

Cadillac stopped to go after Chandler, and Chandler chased him with a gun. Chandler's shot missed the car and killed Mrs. Jones. Mrs. Jones' two daughters, according to police, positively identified Chandler, who was indicted July 20 on a charge of homicide. Other observers claim that Mrs. Jones was killed by a white man driving a car past her house after bottles had been thrown at his car. Mrs. Jones, who worked at Hilltop Nursing Home, leaves seven children.

**10. WILLIAM FURR**, thirty-five, 2 Hollywood Avenue, Montclair. Several witnesses, including *Life* reporters, observed Newark police shoot Mr. Furr Saturday afternoon on Avon Avenue midway between Badger and Livingston. Mr. Furr was carrying beer from a store which had been almost completely looted prior to Saturday. Eyewitnesses say two shots hit Mr. Furr and a third seriously wounded Eddie Bass, a small boy, further down the street. Police and troopers then shot in the air and made everyone go in their houses.

**11. HATTIE GAINER**, fifty-three, 302 Hunterdon Street. On Saturday evening, shortly after shooting many rounds of fire into nearby Hayes Homes, troopers ran into nearby Hunterdon Street and were shooting into houses. Mrs. Gainer was killed in her second floor apartment in the presence of three grandchildren, ranging in age from three up to seven.

Her daughter recalled police saying, "We made a mistake. We're killing innocent people," while Mrs. Gainer lay on the floor of her house. Mrs. Gainer had lived in the community for twenty years.

**12. RAYMOND GILMER**, about twenty, living with wife temporarily at mother's house on Bergen Street. For reasons that are unknown, police were chasing Gilmer by car until he parked his car near Clinton and Jelliff about Monday midnight, and ran across the street toward an alley. The police were seen to pull up and fire shots striking Gilmer in the back, then go through his car, where witnesses say they found nothing. However, police claimed Gilmer shot at them, was found with a .38 and knife in hand, stolen clothes and binoculars in car. Married, four kids, employed at State Produce loading potato sacks. Had juvenile record.

**13. RAYMOND HAWK**, twenty-four, 103 Spruce. Killed by troopers or police in the area of Dayton Street and Frelinghuysen Avenue late Saturday night. Hawk was by himself in the deserted street when police drove by firing down alley at supposed looters. Shot dead in the street as he was trying to get to his car.

**14. OSCAR (CURTIS) HILL**, fifty, 497 Belmont. Mr. Hill worked at Spring Mountain Tavern on Belmont and Springfield, was a member of the American

*How killed?*

Legion and Bartenders Union. He was last seen alive when he left work, wearing his American Legion jacket, about 5 P.M. on Friday the 14th. His body was identified exactly one week later in the morgue by his wife, from whom he had been separated for some time.

**15. ROBERT LEE MARTIN**, twenty-two, 241 West Market. He went out with his brother-in-law early Friday evening to see what was going on around the corner of Mercer and Springfield. A while later, police began firing up the street. Martin thought they were firing in the air. Then he was hit in the face. He worked nights for a maintenance company. He had come North last year from Greenwood, Mississippi, with his parents and six brothers and sisters. His family reports that money was taken from his body.

**16. ALBERT MERSIER, JR.**, age about twenty, 117 Oliver Street. Police say they shot and killed Mersier late Friday afternoon on Mulberry Street. They reported that he was attempting to load a car with a vacuum cleaner allegedly looted from a nearby burned-out appliance store. When he saw the police he attempted to flee. Police claim that after being ordered to halt, he was shot. Mersier worked as a laborer and lived with his parents and a younger sister.

**17. EDDIE MOSS**, ten, 240 Rose St. Eddie was

with several members of his family as they were driving to the White Castle for dinner early Friday evening. When his father, who was driving, saw barricades on Elizabeth Avenue near the White Castle, he slowed to a halt. National Guardsmen opened fire. Mr. Moss then drove around the barricades, stopped to let Eddie's uncle jump out to wave down the Guardsmen, then with Eddie's uncle back in the car, drove away to escape further gunfire. When they returned to their neighborhood, the car was riddled with bullets and Eddie was fatally wounded in the head. Police first reported that Eddie was killed by sniper fire, later said an investigation was pending.

**18. CORNELIUS MURRAY**, twenty-eight, 16 Wainwright. Murray was shot and killed by Newark police about 5 P.M. Friday while standing with relatives near the R & R bar on Jones near Springfield. Police were shooting all over the area. According to the July 24 *Washington Post*, the police who killed Murray "suddenly came over the rooftops spraying the street below with bullets." When Murray first was shot witnesses reported a wound in the back. Later his father said that at the hospital he saw a gash across the top of Murray's head and hole in his head. There were \$126 and a ring missing from Murray's body. He worked in a cable company, was married and the father of three.

**19. MICHAEL PUGH**, twelve, 340 Fifteenth

Ave. About midnight Sunday Michael's mother sent him out with the garbage. The young man that Michael was with said something derogatory to the National Guardsmen who were on the corner, so the soldiers opened fire and killed Michael. He was dead by 1 A.M. Monday. Michael was a sixth grader, and planned to work in the summer anti-poverty program the next day.

**20. JAMES RUTLEDGE**, nineteen, was inside a boarded-up tavern on Sunday afternoon. Troopers and police broke in. James gave himself up, and was shot point-blank by a trooper. Photographs show that James was hit by about thirty-nine bullets in the chest alone. Evidence indicates not only sadistic killing of James Rutledge, but several incidents of related terror practiced against neighborhood boys.

**21. JAMES SANDERS**, sixteen, 52 Beacon St. According to police records, James was shot while looting at Springfield Avenue and Jones St. He may have been the youth, about 16, that the *Bergen Record* of July 14 reported killed by two shots in the chest. He may have been the man who was killed by two Newark patrolmen as he ran with liquor bottles through a fence opposite 43 Jones at 4 A.M. (*Newark News*, July 14). James worked as a food distributor at a welfare center. That afternoon he had stopped to see a friend at 298 Bergen, where Rebecca Brown would die two evenings later; he was not seen

again. His father, who said James had never been in trouble before, found his son in the City Morgue eight days after he was killed.

How did he die?

**22. VICTOR LOUIS SMITH**, (?). Police state that Smith had needle marks on his arm when he was found dead in a hallway. The location of the hallway is unclear.

**23. ELOISE SPELLMAN**, forty-one, 322 Hunterdon, apt. 10E. Mrs. Spellman, a mother of eleven whose husband died several years ago, was shot by police fire as she peeked through her window in Hayes Homes early Saturday evening. Her daughter caught her as she fell, got her brothers and neighbors, then waited forty-five minutes for an ambulance. The family learned late Sunday morning that Mrs. Spellman was dead. Hers was one of many apartments on the side of Hayes Homes facing the 16th Avenue firehouse which were hit by police, troopers and guardsmen as they strafed possible snipers. Mrs. Spellman lived on the tenth floor of a thirteen-story building; bullet marks were visible on Hayes windows from the sixth floor up.

**24. RICHARD TALIAFERRO**, twenty-five, 100 11th Avenue. Taliaferro was wounded by police while running down South 8th Street about a hundred feet from a liquor store which was looted. Observers say he then was "finished off" by troopers in the

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street. Taliaferro was due for Army induction July 21.

### The Killings of Toto and Moran

The two white persons killed by bullets in the riot were Detective Fred Toto and Fire Captain Michael Moran. Their deaths—Toto at about 6 P.M. Friday and Moran about 10:30 P.M. Saturday—stirred shock and anger in the white community. Both Newark papers carried their photographs and background stories of praise for their contribution: no Negro victims were given such newspaper treatment. It was announced that both were sniper victims.

The assumption that snipers killed these two men undoubtedly triggered a desire for vengeance among many police and firemen. At least one Negro reports having been beaten by police shouting "T-O-T-O." But the evidence in these cases is far too ambiguous to warrant any definite conclusions.

In the case of Toto, the *Newark News* account tells us that he was on duty for twenty-four continuous hours, rested briefly, and was back at work Friday afternoon. Patrolman Paul Buttross was standing next to Toto when, according to Buttross, "we heard some shots from an apartment house across the street. We all ducked low but Fred stood up. I heard a shot, got some flying glass in my face and when I turned around Fred was down." The

implication is that Buttross did not actually see who or where the shot that killed Toto came from. Certainly the vast majority of bullets in the air were fired by the troops during the entire period in which Toto was killed; yet it was immediately assumed that snipers were responsible. As a result, it seems fair to assume, the troops opened fire more violently to take revenge. To start out, the July 15 *Daily News* reported that "immediately after Toto was hit, more than 200 national guardsmen, city and state police opened fire on the building where the sniper was believed hiding. The police then rushed the building and seized 25 persons." The *New York Times* described it this way: "guardsmen and policemen, wearing bullet-proof vests and advancing behind armored cars, including an eleven-ton personnel carrier, opened fire on the top floors . . . When they finally secured the building at Mercer and West Street, all the snipers were gone, but some of the hallways were spattered with blood." This attack can only be described as one inspired by the idea of taking massive revenge for a single death. Within a very short time, Rufus Council was shot as he stepped from dinner in a steakhouse, seventy-four-year-old Isaac Harrison was dead as he came to visit his son, and Robert Lee Martin was killed on the streets—all in the immediate geographic vicinity of Toto's slaying. That night, Friday, was to be the bloodiest of the riot.

The case of Fire Captain Moran is even less clear. A few minutes after 10 P.M. Saturday, Moran re-

sponded to a fire alarm on Central Avenue a short distance from the station at Central and Ninth. It turned out, according to a signed personal statement of Fire Director John Caulfield, published in the July 17 *Star-Ledger*, that there was no fire visible at the site of the alarm. Caulfield with Moran decided to enter the building. Firemen broke open the second-floor window. Then, Caulfield told the *Star-Ledger*, "the sniper opened fire. *We couldn't see where the bullets were coming from\** but we knew from the sound that it was automatic-weapons fire." Caulfield assumes that only snipers use automatic weapons. There then appears a contradiction in two reports of what Caulfield saw. In the *Star-Ledger* he indicates that Moran was standing when hit, and then slumped down behind the truck; at first Caulfield thought the shot struck Moran in the back, "but it was in the lower left side." However, Caulfield is quoted in the *Newark News* of the same date as saying "we heard shots and dropped to the street behind a parked truck." Here Caulfield said he, Moran, two firemen and two Guardsmen were face down behind the fire truck. The Guardsman yelled he was hit, "then Mike yelled that he was hit." In this version Caulfield said that Moran was shot in the abdomen. While lying face down? Caulfield seems sure of this despite the personal account he gave the *Star-Ledger*; he goes on: "We were lying so close it was just a matter of inches who would be killed." Finally, the *News* adds

\*Author's italics.

this significant ingredient: *According to Caulfield, it is not certain how many snipers were firing at them or from where the shots were coming.\*\**

There is one further figure in the Moran story: a material witness. At about 10 P.M., approximately twenty-five minutes before the death of Moran, Caulfield related, a car with New York plates drove past Moran's fire station and machine-gunned the front entrance. The driver lost control of the car and smashed into a hydrant by a driveway. Two Negro men fled the car; one was captured one block away by the National Guard, the other was wounded, but apparently not captured, by another Guardsman. Moments later Caulfield arrived and went with Moran to the nearby fire, where Moran was killed. The *News* quoted police as identifying the man captured by the Guardsmen as Howard J. Edwards, 23, of Staten Island; considered as a material witness to the shooting and charged with violating curfew, he was held in lieu of \$100,000 bail (the highest charged anyone). The *Star-Ledger* reported also that Edwards was held, and added that "he was arrested in a car not far from the Central Avenue building where Moran was killed. The time of the arrest was shortly after the shooting." The police believe Moran's killer was in the car with Edwards. In one story we are told the two Negro men fled the car, in another story we find that one remained and was arrested. In one story

\*Author's italics.

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we are told that the unarrested Negro man was wounded, in another that he got from the point of the wreckage to the scene of the supposed fire in time to shoot Moran and a Guardsman, then still could not be found and arrested. In one story we are told the police believe this unknown, wounded Negro to be the killer, while in another story Director Caulfield himself acknowledged that "we couldn't see where the bullets were coming from."

Does this incredible maze of statements seem more believable than the idea that police were firing on themselves and could very well have killed Captain Moran? There were, in fact, some reporters at the scene of the Moran shooting who felt the shots were coming from the police. Certain papers, the *Washington Post* for example, decided to leave unanswered the question of who killed the fire captain. Not so state and local officials. In carrying the myth to 2500 angry firemen at Mike Moran's funeral, they intensified the suspicions and fears of a crucial part of the white community.

## Testimony from the Brutalized

Many are alive to tell what happened in the Newark riot. The following stories are adapted from eyewitness accounts collected immediately after the police withdrew. There may be an inaccuracy here, an exaggeration there, but the overall point of these

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statements is that a broad cross-section of Newark's Negroes have essentially similar feelings about the role of the military during the five days. Because there have been reports of harassment of the individuals cited below, their names have been changed. The sources for the foregoing material are community workers, poverty program officials and persons associated with the American Civil Liberties Union.

- William Anderson was stopped by Guardsmen as he drove home from work early Monday morning. After some discussion over how he was to get home, Mr. Anderson was told, "Black nigger, get in your car and get the hell out of here!" Then police dragged him from his car, saying, "Nigger, what you got in your pocket?" and proceeded to empty his pockets onto the ground. Another said, "You talk about brutality, nigger. We're going to show you what brutality is." After questioning, he was allowed to leave.

- Joseph Adams, fifty-six, was awakened Friday night by loud voices. Watching through his bedroom window, he saw four Newark policemen search five Negro men. The patrolmen informed the men it was after curfew, and one began to beat one of the men with his billy club, while the man begged him to stop. When the beaten man had collapsed, the police ordered his companions to put him in their car and

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drive off, which they did, in spite of the fact that this incident took place fifty yards from the emergency entrance of Martland Medical Center.

- Around noon on Saturday, Richard Barber, in his mid-twenties, was walking past Foodtown on Broadway with a friend. A white patrolman stopped, handcuffed, and searched the pair, finding a boy-scout knife on Barber, who is a counselor at a camp for ghetto children. The young men were ordered into a squad car. Barber moved a police hat from the seat in order to avoid sitting on it. The officer in the front seat turned, punched Bernard in the thigh, called him a "black son of a bitch," and informed him that he, the policeman, was the boss.

- Jerry Boyd, 52, was watching TV by his window at 11:30 Thursday night. The troops machine-gunned his apartment, breaking five windows and the television. Bleeding from glass cuts, Boyd dropped to the floor.

- Jesus Alvarez was sitting with his family and three friends in his first floor apartment in the Columbus Homes Housing Project at around 9:30 Saturday night, when he heard police order all windows closed. Minutes after obeying this command, and hearing no

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shots, he and Ramon Rodriguez went into the kitchen for water. Through the window they saw a state trooper standing with a shotgun under a lamppost in the parking lot. Suddenly shotgun pellets struck Alvarez in the chest, and Rodriguez in the neck and shoulder. Both fell to the floor.

- The block on which Leroy Martin and his family live, in an apartment behind their store, is scheduled for urban renewal. Only three families remain on the block. Late Sunday night five rifle bullets passed through the storefront and back into the wall of the bedroom where Martin's wife and daughter were asleep. Martin saw a police car with four white helmeted police pull away from the curb. Half an hour later, Martin watched two state police cars fire into a poolroom, laundromat, tavern, and two vacant buildings on the block.

- Florence Buxton and her brother Andrew Davis were talking with neighbors on her front porch late Friday afternoon, when shooting broke out down the block. She ran into the house. Suddenly Andrew cried out, "My eye, my eye!" and running into the hall Mrs. Buxton saw him leaning against the wall, blood pouring from the side of his head. Andrew Davis has lost the vision in his right eye.

At the same time, down the street, Roger Buxton

was fixing his car. Al Lee, sitting on his stoop next door, watched Roger as he lay on his back with his head under the car. Suddenly Lee saw a state trooper fire at Roger, and heard Roger cry, "I'm hit!" as he clutched his left side, from which blood began to pour immediately.

- Roy Gleason, a newsman, was wearing his press card when he attempted on Saturday morning to take a picture of a trooper searching a suspect. The trooper told him to move on, and when Mr. Gleason answered that he was a member of the press, the trooper responded, "Get moving or I'll take that camera and wrap it around your head!" Shortly afterwards, Gleason watched a white photographer take a picture of a similar searching of a suspect. No remarks were made about moving on.

- Friday night Mrs. Martha Frank saw troopers beat, club, and kick a teen-age boy after asking him, "Where are you going, nigger?" and he replied, "I'm going home."

Minutes later she saw troopers stop a car carrying three Negro men, drag the driver out, ask him where he was going, and immediately hit him on the head with a gun. Another slapped his face, saying, "Don't look at me like that. We ought to kill all of you." The troopers searched the other two men, then beat them

with guns until one dropped to the ground. While troopers continued to kick and beat these two, they told the driver, "If you're going to go, go!" When he ran off, troopers chased and caught him, beat him to the ground with guns, handcuffed him and his companions, and put them in a US Army truck.

- Newark Police beat Mr. and Mrs. Richard Lopez on Thursday night as they stood on a street corner. One knocked Lopez to the ground with the barrel of a shotgun, and kicked him in the back, while another kicked his wife in the stomach three times, saying "Kill that nigger bitch!" Mrs. Lopez heard one policeman say, "We had better find a serious charge for her, because we can get in trouble for this." Both were then arrested.

- At midnight, Thursday, David O'Keefe was standing on a crowded street corner. When a policeman driving by told the group to disperse, walked off. Hearing a shot he began to run, and soon realized he had been hit in the left side. When O'Keefe told a policeman he was shot, the policeman knocked him down, kicked him in the ribs, and left him there.

- Robert Baldwin and his white fiancée were stopped on Springfield Avenue Sunday afternoon



about 2 P.M. by seven National Guardsmen and two state troopers for what was allegedly an auto search. "Nigger, what are you doing with a white girl? What are you doing with one of our women? Who the fuck do you think you are?"

The troops struck Baldwin several times, then attacked his fiancée while the National Guardsmen called her such things as "Nigger-lover," "white trash," "whore," and "prostitute." Finally, the couple was allowed to proceed home.

- William Brown, a self-employed housepainter, was sitting on the front porch of his home on 15th Street when about fifteen National Guardsmen demanded that everyone evacuate the house. While lying on the front lawn, handcuffed, Brown was beaten with rifle butts and stomped by Guardsmen's boots. Bleeding from head, nose, and arms, Brown was asked where he kept a gun. When he said he didn't have one, they called him "nigger" and repeatedly cursed him.

After the Guardsmen searched the house, \$75 was missing from the pocketbook of Brown's elderly aunt, as well as a transistor radio, and cigarettes.

- Lewis Moore, forty-six, a cab-driver for the last fifteen years, was beaten Sunday morning by four Newark policemen whose badges were covered with

black tape. "Get out, mother-fucker," he was told, then was beaten around the head with flashlights and rifle butts.

Moore was charged with driving on the wrong side of the street. As a policeman wrote out the tickets, Moore was told: "You son of a bitch, I'll fix you so you don't drive any more cabs . . . Mother-fucker, I saw you taking people down to City Hall the other night."

- Simeol Roberts, a Teamster Union member employed by Red Raven Rubber Co., was awakened Thursday night about 11:30 P.M. by his eighteen-year-old son who pointed out the commotion on the street below.

The two men walked down the hallway but didn't dare to go outside, the two men were attacked by six Newark policemen. Roberts was beaten on the head with a billy club which broke in the process. He was knocked unconscious. Later, he had fourteen stitches.

- Estelle Walker watched National Guardsmen in action near her home Saturday afternoon. In rapid succession, she saw the Guardsmen shoot their guns "in all directions" in reply to a single shot that hit no one, gun down a man carrying a six-pack of beer from a tavern and shoot a woman leaning out a window.

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- Several days after the riot had ended, Stephen Raymond, a ten-year employee of a large local industrial firm, drove to Newark City Hospital early one morning to take two people for emergency treatment. Raymond was confronted by two shotgun-toting Newark policemen. Raymond told them he was waiting for two patients to be treated. One of the policemen reached through the car window and punched him in the mouth. With that, he was ordered to leave.

- Jonas Ross, Harold Nichols, and Robert Simpson were resting in their home Saturday evening when two state troopers entered the premises. After shooting through the windows, they broke the door down, even though Nichols offered to open it. The state troopers forced the ten occupants of the building's three apartments to lie down on the sidewalk outside. "Let your nose hit the dirt," was the command. Two unloaded and unused guns were impounded.

- Pat Mitchell, a veteran of the Korean conflict and fifteen-year employee of an electronics company, was beaten on the head, stomach, arms, and legs by five Newark policemen inside the Fourth Precinct Thursday evening. Earlier in the day Mitchell had protested police treatment of neighborhood teen-agers. He predicted that the "get-tough" policy would have

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only "the opposite effect." Mitchell suffered a gash across his forehead requiring five stitches, a possible fractured arm, and innumerable cuts and bruises. No charges were leveled against him.

- John Peters, a seventeen-year-old resident of Columbus Homes, witnessed Newark policemen and state troopers loot cases of liquor from the Colonnade Bar and Grill across the street from his building late Friday night. After shooting into the premises, the police made three trips inside, each time carrying cases out to a yellow emergency truck parked in front. Peters also saw police gun down a Puerto Rican shortly before midnight the same night. He said the Puerto Rican man was unarmed and offered no resistance or provocation.

- Lee Young may lose the full use of his left leg because he was shot by a casually-dressed white motorist near the Pennington Court projects Sunday evening shortly before the curfew. Two bullets extracted from his leg were from a .38-calibre pistol. Young's wound was complicated by a three-and-a-half-hour delay before he was treated. He was questioned by police about the incident during the delay.

- Carlos Nuñez, who lives in a one-family house with

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his wife, daughter, and two grandchildren, saw National Guardsmen shoot into his house without warning early Sunday morning. Nuñez quickly took his family to the rear of the house. National Guardsmen entered his house, searched it, found nothing. But all windows of the house facing the street and the roof were hit and broken by bullets.

- Phillip Lloyd, a twenty-one-year-old office maintenance worker, was staying with friends Saturday night on Belmont Avenue. When bottles were thrown from the building where he was, National Guardsmen forced Lloyd and two others into the street below. There he was beaten with blackjacks by two Newark policemen who took \$60 from his wallet. At the Fifth Precinct, Lloyd was first told he was being charged with throwing bottles; the charge was changed later to "assault and battery on a National Guardsman."

- Perry Osgood's foot is badly infected because he could not obtain treatment for nearly forty-eight hours while exposed to dirt in the Fifth Precinct and Sussex Avenue armory where he was held. Osgood's foot was cut by glass while running from shotgun-firing Newark policemen Friday evening. "Where do you think you're going, you black bastard?" he was asked after capture.

- Mrs. Rhoda Powers saw police fire into buildings

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on both sides of Howard Street Thursday night after someone threw a bottle at them. Nine bullets broke her windows as she dropped to the floor.

- The intersection of Bergen and Hawthorne was crowded with people late Thursday night. Police drove up and down Bergen Street firing their guns. Daniel Lewis, 23, heard a shot, and saw a man lying on the sidewalk bleeding from the shoulder.

- At 3 A.M. Saturday Mrs. Alice Scott and her family were asleep in their apartment. A bullet crashed through the front window, through the living room wall, over Mrs. Scott's bed, and lodged in the wall over her head.

- Friday night Mary Ellen Jones and her daughter Louise were awakened by a bullet exploding through the front window of their third floor apartment. Saturday afternoon the shooting started again and Mrs. Jones and her family hid in the kitchen. Later a fireman told her the state troopers had done the shooting.

- Sally Sinclair was in the kitchen of her Hayes Homes apartment on Saturday afternoon. Bullets began bouncing off the front of the building in an attack that lasted thirty minutes. At half-hour inter-

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vals until evening the building was strafed by police and state troopers.

- Susan Wilkes, sitting in her window Saturday evening, saw police shoot into the air from their car as it sped down High Street. Hours later she watched guardsmen fire from tanks and jeeps at nearby rooftops. A tank pulled up in front of her building and fired a cannon-type weapon to the right of her window. She spent the night on the floor.

- Mrs. Alice Jenkins, a welfare mother active in Newark's welfare rights movement was hanging up a shirt in her living room Friday when a bullet ripped through it. Other bullets lodged in the walls and ceiling of her third floor apartment.

- Hubert Morse, forty-five, walked downtown Sunday to buy a newspaper. State troopers stopped and told him to empty his pockets. He put his billfold, \$27 in bills, about \$2.70 in change and a handkerchief, on the hood of the police car. The troopers were cursing; one of them said "what should happen is they should line up all the niggers and kill them." One officer asked, "Where you going, black boy? When Mr. Morse reached for his bills, the officer put his rifle between the money and Mr. Morse's hand and told him he could put the rest of the items—the small change, the billfold, and the handkerchief—back in his pocket and move on.

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- Stanley Ripley, twenty-three, was driving home Sunday night from a visit with his cousin. Troopers and National Guardsmen pulled his car over to the curb. A Guardsman asked him why he was so slow in pulling over, then hit Mr. Ripley in the chest with the butt of his rifle. A trooper then hit him below the belt with the butt of his rifle and asked, "Didn't you hear?" Then he was told to go home.

- Paul Stubbs, thirty-three, arrived home late Sunday night to find his apartment broken into—the windows were smashed, and there were bullet holes in the living room wall. The bedroom closets and bureau drawers had been rifled: a cufflink set with a watch was missing. He phoned the precinct at 8:15 A.M. to report damages and file a complaint. A policeman in the chief's office said, "You're lucky. They're shooting all over Newark, and you are lucky we didn't shoot you. If you have a complaint, come down to headquarters."

- Paula Green could remember no shooting in her West Market Street neighborhood until early Sunday morning when she saw state troopers from her windows, and heard a round of shots. Because of curfew Mrs. Green could not go outside until the next morning: she found her restaurant riddled with bullets. All the other stores along the street with "soul" or "soul brother" signs in the windows were damaged, too.

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- Mr. Freddie Collins is afraid to identify the location of his store or residence because he received numerous threatening calls after he was televised accusing police of shooting into his store. Only stores marked "soul brother" on his street were fired into, Mr. Collins said after a Sunday morning survey of the damage.

- Early Sunday morning Paul Sturgeon watched three state troopers break the windows of a Negro-owned business below his apartment. He asked the troopers what they were doing, and was told to "get the fuck back" or be shot.

- Mr. Jonah Gibbons heard the breaking of windows while in the back of his wife's store early Sunday. He saw a Newark policeman outside the store with his rifle raised to break a window. When Mr. Gibbons asked what the policeman was doing, the officer backed away, and shot into the store and the air until a squad car picked him up.

- On Friday afternoon Pat Waters saw several Newark policemen go into the Bilt-Rite Furniture and Appliance Store on Springfield Avenue. A few minutes later they came out with about six portable televisions, put them in a police car, and drove away.

### *About the Author*

TOM HAYDEN was born in Detroit and educated at the University of Michigan, where he participated in student, civil rights, and peace activities. Since 1964 he has been a community organizer in Newark. He is the author of numerous articles on the war on poverty and community organization, as well as co-author of *THE OTHER SIDE*, with Stauton Lynd, an account of a visit to North Vietnam in 1966.