they apt to} were after revolt, ^{also} also. The confidential records were disappearing from there and turning up in the hands of black militants. And I would get a report and this ~~is~~ has happened--here are the facts. Somebody out there in a group would get a report--I don't know from the same guy or not--would be just the opposite to mine. And it took ^{me} us a little time to figure out what was happening, because they must have thought I was the god damnedest liar who ever ~~xx~~ sat in that chair. And they had these young groups--well, all ages--well, ^{hell} ~~we~~ everybody was militant--but hell, the Cotillion Club--the social elite--of the black community--~~which is~~, they have a ball, they have debutants, and they do have a ^{little} scholarship things--and by God, if they didn't get a militant ^{committee} ~~community~~ going. Police-community relations, and each group--and the trouble--one of the troubles ^{is} was--I had a hard time convincing those I didn't know that we weren't adversaries in this ^{goddamned} thing. Look, we got a problem, I recognize it, you recognize it, let's see if ~~if~~ we can find a way ^{it} we can work it out, because they think, look all you've gotta do is snap your fingers, and say, don't do that anymore. But ~~we~~ here are thousands of people who are tradition-bound, and you can stop it that way. It's a son of a bitch to stop. These guys are

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hard to handle, they can screw you in 90 ways. So you gotta
 and--you gotta back them, if you possibly can, or you've not
 no morale ^{or no} in your police department, and get them to do the thing
 right. And satisfy the other people. You just can't call somebody
 and say, "Look, tomorrow we're all gonna tip our hats ^{every time} if we pass
 a black person." It doesn't work out that way. They ^{had} issued an order
 that--after I left--that they were to have their names ^{sewn} on their shirts.
 They just now got arbitration on the thing. So they're just ^{now} ~~not~~ doing
 it, ^{That's} for three years, almost. ^{from the time} The order went out. And your're dealing
 with a lot of very biased people. And a lot of good ones.

MK

EB: Ray, was CCR any help to you, in the summer of 67 in terms of
 intelligence about ^{what was} all this happening on the streets?

RG: Frankly, no. I think I would get more information on my own
 telephone. And I'd say the police weren't too good either. No.
 I knew--I was very suspicious --one thing bothered me ^e A lot in
 '67. Well, of course, we had the blue flu, you know. Which could've
 been avoided. But ~~it~~ wasn't. And that was a bastard thing to go through,
 and when --because the city just wouldn't recognize the fact that the
 police department now was a union, and legislature ^{had given} giving them the right

the collect a ^{beginning} . What the hell, that's unionism. Except that they didn't have the right to strike. So it was very easy to get around that by being sick. But we had ^{hell} of a time getting -- ^{and in} working out any intelligence from the black community. They were ^{so resentful of the police,} --you know--we couldn't break in. And I used everything I knew-- because I had, fortunately, friends, both legitimate and criminal-- but the thing that bothered me was this--that the really --the most --for want of a better term, radical, or militant--groups or individuals hadn't been in to see me that summer. Now I was so god-damn busy with ^{to flee and} ^{else over here} throwing everything out that I sent word -and made inquiries why hand't anybody been in, asking them to come in, ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{or} if there's some reason why they don't want to come in any more, I'll go and meet them. You know, under the Belle Isle bridge at midnight if they want to talk. I think ^{reached a} that many of them ~~used~~ the point--there's no use talking anymore, ^{let's} burn the son of a bitch down, maybe that'll get their attention; I think now. But there wasn't a hell of a lot ^{more} I could do about that; you couldn't change ^{the} a thing any faster than we were because of, Jesus Christ, we did things in that Department ~~what~~ were just unheard of; ^{I mean} taking people to the trial board for mistreating a citizen; not only

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that, but firing them, ^{or} suspending the m 6 months or 10 months, ^{and} transfers all over the place, which makes it rough because a transfer can--that kind of transfer--can make their--can reduce their--what's it called? Points ^{that they get} for being a good policeman. They go to another police precinct and they drop about ten right off the bat, because they're new there; it's a bad theory; I don't think it should work that way, ~~no~~ but it does; they --then, all that's added up when it's time for them to be promoted; and If they had been transferred a lot, then they'd have a harder time being promoted.

EB: Ray, can I interject a question before I forget it. You mentioned how the Civic leaders, the black leaders ^{had} ~~that~~ failed in Detroit, just as they'd failed in every other city, ^{is} does ~~it~~ that--

RG: ~~The day of the riot?~~

EB: Yes, the day of the riot. ^{EB} Is that because of the the proletariot that were doing the rioting had lost confidence in the leaders, or the leaders were out of touch with the proletariot?

RG: ^{Both.} I'm sure that the rioters on 12th street the morning that these people went out to talk to them looked at them as Uncle Toms. As ^{ives} captres of the white. And I would generalize, at least in theory, that this is why they are not--it's the tough militant who can persuade them

to take tougher action. And not the ~~pre~~ preachers.

MK

EB: Wasn't it also true, Ray, that the black establishment leaders were not identifying the rioters as their people. They were saying these are criminals, it's not a racial question. They were the ones who were demanding harsh action.

RG: You mean on that morning?

MK

EB: Yes.

RG: Yeah. That's true except that like the day before that, if one

of those awful criminals, or say 3 of them, had jumped a policeman

two other
and ~~another~~ policeman came to his aid and the three criminals _____

wonderful
* all these high-echelon people would be in there with fire in their

eyes, protesting ⁺brutality. Now how the hell do they know it's

could I tell? There's a fight
brutality, or a ~~fight~~? How do you know how many punches to throw?

I went by the rule that once a guy isn't fighting any more, ~~then~~ you

stop fighting too, because ~~then~~ *in addition to* anything ~~more than this or that~~, you're

in trouble. And this was maybe not a fair way but it was the fairest way.

But you see there were some bad things happened during the riot, naturally

on both sides, there were some bad excesses on the part of some police.

Everybody's got a breaking point, and these guys go walking down the street minding their own business and blow up a copper. They don't resign from the human race when they join the police department. And its a lousy job and considering their background and their training, they can blow up, too. Others do. ^{it} But the police aren't supposed to; there not allowed to, but its understandable that sometimes they do.

And those emotional ^{supr} of the moment things I can look at with a lot more understanding and tolerance than a ^{planned} "we'll make this son-of-a-bithh tell us he did it if it takes us three days."

^{MK}
~~EB~~: Ray, coming back to the question of black revolutionaries, where ⁱⁿ there ^{+ whereabouts} movementes ¹ under surveillance before the ~~tot~~?

RG: We had --let me get my timetable--we had some under surveillance; but it was a tough ^{demand} surveillance ^{to} maintained because we had practically no black officers; we didn't know a ^{te} black officer ^{we had} well enough to know if we could trust him. This was the awful part about this and all other police departments. You see, here's a guy, here's a hell of a good policeman, ^{or} but can I give him a thing like this to do? One--if I give it to him, ^{you} if ¹ I know his background and know that he's good, the black community knows ^{whole} he's a cop. And as far as getting--I managed to get some informants. And

I got some fairly good information, but I ^{you don't know} wonder how far you can trust

them. Because they ^{haven't proved} improve themselves. You see, it was a new experience, completely. Far away from police work. Nobody ever thought this was possible--I mean, going back years; it was an inferior race, and you know, they were kicked around, they weren't allowed on the police department, they were given the worst jobs, they weren't promoted, ^{here} it was terrible, discrimination, even in getting in the police department. I'd like to think we overcame a lot of it. But this was a terrible thing for the people of Detroit because we didn't have the intelligence we should have and ^{not only didn't we have it,} we had a hell of a hard time finding out who to send to get it and where to go to get it.

^{MK}
~~EB:~~ What I did have in mind, Ray, was this: to the extent that you did have some intelligence, ^{is} was it possible, based on the movements and actions of the militants that you were aware of, that you can absolutely reject the conspiracy theory? In other words, on the basis of your intelligence, can you say that they were ^{is} surprised. . . ?

RG: This ~~was~~ spontaneous. I am convinced. I am convinced that ~~this~~ was not a conspiracy. That this was as spontaneous situation. ^u You see, the very fact that one of the cops had stopped the car on a hunch--the raid wasn't planned, and the whole thing hinged on that raid. Plus--oh, a lot of other things I've leaned, but I think the militants immediately

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got together once it had started. I think the telephone, the stores of guns and --were not enormous then, it built up later-- the Molotov cocktails were brought out--I think that an organization--not "organization" is hardly--I think that groups would immediately after it started--2 hours, 3 hours, when the word got around. You see, it didn't go on the radio.

It was held back. They knew it. They ~~xxxxx~~ censored themselves, to keep people away. We didn't ask them to. We had suggested to them ^{previously} that when ~~there was~~ ^{we had} racial trouble, it would be of great help to the city if they

hold up--if they could-- putting it on the air, because once it got on the air, crowds ^{formed} and hampered the efforts of the police and others to ~~sort~~ of smooth it over. This didn't get on the air till--I don't know

the time--but it was several hours after it had been going. And we had another decision--decision^s, Jesus--there were 33,000 people at a double-

header ball game. ^{The} Tigers were playing the Yankees. All right, what do you do? Do you tell 'em, don't go on ^{12th Street} tossing? --who didn't know about

the riot. ^{At this point} A lot of people didn't. And do you tell 'em, don't go home, go by way of Grosse Pointe, because by the ~~wime~~ time they were going to get

out of the ball game ^{we} they still had it pretty well confined to 12th, with the exception of one big fire on Linwood ~~because when they fire on Linwood~~ and just a little looting there.

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And just a little looting there. But I decided to ~~oh thanks~~--I decided to tell 'em that there was a little problem; nothing to worry about, but go home by other streets than I think 12th.

MK

EB: Was that announced at the ball park?

RG: Yeah, Joe Gentile put it on the speaker. ^{You know} Yes, it's a problem-- what are you going to do? You got 33,00 people. They might blow up ^{on you too} the field. But --and then of course--the National Guard. You know,

we worked very closely with the National Guard, Jesus, --they were up at ^{Grayling} Summer Camp. I was kind of reluctant, I don't know, ~~and~~ whether ^{and believe me I've heard about my friend also do this -}

I should have just insisted to Jerry that he get the National Guard in here sooner. They couldn't have been here much sooner, anyway. But ^{he} see, I worked with National Guard, ^{on so many occasions} I know what they are, I knew it would be slaughter if they came in. And it was. That I was trying to think, Jesus, can a miracle happen, and can't we ~~get~~--handle this thing ourselves.

MK

EB: When was the decision made to call the Guard? You had the State Police in first, is that correct?

RG: Yeah.

MK

EB: That wasn't sufficient. ~~No~~

RG: No. ^{It was} They were due in the morning, but it was late in the morning,

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that we knew that we had to have them.

MK
EB: When did you notify and involve the Mayor in all the decisions?

RG: I called him before seven o'clock ^{and got him up} that morning. He was--he came down. But we were criticized for not getting the Guard in sooner.

If we had asked for them, sooner than we did, we wouldn't have gotten them in Detroit, because they were ^{housed} out in the field ^{around} there in Grayling

and we couldn't have gotten them back much sooner than we did. And

then, a bad thing, I know enough about these operations to know that

you don't commit troops piecemeal. But the way they were coming into

Detroit, and the way the City was going, we had to commit them piecemeal/

And naturally, they got chewed up. And this is what you do, but what

^{we} they were doing, biding time. Now this ~~is~~ I can't verify, but I'm

told by people in the Police Department who were there, I had to go to

a meeting, I had wanted to go out to the ~~10th~~ 10th precinct and see it,

also go to a meeting of the citizens in the police station and the --as to

what they could do and what they wanted to do. And we had 2 kinds of citizens.

Pro-police and anti-police. We were already being called brutal. And this

was early afternoon. We were already being called brutal and we were

already being told we weren't doing enough. By the ^{this} ~~group~~ group, and

by citizens who were invited. ~~the~~

MK

EB: Do you care to name names?

Well, I don't remember, they were

RG: ~~All-I-remember-is-that-there-were~~ business people around the neigh-

borhood. *They were neighborhood people*

MK

EB: I thought you were referring to the black leaders.

RG: No. At this meeting it was a ~~mx~~ large one; it took up the whole

auditorium part of the basement--of the Livernois precinct. And there

were business people and residents of that area. I would generalize

this way, that the older people wanted us to do more, and the younger

ones were claimed ^{my} that they were brutal. And its very possoble that

been some if there had ^{out} acts of brutality ~~by~~ by that time, I doubt it--

MK

EB: Had the first fatality occurred as yet?

RG: No, no. The first fatality was a woman riding in a car on Woodward

Avenue around Clairmount. She was hit by a stray bullet. And it was

that night --Sunday night.

EB: Ray, along those lines--

RG: I may be wrong on that, I think it was Sunday ^{night} ~~afternoon~~.

EB: I recall writing that in my notes. That it was Sunday.

EB:

RG: Yeah. You know, the newspaper accounts looked like every other

person in the black community was a sniper. How many snipers do you

think there were, Ray?

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RG: Ten percent of what we--what was the count? Whatever the count

was, I'd say ^{maybe} fifteen percent were actually snipers.

MK
EB: Reported--

RG: Reported snipers. Now, this has to be guesswork because there is no way to verify it except, you see --it's --you know, street fighting, where there are a lot of buildings is a very tough way to fight. And you had--when the National Guard came in they were a bunch of country kids scared to death in the city anyway. I don't mean that they lacked personal courage, but they were in a strange environment, let's face it.

Somebody would take a shot; it would be dark and you know--curfew we got ~~in~~ and so--boom--you take a shot at them--Jesus, a sniper--boom, boom, boom at the sniper. Sniper goes all around. Then everybody's a sniper. But ~~xx~~ there were two kinds of ~~sniper~~ snipers. ^{There was} The casual,

sniper who would be in his apartment drinking whiskey and they'd get up and take his rifle and stand ^{back from} in the window. This was bad. They weren't coming ^{up to the window. At night} after them. You couldn't see a flash. He knew enough to stand back.

And go bang, bang, bagg and go back to his whiskey.

MK ^{Amusing at any time in}
EB: Any kind of particular--?

RG: Well, it;s--preferably--and then there was a real smartie. And this ^{if he didn't have a target, he'd shoot anyway,} was the dedicated guy who would pick a spot and take a shot, preferably at

a cop or somebody ^{may} who was going to do some damage, and then go ~~over~~
 like a bastard, disappear, in the dark and without--because you couldn'
 calm down either the police or the National Guard--it was awful hard
 to get them calm. They'd concentrate their fire on the place where
 he was--now by this time he's over ⁱⁿ someplace else taking another shot.

You don't have to have many smart people like that to do ~~the~~ damage, and
^{There was}
~~they're~~ that kind of sniper.

MK

EB: Hubert Locke's book suggests that there was some organized sniping,
 police
 coordinating sniping, at ~~2~~ stations around the city.

RG: Um--I--

MK

EB: The logbooks at that time suggest that it was coordinated.

RG: It could have been. You see, when the whole god-damn town's gong
 that way, there could be so many coincidences that they don't--the timing
 and all don't necessarily indicate to me that it's organized. But ~~the~~ there
 is firing at some police stations--however, I think even that was exaggerated.
 I think--maybe I shouldn't say--but one ^{sergeant} was crawling from under his desk,
 saying he was under fire; we sent everything out there and couldn't find
 a god-damn indication that the station had been under fire at all.

(laughter) And I don;t think it was. However, I can't say, I wasn't there.

was
 But he down on the floor under his desk, calling headquarters, and we were

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able to get an awful lot of stuff, he told us the direction it was

so we could go
coming from, in the back and everything, couldn't find it, maybe

it had gone, but we didn't find the bullet marks, ~~xxx~~ either.

MK

EB: So at the time time logs that Lorke cites that lacked were merely reports,

not necessarily *verified* yours.

RG: That's right. And the radios were going so fast, there was

never a second between--you know, they were just piled up, And

you couldn't *verify* very much...

EB: Would you verify, Ray, any of those reported *instances* incidences of

firing on Fire Companies?

RG: Yes. I don't re--yeah--I don't remember about the firing, but

the rock-throwing and the bottle-throwing--fire departments, the first

one, I think, was Sunday afternoon, pulled right out of *a fire* it, on 12th street.

We couldn't by that time give them protection. And Christ, we couldn't

protect ourselves. So they were --and I've got a theory too, that the

fireman who was shot through the head--and it's only a theory--was shot

accidentally by a --I think--National Guard. *but it's a team* We couldn't get the damn

bullet, so you couldn't *match* mess it up with anything. It was a through an

through. *and the fellow just disappeared.*

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MK
EB: Ray, how much manpowers was diverted to the protection of public utilizies?

RG: Well, we ~~--excuse me just a second--~~ go right ahead. I--let's get back to that morning. When the superintendant called me at five o'clock that Sunday morning and I told him not to take the police off the east side--

EB: ⁱeah.

RG: I was afraid, as I say, that this could be a diversion, that the main thrust might be on ^{the east side.} ~~these~~ And on the east side we have the water works, ^{we have} the ~~Edison~~ Edison plant, we had the Belle-Isle--the East Side radio, Belle Isle police radio there. We ^{have} had Chrysler, Parke-Davis, with all its narcotics--you know, a lot, plus half the population of Detroit. So I couldn't see leaving--so you know, I was kind of worried about that. Now we had to be very haphazard about that, like leave a man or keep it under. He asked me about the security, But then--emergency-- we got citizens who we knew to fill in ^{until} ~~under~~ the National Guard came in. When the National Guard came, they took over.

MK
EB: There is something called the police reserve.

Which
RG: We built up. No, it's called Police Emergency Reserve. It's a thing I was always opposed to, because you can get the screwballs. You know,

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he's an unpaid policeman, and Christ, he's apt to be shooting people and everything else. However, we put through a ~~program~~ program, and got--

I had over a thousand

people that you could depend on--and they were trained to--they would go and their job was to guard the utilities, so we wouldn't be without water,

and we had that pretty well down. But I don't know whether ^{they} we still ^{have} had it,

but the trouble was in keeping an interest, because there wasn't enough

for them to do, ^{but they were} substantial people, we'd ^{and} check them out. We ^{had} got all kinds

of applications, ^{people} ~~but~~ we just couldn't take a chance on it. And --yeah, it's--

EB: ---I don't want to overtake you.

RG: Oh no.

ESB: I could listen to you talk all night. ^{MK:} Ray, you were out on the streets the night before the riot?

RG: Yeah, I made it a point to be out on the streets a great deal ^{at night}.

And the night before my wife Mary and I had driven out to see a friend of mine who had been held up. ^{out} ~~and~~ In the northwest section; wanted to

see if he was hurt, and recovering all right; and we then drove through

the 10th precinct. And I mean ^{really} it, it's a big precinct, but we covered an

awful lot of it that night. Just to get the feeling of the streets. No

particular reason; I did this frequently. The street--it was a hot night--

the streets were crowded--the women were hot. But the people all seemed to be--there didn't seem to be any hostility in particular-- they seemed ^{normal}--friendly, and ~~there~~ no indication--~~there~~ it was a low-crime night, too, in the whole city; for the 24-hours prior to the riot there were only about 4 holdups. As opposed to roughly 18 ^{or 20} a night now. But there was no indication, of course, and I still think that it was just a combination of circumstances ^{with} --most people on the streets ^{who} were very bitter people and wanted to get something started. ^{and who} They ~~did~~ manage that night to do it. I think that despite all the Mayor did, Cavanaugh had done, and the police had done, ^{and many} in ~~all~~ agencies of the city under the Mayor had done to improve--and of course, many many black citizens had done to improve race relations and correct ^{so many ills,} that if it hadn't been that night, we'd have had a riot. Every city did. Practically every city, large and small, But all the large ones. And I think we ^{id} ~~could~~ ^{had} have it. And this just happened to be the occasion. But there ^{was} ~~is~~ as I say, very little crime; no racial incidents reported that night. I got the call--^{as} ~~I~~ ^{you} started to tell the superintendant of police about five o'clock Sunday morning, he said, "I think we've got trouble at Clairmount and 12th." And he told ~~me~~ me about the raid and

said they were fighting and ^{he was getting people out, police out, and} ~~these young people out.~~ We were ^{and} ~~were already calling~~ already throwing them back, the ones we could reach. But unfortunately

it was beautiful weather, many of them ^{had left} were out for a day at the ~~laxk~~ lake with their families and those who had 2 days off had already gone.

~~--Pardon me.~~ But it was hard for me to get out of my home. ^{I hurriedly got dressed} And my phone kept ringing. My administrative assistants, ^{Hubert Locke called, &} the owner, the editor, ^{of} the Chronicle, whic is a black-oriented newspaper in Detroit,

he wanted more men right out there and get rough and stop it, and

the paper, ^{had the} headline the following week ^{saying} said it couldn't be stopped;

he though we should use more force, ironically--ironically, this paper ^{was} ~~is~~ constantly accusing the police of using too much force. And prior--

and subsequent occasions. However, many people called and it was hard

to get out. I went out and the first person I saw on the way to my car was Judge ^{Wake} McCree, a Neighbor, who was black, and I told him--he was ^{it was still very early}

delivering his little' boy's paper route, because his son was sick--

I told him about it--^{no} that he was the first citizen outside of that neighborhood to know--but I told him at that time that if ^{it} he had looked ^{from} at all reports,

it was serious and we were in for it, and I said to my wife before I left,

"look, I'm afriad this is going to last a long time. Why don't you just

go over the cottage. We had a cottage on Lake Erie in Canada. Not

Because
that I thought ~~was~~ there was any danger to her; I knew there wasn't;

but I knew that I wouldn't be home for more than a change of clothes,
a shower, ~~many~~ maybe. So she said something I hadn't thought of,

and she was right, she said, "if I leave here, all of Lafayette Park
will leave too." And it was true because there were many, many inquiries

as to where she was. From residents of the area who naturally, our
being right downtown, and a lot of violence occurring just outside

on the periphery of the park, as to whether ~~she~~ she had left, and I

on whether she was there

think it was reassuring to the people to know that ~~was~~ she stayed ~~there~~.

But I hadn't thought of that effect--she did.

MK

~~EB~~: Way, one of the events of the summer before the riot--the summer

of '67, preceding the riot--was the shooting of a black husband at Rouge
Park--do you give that much weight as a contributing factor?

RG: No. No I don't. It was a horrible thing. I really don't.

while
Because there was a great deal of resentment ^{over it} among black people, and

rightly so, it was a brutal murder; the police did work on it, and

worked on it hard and did arrest and prosecute successfully the ~~man~~ person
who committed this murder of this black ^{man} and in front of his wife, incidentally,

for no reason. There was no fight, he just killed him. But there was

some dissat--of course, the case at that time, ^{by} at the time of the riot, was ^{it} really final; there was resentment later ~~that~~ because others in

that crowd were not prosecuted. But the prosecutor and the police felt that they had a case against one man; ^{of the} there were 4 or 5 who were in

the crowd; ^{and} one man only and they couldn't connect the others up with

a criminal act, ~~but~~ and it would weaken their case against the man who had committed the murder, and that was their thinking and that's why

they prosecuted, and they did it successfully. No, I don't think it

did. And--during the riot, we didn't have any of the usual of the often--

accusation^s of police brutality and there wasn't anything that seemed to

be voiced against the police during the riot. And it wasn't of course

a race riot in the sense that one ^{race - weel} ~~the~~ one in 43 in Detroit--when the

blacks and the whites were fighting. This was a revolution, a riot,

by black people over, ^{MK:} ^{EB:} I think, the system. You reject as cosmetic,

the claim made at the time that it was a truly integrated riot.

RG: Yes, I do. We arrested a few people, just a handful of white

people for participating in the looting. And there weren't many observed.

You see, the looting and the burning were in black neighborhoods. And

white people just didn't go in there and participate. Maybe there were

afraid to, I don't know why they didn't but they didn't. ^{Well,} While some whites got involved on the Wallace side, there were very few; I can hardly say it was integrated unless--well, let's call it ~~a token~~ ^{token} ~~integration.~~

MK

EB: The working class in integrated neighborhood like DelRay, there really wasn't any trouble. ~~And~~

RG: There wasn't anything down there at all, that's all black, You mean the black part of Del Ray?

MK

EB: Well, it's kind of next.

RG: It is next. But there was no trouble down there at all. Those were people who owned their own homes, too. But you see, I think that there was ^{a large} ~~the~~ criminal element involved in it, there's no question about that. ^{and a large} ~~Now there was~~ militant element involved in it, but there was a large number of decent, law-abiding, black people who had never been involved in criminal acts before. Certainly, as far as the police know, because they had no records, and ~~because they had no records.~~ They had jobs and owned their homes and had no trouble. They got caught up in this awful hysteria.

MK

EB: Ray, do you go along with the thought that the composition of the

12th street neighborhood was rootless--that there were a lot of people who had just moved in and who really were not raised in that community?

RG: Oh, yes. ^{Oh, yes.} That area's pretty transient. That is a lot of ^{- in the} apartments, and the street, there are a lot of transient ³ people who don't stay long.

That of course is true of the city to such a greater extent than it ^{used to be} is to ^{and} the young people who advocate the beat patrolman being out there--he ^{isn't} ^{saying well}

knows everybody in the neighborhood. Not any more, he wouldn't. You know, ¹

if we could have had beat patrolman, ~~xxx~~ fine. But they're in cars, ^{because} they can cover so much more territory. And knowing the people is diffi-

cult, because there's so much mobility, really, in all parts of the city.

But no, the people in the 12th street area on that day did not have their roots there at all. It was predominantly white until -- after World War II.

Until after World War II. So the roots were not very deep. But many ^{black} people

who for the first time in their lives are buying their homes, can afford to buy their homes, were doing it ^{and are doing it} in that area, took pride, and they had

lovely single and duplexes on the streets ^{leading} leading into 12th and surrounding

the area where the rioting was the worst. However, I've been concentrating

on 12th. We'll have to take the other parts of the city, too.

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where the rioting was bad. Because while it started on 12th, and while the worst damage was concentrated there, it was very widespread and very serious, in other--all black neighborhoods in the city--and of course, the--a lot of the records are still there.